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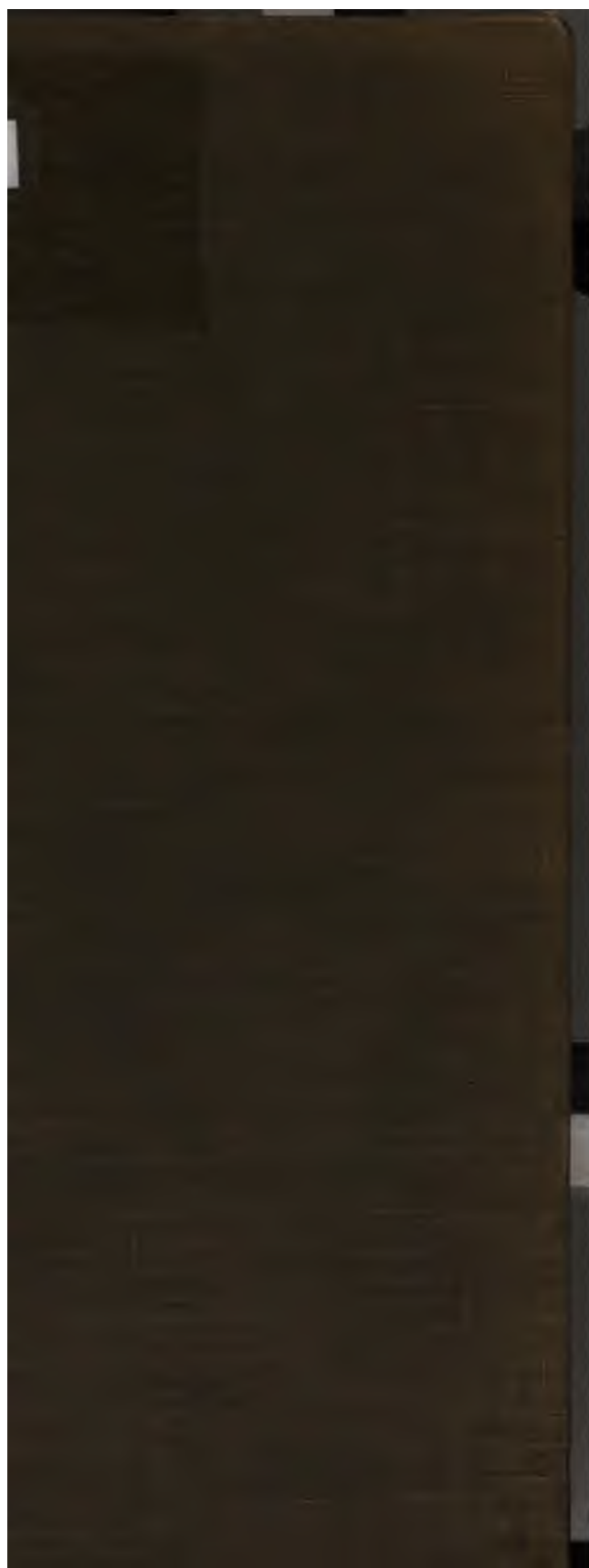
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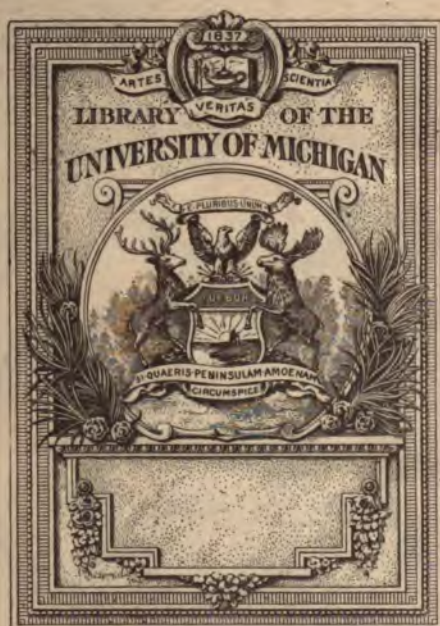
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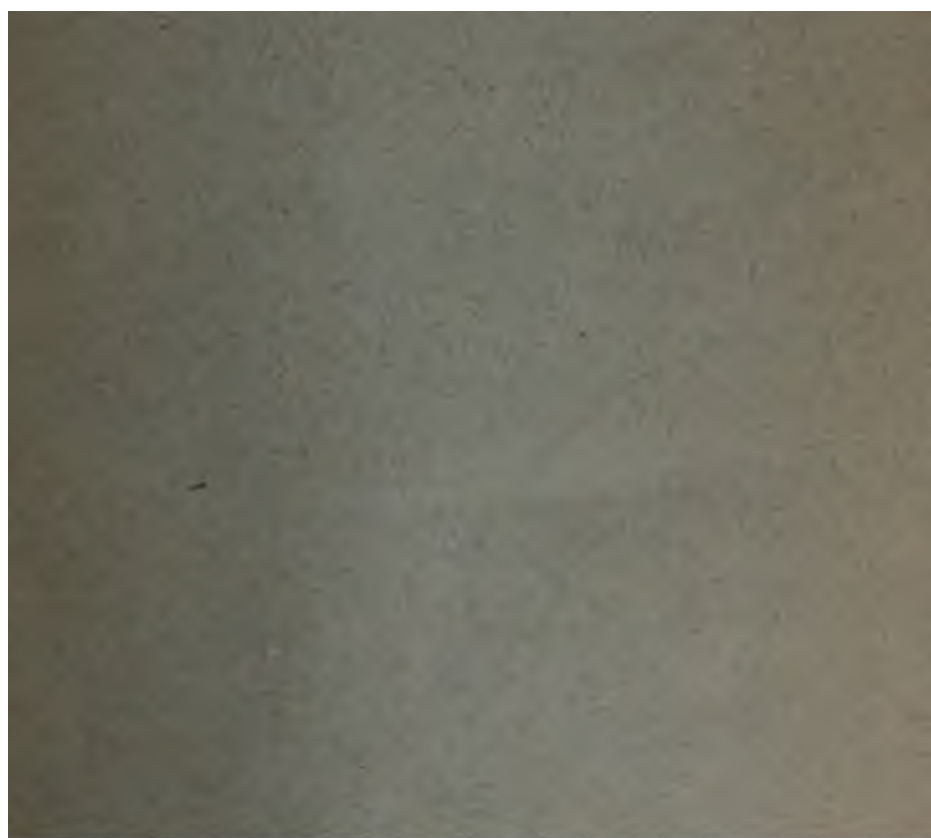
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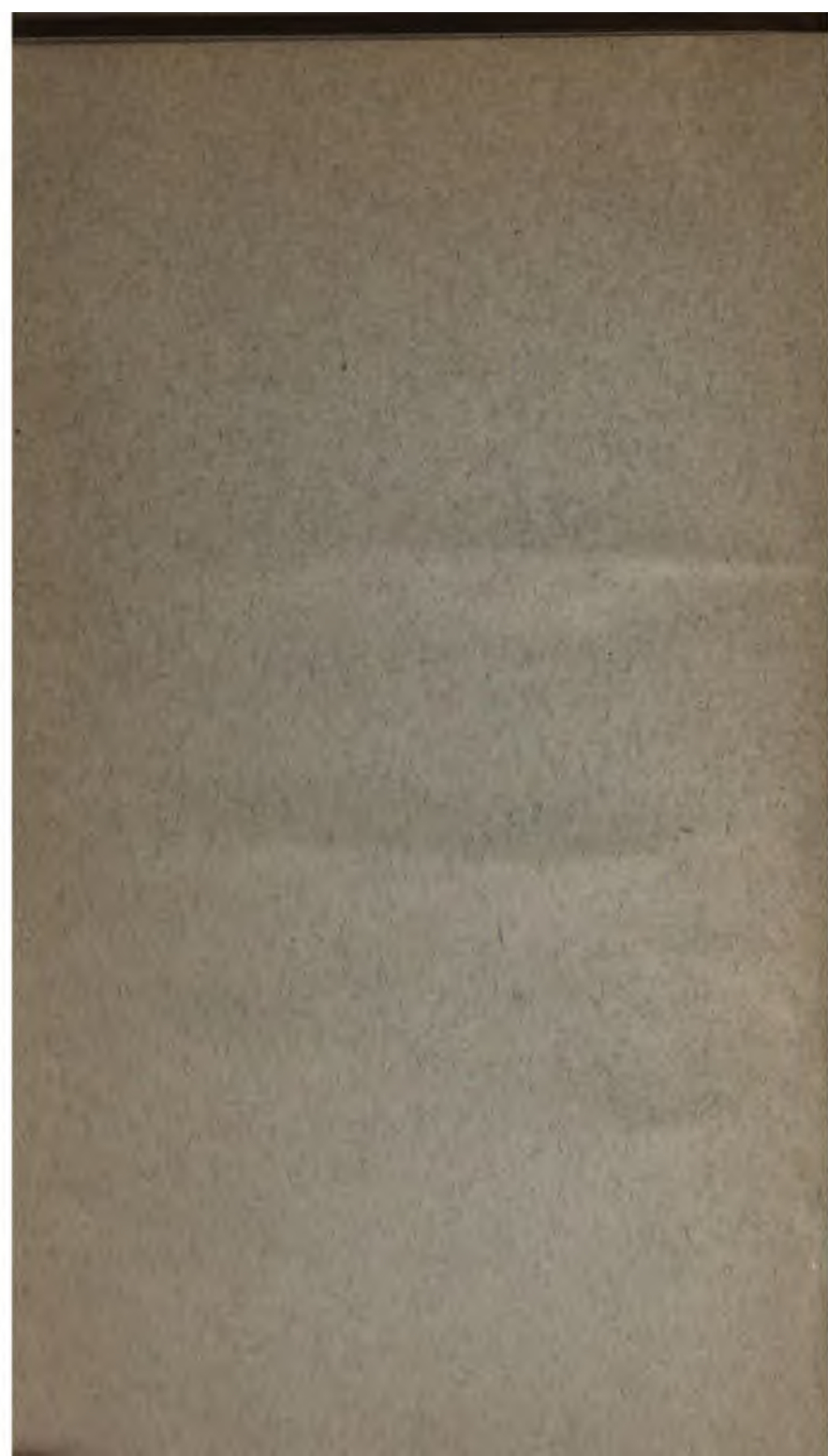
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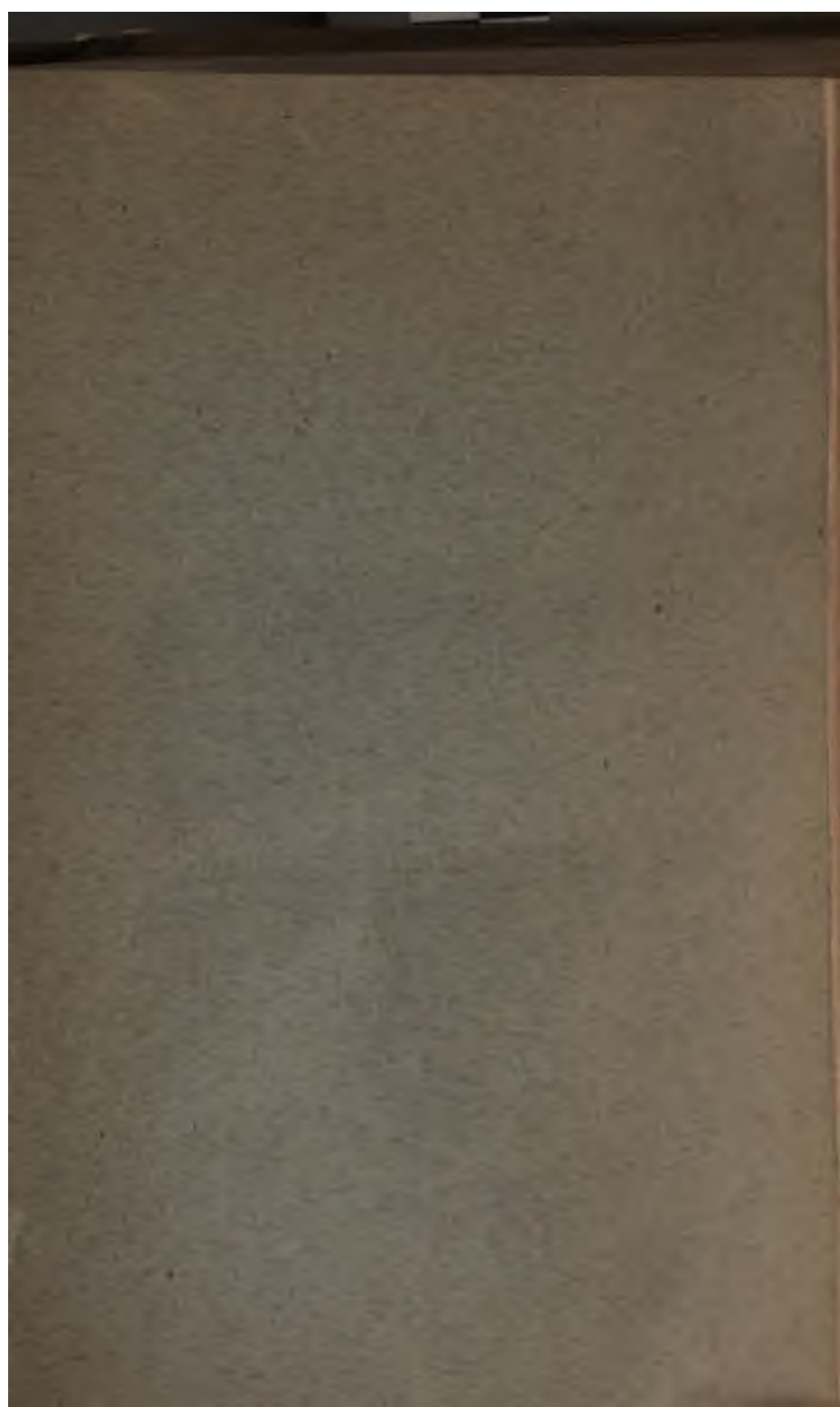
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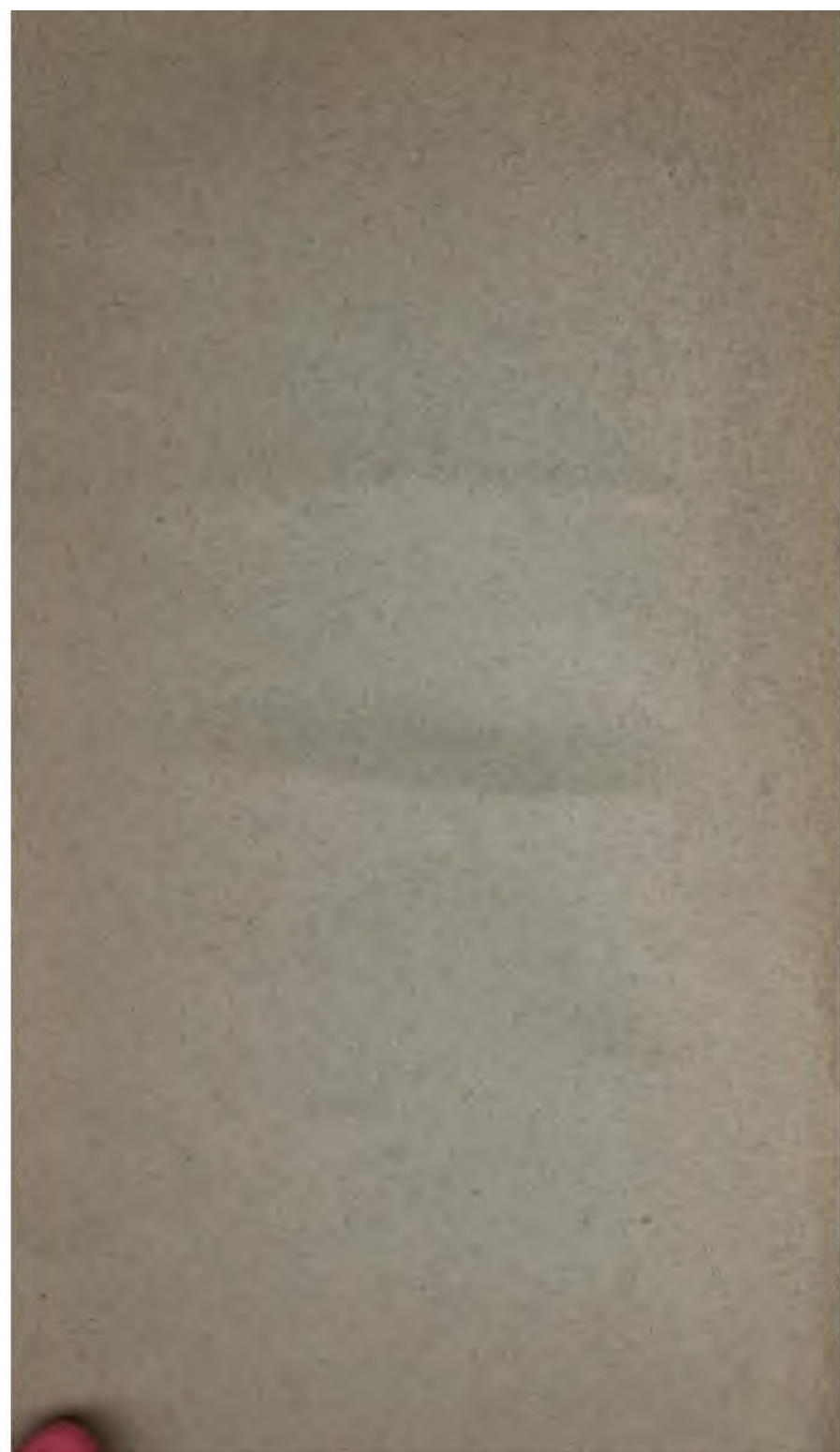












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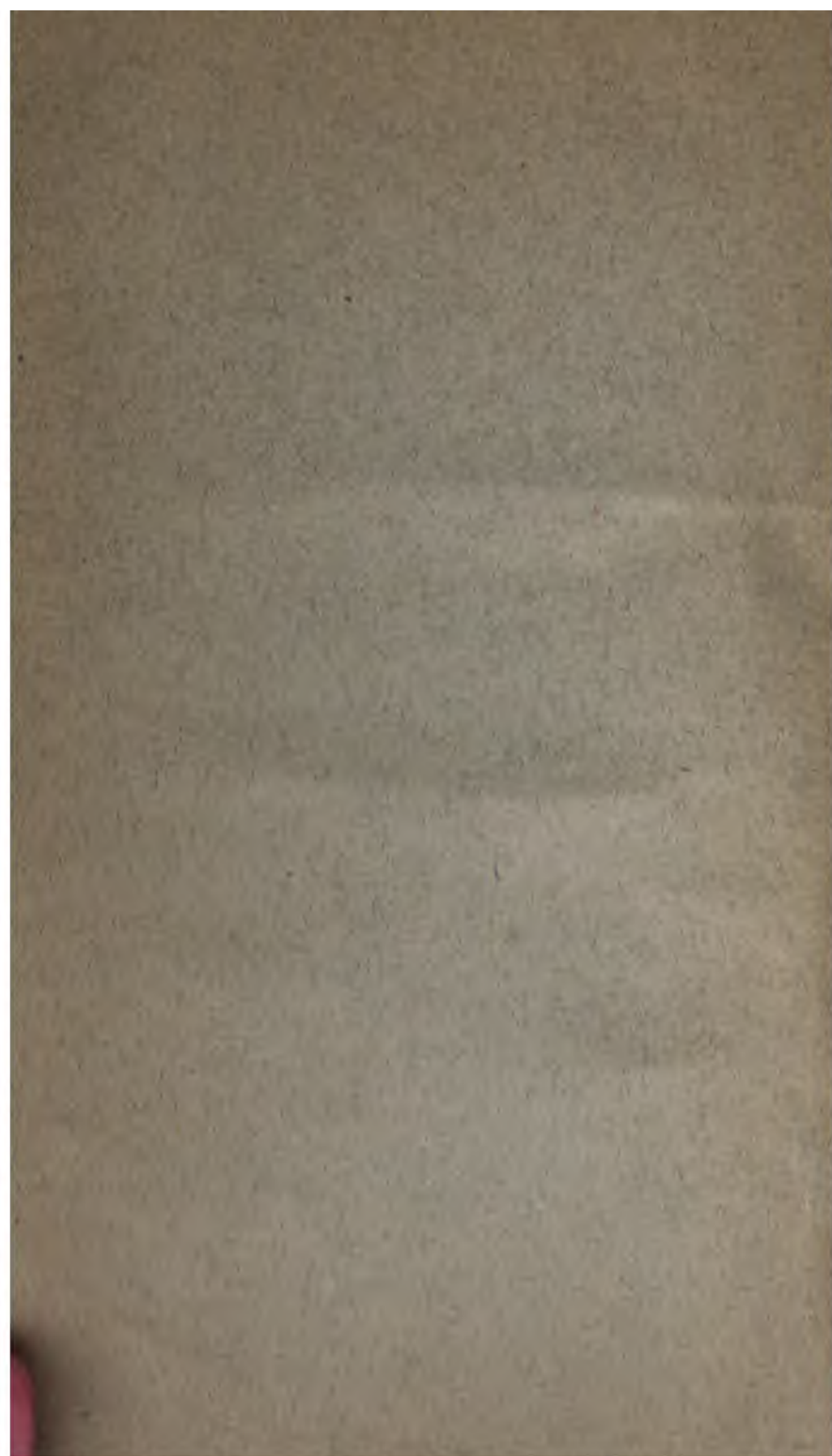
truth: for ourselves, we will no longer shrink from speaking of this great neglect because there is something in the subject from which it is supposed to be delicate to shrink. Away with that false and conventional shame, which bids the curtain drop on the most woful and sinful tragedies of real life, now finished in the dark and behind the scenes, and which, in blushing inactivity, lets souls go down to death, because they perish by a sort of sin which it dreads to name. It is no time to be ashamed of saving souls; and because we do not see the victims writhe before our eyes, we must no longer think ourselves freed from the solemn duty of rescuing them from the toils.

These women are to be counted by thousands in our metropolis alone. We will not stop to test the accuracy of the various sums of this frightful arithmetic; whether there be ten, or twenty, thousand, daily living in a state of deadly sin, is a question we will not stay to decide. Taking from the statistics of London's iniquity the very lowest numbers, we are quite bewildered by the multitude of guilty wanderers. Think, what armies of living death are daily moving to and fro through the restless streets, preying upon like numbers of the opposite sex, and almost unchecked by the army of faith, by the heavenly companies of the Church. Recruits daily swell these ranks of sin, as they are quickly thinned; the young, scarce emerged from childish years, framed by God to gladden and adorn holy homes of humble men, wrenched for ever by one act of guilt, one plunge into the stream of sin, from their accustomed seat at home,—recruits such as these, fill up those gaps which quick-footed death makes in the gaudy, yet heart-broken and short-lived, host. It is no rare thing for mere girls to be enlisted in this fearful cause, and at the age of fourteen or fifteen years, hundreds are found to be plying their guilty trade.

And yet, we repeat, the Church has scarcely moved. Scarcely has a hand been put forth to fetch back the wandering sheep,—we might almost call them 'lambs,'—to separate the less defiled from the more hardened sort, to arrest the novices of vice in the earlier stages of their descent. Ask whom we will, what they have done in any degree, in any way, at any time, for the reformation of fallen women, and we have to 'pause for a reply.' Excuses, justifications, pleas of many shades may break the silence; but we appeal to our readers' consciences, whether, as a fact, this most momentous question has not been shelved, and put aside. Alas, our consciences cannot but wince, as those touching reproaches of the voluptuous poet, strange teacher of the Church! rise to our minds. How stern a sermon does this Saul among the prophets preach, not only to the sisters of the fallen, but to all; when, comparing the fate of the outcast

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If indeed we are right in supposing that there are many hearts—some among the pure of both sexes, others among the repentant of one sex—who yearn to see the Church throw out some Penitential Institution in which they could really trust; if all that is wanted is a vent, a channel for their desires, a definite plan, however imperfect and capable of being moulded into a better form, we must at once profess our willingness to supply at any rate a sketch, an outline of the sort of institution which seems to be required. It will be something for earnest minds to fasten upon and to discuss; it will be a step toward action; and if it can in any way lead to the formation of one Church Penitentiary, that one will in all likelihood be the parent of many others. To make a beginning is the great thing now. Alas, there is room and verge enough for many hospitals of penitence in the neighbourhood of London alone; we say ‘many,’ because it might be thought that one or two *large* Penitentiaries might be sufficient for any number of penitents likely to seek for aid. But, putting aside the multitude of wanderers who would be found to besiege the door of such a home, there can be no greater evil than *large* Penitentiaries. We should say that one hundred inmates is the *very largest* number that should be received into any single hospital. If then we take the number of abandoned women in London at either ten, or twenty, thousand, and bear in mind that the existing Penitentiaries can receive no more than between four or five hundred inmates, we shall see at once that more than one or two Penitential Institutions are required.

Let us, however, begin with one; and, in so doing, while we use the experience of those that exist, we may avoid their defects. Giving all credit for earnest intention, for zeal in a neglected cause, for endeavours crowned with a certain share of success, to those who guide the existing institutions, we cannot imagine machinery so rude, so imperfect, so little adapted to the work in view, as that which many of them possess. We are not speaking of doctrine, nor do we design to speak, though we feel how naturally imperfect doctrinal views are likely to fail in enforcing anything like system or discipline, or in admitting anything like stages or progress in repentance. Anything like a penitential system, anything like religious discipline, seems utterly wanting in a large number of the hospitals to which we allude. What good is done, is done in defiance of want of system. Put a certain number of such women in any house where they will be fed and clothed without having to earn their bread and clothing by their sins, and we believe that a certain number, by an awakened spirit within them, will be brought to a better mind. In such a manner do many of the existing

Penitentiaries grow good fruit; but they do not *lead* or *train* the souls therein; it is not *the system* which tells, but simply the honest employment, the abstinence from actual sin, and certain very scanty religious advantages which they enjoy within the walls. They are useful as houses of refuge, as places of shelter, but not as *Penitentiaries*. There are some, of course, where there is more system, and some which seem inclined to introduce improvements in spiritual management; but the best friends of the best will be among the first to acknowledge how much yet is needed even in them.

In speaking of defects, which we do in no mere fault-finding spirit, take for instance the staff of one of the very best of these Institutions; it consists of one chaplain, one matron, with six assistants or servants, and a hundred penitents. Is it possible that there can be that close, unceasing superintendence of the women, that constant fellowship between the rulers and the ruled, that intimate knowledge of individual character and peculiarities, that adaptation of treatment to the individual mind, which is absolutely necessary to real success? How can the conversation be checked, controlled, directed at all times, and in the midst of all employments? how can fluctuations of feeling be watched? how can the influence of the worse sort be kept under restraint and thwarted? The women must be spiritually treated in herds, in groups, in masses; the most zealous of chaplains could not affect singlehanded to have any close spiritual guidance of a hundred souls in such a state. Surely he could not satisfactorily or thoroughly bestow the gifts of his office upon even ten a day; but even at this rate there would be a gap of ten days between each visit! The inmates might be taught in a heap, in classes; but we are speaking of that guidance of individuals which is the true way to produce permanent effect. The chaplain could not possibly visit a greater number than that which we have mentioned; for he himself cannot, must not be all the day with the penitents. Undertaking, as he does, a most arduous and anxious post, requiring the truest discretion and the truest zeal, he needs retirement for himself, much solitary prayer, the perusal of holy books and other religious aids, to give him fresh heart, fresh earnestness for his work. He would soon fall into mere formal ministrations, unless he could thus have his spaces of retirement between whiles; he would soon go droning on from one penitent to another in a matter-of-course way, with a set of matter-of-course phrases, unless he was continually replenishing his cup, and constantly drinking in fresh grace.

In speaking, then, of this great deficiency in the staff of existing penitentiaries, we have been working out a portion of our own sketch: supposing an hospital were formed for a hundred

inmates, (the largest that should be formed,) we should say at once it would need two clergymen at least. And, let us observe, we need such a clerical staff for such a number, not simply that a close spiritual intercourse may be carried on between the pastor and each individual penitent, but that the services of the chapel may be sufficiently frequent. What is one chaplain for such a work? We are alluding, not to Sunday, but to week-day services. Take the materials that have to be dealt with in all their various states—the advanced penitent, the fresh set of supplicants just received, those who have become somewhat used to prayer, those who have not prayed for years; are we to give them all one service, and is it to be such a service, and of such a length as we would give to a well-ordered parish, the *better* portion of whom we alone can get to daily prayer? Would not two *such* services in a day be a sudden offer of overgreat privileges to the fresh and untried comers who have just crossed the door? Should we not be bringing them from utter darkness to mid-day light, and thus run risks of blinding, by excess of light, the very organs we wanted to restore? It seems to us that *frequent* services are required, some of *greater*, others of *lesser* length, according to the advancement of the penitents; a few short prayers would be of more value to the new inmates; and those who had made good progress might be equal to a richer feast of spiritual things. While the Sunday service would be the same to all, we believe that it would be an act of spiritual wisdom to adapt the daily prayers, as regards their length, to the strength or weakness of the various penitents. We know not what difficulties would stand in the way of the divisions of our present Prayer-book, or of the introduction of new and strictly penitential offices, in a private chapel; but we are sure that in institutions of such a peculiar character, dealing with such a peculiar class, there should be some power of unbending from the strictness of ordinary rules.

We must not, however, confine our thoughts to the clergy, when we speak of the managing powers of a House of Penitence. In existing Penitentiaries, we make a great descent from the chaplain to the matron—there is a great gap between the two; we seem to want women of a higher grade to pass between the clergy and the penitents, as the friends of both, acting under the spiritual rule of the one, and mixing tenderly with the other. But setting aside for a moment the style of person which a matron usually is, what can one woman do in the midst of such a number of such souls? Like the chaplains, she has an herculean task, quite beyond her strength. No wonder that so much of the habits, the language, the profanity of the streets, oftentimes breaks out. How can one matron, if she had the

qualifications, study individual character, have private fellowship with the penitents one by one, and gain moral influence over individual minds? It is monstrous to suppose anything but the most vague, general, and superficial superintendence of the whole. But even if we had a dozen matrons, we should not reach the point desired; it is the genus 'matron' to which we object as a guiding instrument in such a scene. Good motherly women they may be, and commonly are, kind and bustling, well acquainted with work, able to judge of work done, skilful in managing, preventing waste, attending to cleanliness, regulating the supply of provisions, probably with much religious feeling and considerable interest in the penitents; in short, a sort of good, well-principled housekeepers; but such surely are not the fittest instruments for helping souls along the rough and rugged stages of deep repentance; for aptly timing the comforting or the rousing word; for carrying out the instructions of the clergy; for being the tender, considerate, yet firm friends and confidants of the penitents; for gaining a hold over their affections, and yet inspiring a wholesome reverence by 'the visible rhetoric' of a self-denying and devoted life.

Women we want, for women; there is no greater want than an order of women to whom the penitents might be unreserved, and yet so strongly marked with the Cross, so entirely given to the spiritual work, as to gain a spiritual mastery over their erring sisters' minds; we want those who are not merely kind, but holy; not merely sympathising, but staid; whose very presence would check all levity, and freeze the very spirit of gossip and familiarity: we speak of a class quite distinct from the race of housekeepers—quite above them in all respects. In short, we want a *Religious Sisterhood*, a little band of devoted gentlewomen, of self-sacrificing daughters of the Church, who, giving themselves, out of their warm love of souls, to this work of mercy, should be the constant guardians of the penitents, sitting with them, reading with them, living with them. How different would such a body be, from those well-intended 'Ladies' Committees,' who just so far dabble with the question, as to gain knowledge of evil, without sufficiently throwing themselves into the cause to aid in lessening the evil they know. On such a sisterhood as we allude to, nothing or little of the secular management of the Penitentiary would fall; the matron, the bustling housekeeper, would be wanted still; she would still have her place and her department.

Never will there be a true development of a true Penitentiary, or true spiritual machinery fitted for the conduct of female penitents, until we see the establishment of some such Sisterhood. A high spirit of Christian heroism, a lofty sacrifice of self, a

true surrender of the world, is of course implied in the undertaking of such a great and holy work. Blessings from heaven be upon their heads, who can arise and enter upon their task in the spirit of faith and love; and, separating themselves from the world, devote themselves to the restoration of the fallen of their sex! Is it too much to hope that some may be found bravely to lay aside the world, and by their own great mercifulness to lead polluted souls to the mercy-seat of God? Necessary as are the Clergy in any Penitential Institution, yet there is a peculiar province which they cannot fill. An intermediate class is required, a class to act between the Clergy and the penitents; a class, too, of the same sex as the penitents, with whom these poor women may feel more at home and more inclined to speak freely. What the Clergy could not do, they could; the very sameness of sex would inspire confidence and trustfulness; the penitents would like to feel they were not thrown entirely among men, but among those of their own sex. They need some such sisters to be ever at their side, watching them in weak moments, encouraging them in seasons of overwhelming gloom, checking outbreaks of temper and light words, directing and controlling their conversation, moving about them like a moral atmosphere, acting on them in many ways of indirect as well as of direct influence, being present with them at their meals, their work, their relaxations; not as spies or jailors, but as friends and guardians.

Any experience of any penitentiary is enough to convince us of the urgent necessity of a constant system of friendly surveillance. It is of the highest importance to keep down the worse elements, and to foster the better; to create, as it were, a new public opinion in the sinful family; a new state of feeling; a new mode of speech; to tie the evil tongue, to pinion the wings of hasty tempers, to suppress the outward expression of all those habits which have obtained the rule. Never for a moment should the penitents be left together by themselves. According to the present system, no sooner is the matron's back turned, than the worse sort break out with their accustomed ways of speech, to corrupt the rest; soon does the old public opinion, the old state of moral feeling rise again. We must not deceive ourselves with the pleasant dream, that the habits of the penitents cease at once, when they cross the threshold; that the whole flame of sin is quenched by the draught of the opening door; that all is self-abasement and godly tears. Habit is not so quickly overthrown; the evil one does not so quickly let go his hold of those whom he has long bound; and with those who really enter in a spirit of repentance, we must expect some strong struggles, some outbreaks of the old ways

and old iniquity. While stated spaces of solitude should of course be enforced, yet the inmates should never have intercourse with each other, except in the presence of those whom they instinctively revere; it is the greatest mercy to have constant pure air mixing itself with the impure, constant spiritual fumigation, if we may use such a phrase, in so corrupt an atmosphere, the constant presence of religious persons, that evil *habits* may be hourly checked. Hence the use, hence the absolute necessity, of a Sisterhood.

Indeed, by means of the Sisterhood, we give the air of a *family* to the whole; the Sisters would form the combining, cementing portions of the Religious House. To a great degree the whole should live together, the Sisters and the Penitents. By living together, we can only hope to destroy in the penitent's mind the idea of being watched and spied into; the Sisters cease to be viewed as inspectors, ever looking in to see how things are going on, and are regarded as the elders of the house, dwelling naturally with the younger on terms of love.

If indeed there is to be such constant intercourse between the Sisters and the Penitents, there should not, we suppose, be less than ten Sisters in a Penitentiary designed for one hundred inmates; *i. e.* as the Clergy would have about fifty women each under their charge, so each Sister would have ten. Thus then we reach the full, final number of the proposed House of Mercy—two Clergymen—ten Sisters—one hundred penitents; we say, '*final*,' because it is far too large a number to begin with. The Magdalen has but one Chaplain and one Matron with her servants to its hundred inmates. And we purposely mentioned one of the best of these Institutions. Another, of equal size, can boast of no fixed Chaplain, and has but one Matron with her assistants.

In thus commending the employment of women of the higher ranks as the guides of women, we are far from suggesting a mere experiment. Sisterhoods are already devoting themselves to this great Christian cause, as well among French Protestants, as in the Church of France. The French '*Institution of Protestant Deaconesses*,' has been at work for some four or five years with great success; this order of zealous women consists of fourteen Sisters, and eight Servitors, who divide their time between three objects.—1. Female penitents, and younger girls of bad disposition. 2. The Sick. 3. Schools. The Penitentiary, still in its infancy, contains no more than twenty-five cells, a number that could not well be increased, when we consider the other occupations of the Deaconesses, unless the order itself were increased. The result of their exertions among the wanderers of their sex, is in the highest

degree encouraging. We find from the last Report, which bears every mark of truthfulness, that of the number who have left their house, one-third relapse, one-third become respectable, and the remaining third positively religious. Surely such a harvest more than recompenses all their pious care. Expecting, as we must, that only a portion of professing penitents will persevere in the strait and narrow way, how thankfully, how hopefully should we gaze at this fruit of godly zeal in foreign lands, if we see two-thirds of these women reclaimed from an abandoned and profligate life, even though they may not all rise to the higher stages of strict religiousness.

As regards the constitution of this Protestant Sisterhood, it appears to be under the control of a Council of Direction, consisting of two Protestant Pastors, as president and vice-president, the Sister Directress, and from four to six ladies. There is also a Committee of Surveillance. One Pastor seems to act as a sort of Chaplain, and does not reside in the house, and one of the Sisters is as it were at the head of the family, with the title of Sister Directress. The Sisters are divided into three classes; first, the new comer is called, 'Sœur aspirante,' and remains, as it were, on trial for six months; then she is advanced to the post of 'Sœur adjointe,' where she remains a year, and then she is qualified to become a Deaconess. Thus there is a sort of noviciate of eighteen months. Vows are of course dispensed with, and though they are exhorted not hastily to retire, yet if they find on trial a disinclination to the work, or undertook it in a moment of enthusiasm which is not afterwards sustained, they are free to depart while they are 'aspirantes' and 'adjointes;' they pay 400 francs per annum for board; afterwards board is found them, but no stipend. In short, it is wisely designed, that women of at least some private means should be received, who undertake the work solely upon spiritual grounds, without any prospect of temporal reward.

Nor is the Church of France without a similar institution. Though the frightful hurricane of the first Revolution swept away most of the Penitential Institutions of Paris, which the Church has not yet had the life or vigour to restore, it supports one effective Penitentiary, 'La Maison du Bon-Pasteur.' Of this house, Duchatelet gives a detailed account in his valuable work. From 1821 to 1833, it has received two hundred and forty-five women. We cannot exactly make out the number reclaimed. The deaths have been fearfully large, owing, as Duchatelet remarks, to its situation in the heart of Paris, and to the fact, that it is the receptacle of a class of persons whose frames have been previously shattered by the wear and tear of a

vicious life. As the observations of this humane surgeon bear upon opinions which we are about to express, we cannot forbear repeating them at once. 'Je considère comme un point important pour la santé des filles reçues dans la Maison du Refuge d'y introduire plus de variété dans les travaux, et surtout des occupations qui exigent du mouvement et un certain développement de forces; c'est ce qui me fait regretter que l'établissement de Paris ne soit pas à la campagne; qu'un vaste jardin n'y soit pas annexé, et que la culture des herbes potagères, dont la proximité de la ville assurerait le début, n'y soit pratiquée en grand. Je verrais dans ces travaux horticoles des éléments de santé, et par suite de la distraction qu'ils procurent, la garantie d'une persévérance plus générale et plus constante que celle qu'on observe aujourd'hui.'—Tom. ii. 575.

This Penitentiary is also conducted by a Sisterhood, and has lately thrown out a Branch institution, of which report speaks highly, at Hammersmith.

With these examples we are encouraged in desiring a holy Sisterhood to work with the Clergy, to live with the penitents, to study individual character more closely than the Clergy could possibly do, giving hints to them as to the character of the inmates, and receiving counsel from them in turn as to the mode of treatment, the degree of tenderness or severity which individual cases seem to call for.

But if such a Sisterhood should be obtained and such a House of Mercy should be set on foot, we must fly in other respects from the ways of existing Penitentiaries; we must avoid their principal mode of employing the women. We must at once discard all idea of depending on the women's work as the main support of the house; industrial operations must not be a source of anxiety; the inmates must see and feel that the chief thing in the minds of all with whom they deal is the salvation of the soul. The idea that they are in a Religious House should stand out before them in strong relief, in letters too plain and deep to be misread. Now the chief employment of the existing hospitals is washing, an employment particularly unsuited to the spiritual advancement of the inmates, but pursued, we suppose, because it *pays* the best. It is for this reason that the houses are commonly placed at the outskirts of large towns, the worst possible situation. If a Penitentiary becomes a large washing establishment, no wonder that it is defective as an hospital of souls. The inmates must work, we conclude, in large gangs or groups, and we thus have all the mischief of a crowd. Conversation can be carried on without much hope of controlling it, or even hearing what it is; it is of necessity a business of much noise, quite preventing any process of instruction, however

indirect. Far better is needlework, which is a quiet occupation; and did the women in little companies thus spend a portion of the day, the Sisters might be present in the several rooms, and during the work might read aloud such books as would both interest and instruct, the women themselves taking their turn when 'the Sister's' voice failed. The day should of course be interleaved, as it were, with more active labours; and washing might well take its turn; but still, we repeat, let it not be the *principal*, the engrossing, employment of the house. Indeed, such a business seems to imply the admission of none but the lower ranks of abandoned women, who are accustomed to considerable bodily labour; it is somewhat owing to this very fact that those of a higher grade have a prejudice against Penitentiaries, and regard them rather as places of contamination than reformation. We are not respecting worldly grade in such remarks; we are not speaking of an aristocracy of sinners; on the contrary, we are alluding to an unwillingness of the less sinful to be thrown with the more sinful. Original worldly rank happens in this case to be often the thermometer of the moral state; and though in *one* sin they all equally offend, yet we shall find in the lower walks an accumulation of sin from which the higher are mostly freed. Thus, thieving, the most coarse and gross language, oaths and blasphemies at every word, blacken the lives of the women of the lower grades. Those of the higher ranks are not so deeply or widely dyed with these additional sins; probably they have been better nurtured, have lived in a purer atmosphere before their fall, and have had educational advantages which were out of the reach of the others. Even the mode of life after their ruin makes the morals of the one descend into a lower depth; those of higher birth and bearing live more apart, are not thrown so much into crowds of like sinners, have their own apartments or abodes, and are not thus tainted by a loaded atmosphere of sin all the hours of every day; the others, alas! are forced into those crowded hives and dens of guilt, where the unceasing friction of many guilty minds quickly sinks the whole to a lower level, to a darker state of general pollution.

It seems, then, a matter of no small importance to consider the state of those who now think the door of a Penitentiary leads them into a coarse and promiscuous herd of women worse than themselves, and to adapt the employment to the physical powers of the more hopeful class who are not equal to the harder or rougher work. It is, we believe, among the higher classes of these women that the most hopeful material is to be found; and if they seek shelter in a Penitential Hospital we may be sure that the feeling of penitence drives them thither, while with the others temporary want, something approaching starvation, is often the real motive of their application.

But while we are throwing out these hints as regards the labour of the penitents, we must not forget their relaxations. More likely are we to carry on and to mature the great spiritual work, if we let the soul at times unbend and allow some relaxation to vary and cheer the penitents' day. The spirit cannot be always on the stretch; we must sometimes loosen the string for the very sake of winding it afterwards to a higher pitch; and hence we should say that among in-door recreations music might well be cultivated. Not only would it raise the spirits of those who are subject to fits of extreme depression, and quicken the sinking pulse, but it would be rendered available as a help-mate to devotion, as an aid to prayer, being an instrument of great and mysterious power in raising, in warming, in sustaining the spirit of devotion; it would enable the penitents in due time both to take a more active part in divine service, and also more truly to relish it.

The question of relaxation leads us on to the whole great question of health,—a matter worthy of deep consideration in any Penitential Institution, as viewed in its action and influence on the spiritual frame. For the soul's sake the body must not be despised. On the contrary, great pains should be used to right the outward frame, if we desire to act successfully on the inward parts; great pains must be used to restore a healthful tone to the bodily system, to strengthen and brace the nerves, and to lessen that bodily excitement and languor which are apt alternately to take possession of those who have sinned against the body, and are thus punished in the body. A life of dissipation prostrates and exhausts the bodily powers; these being weakened and disordered, act upon the mind; the mysterious sympathy between the two is painfully developed in excessive irritability and passionateness; in corresponding despair and gloom. We believe that a day of one of these persons is passed between riot and tears. All the experienced writers on the subject bear witness to the thorough derangement of the nervous system, and hence the fitful and fluctuating character of the mind. The soul in such a case has not only its own burden to bear; it is not a diseased mind in a sound body; but in addition to its own weight, it is oppressed by the disorder and wretchedness of the outward frame.

In vain, then, shall we try to bring the spirit into health, unless at the same time we seek to secure an even and healthful pulse. Anyhow we must be prepared for great and sudden changes of feeling; one day, all will be passionate sorrow; another, all coldness and unconcern; one day, hope rushing to presumption; another, desperation equally extreme. We must therefore prevent the body, as far as possible, from aiding and abetting these violent fluctuations; else animal excitement or depression,

heightening and lowering the depressed or excited mind, will make the work of true effectual repentance doubly difficult. Hence, out-of-door exercise, fresh air, bodily relaxation, good nourishing diet, must all be administered in Penitentiaries as medicines to pave the way for the proper treatment of the soul. For this purpose a Penitentiary should be removed even from the suburbs of a large town; far should we fly from London, for the sake of air and space. Mere space is a great element of success. The sense of restraint, of being under rule, must be enforced, but the sense of being cooped up in a house of bondage and captivity must be removed. Ask ourselves how we should like to be confined to a walk round the largest square of London? What would be the effect upon our spirits, if we never took a wider range all the year? There should be room to move, and grounds of some extent with varied walks, that both mind and body might be refreshed. It must be remembered that we deal with those who have known no bounds, who have been used to a restless life, and who place themselves voluntarily under control. If we wish to keep them when the first burst of penitence is over, it is only prudent, it is only right, to consider the force of habit; too strict a confinement would hardly be brooked by such spirits—nay, physically, it hardly could be borne. To invigorate the nervous system, shattered and agitated by dissolute ways, we must give, without stint, God's medicine of fresh air.

Supposing, however, that we have seen these our airy dreams and hopes fashioned in due time into a great reality, and a true Penitentiary of the Church fairly launched, what, it may be asked, is to become of the penitents who leave the house when the term of their penitential discipline is at an end? First of all, then, let us say that we must not be hasty in letting them leave. No testimonial should be given till after a stay of three years, as a general rule. It is too much the habit of existing Penitentiaries to hurry off the inmates after a few glimpses of improvement, that they may be able to satisfy a greater number of the crowd of applicants who press for admission. It is a well-meant endeavour to give as many as possible some benefit, some space for repentance; but for ourselves, we would rather admit fewer and keep them longer, in order to build them up securely on a strong foundation. Let us have fewer women and a deeper work. And we conceive that such a system is best for the penitents themselves. It is now difficult to get *good* places for those who leave Penitentiaries; and this difficulty is increased by want of confidence in the testimonials of the existing institutions. Testimonials furnished after too short a knowledge of the women, and too short a discipline, carry but little weight. Simply to get *any* place for a penitent, when her penitence is in

an unfinished state, however hopeful for the time, is simply to put her forth again on the path of temptation; such a place will often be found to be among the very worst; those who want cheap servants fly to Penitentiaries; whereas, we want the well-ordered religious family to trust the testimonials of a Penitentiary, and we therefore want the testimonials to be, as far as possible, capable of such trust upon reasonable and substantial grounds.

But while 'service' is the ordinary vent for the reformed, we dread the trials that meet them when they again start forth. It is all but impossible for them to conceal from their fellow-servants, without untruthfulness, the fact that they have come from a Penitentiary; and the religious and tender rulers of the house little know the degree of contumely that is apt to be daily thrown upon them downstairs after such a confession. Under this trial many quail; and hence we are disposed to think that at least a certain proportion of the penitents should be allowed to become *permanent* inmates of the House, if they felt greater spiritual security within the walls, and dreaded again to face the temptations of the world.

And not only would we suggest the introduction of a ward of permanent inmates, but we think a Colonial Hospice might advantageously be formed. To such a hospice, of small size, placed under due control, the more promising women might be drafted off, and might find service or employment in the Colonies, subject to less trials than at home. It would be easier, perhaps, in a new world, and amid new scenes, far removed from old snares and old companions, to make a fresh start in life; and, as the mass of Colonial servants have been taken from criminals, the more religious settlers might even be thankful to receive the recommendations of such a Hospice, where recommendations were cautiously given.

And now, commending this scheme merely as a scheme, a sketch, an outline of a plan, capable doubtless of great improvement, to the hearts and consciences of our readers, we must bid our pen to stop; humbly trusting that He who bade the adulteress 'Go and sin no more,' and suffered His holy feet to be washed with the tears of 'a woman that was a sinner,' will remove from the Church the great reproach of practically bidding the sinful women of our day to 'go and sin,' by refusing them the shelter of a Penitential home. It is enough for us to say that this plea for a House of Mercy, of some such fashion as that we have described, though not of so great a size at first, is designed, by the Divine blessing, to ripen into reality, if hearts can be found to throw themselves into so urgent and so great a cause. The warm and stirring words of Archdeacon Manning shall form the conclusion of our remarks:—'Tens of thousands,' he says,

‘ whose childhood has been sheltered in pure and peaceful homes, in our green hamlets and happy villages, under the fostering love of parents, brothers, sisters, have, by one plunge into this vast haunt of impurity, sold themselves to be the prey of guilt, agony, and death. These are the inheritance of harlots. The pure and holy God is keen and terrible in avenging the violated laws of His kingdom. All the powers of death prey, with a thousand-fold intensity, upon the carnal and impure. . . . Were other ministers of death wanting, it would be enough that they are soul-struck, and waste away from within, “with blindness and astonishment of heart.” In one hour daughter, sister, wife, hath become the thing from which the fondest shrink; the very name of which they dare not utter. It is too horrible to look upon, or to fashion into speech.

‘ Surely there are no sinners so earnestly commended, by the loving-kindness of our Lord, to the pity and charity of Christians; for there are no sinners who, by the usages of the world, are so absolutely lost, so cast out of its sight, so abandoned to the bitterness of their own tormented soul.’

Postscript.—As the formation of a Sisterhood is the point of the utmost importance, and perhaps of the greatest difficulty, we are the more anxious to remove all reasonable objections to the employment of the pure-minded in such a work and in such an atmosphere. Let it not, then, be supposed that in the intercourse between the Sisters and the Penitents any mention of the particular sin should be allowed. On the contrary, it should be a most strict and stringent rule, that not the faintest nor slightest allusion should ever be suffered to be made to the former guilty mode of life. It must be a forbidden theme. None but the Chaplain should be permitted to hear a word upon this point, and even he should discourage any tendency to get into details, except on the most solemn occasions. Such a law of silence between the Sisters and the Penitents is for the good of both parties. Many pure-minded women might shrink from offering themselves to a post which might bring knowledge of evil, which might taint their minds, and cause distressing thoughts to haunt them against their will; while, if the intercourse, unreserved on all other points, is to be strictly reserved on this, then even the purest and the youngest might live in such a house. And how eloquent such silence as regards the Penitents! No surer means could be used to convince them of the exceeding sinfulness of their sin than thus to treat it as something too horrid even to be alluded to in the most indirect and distant way. Such a rule of silence, suggested to us by those who are deeply to be revered in the Church, seems calculated to remove a host of difficulties.

- ART. II.—1. *Brothers and Sisters; Translated from the Swedish* by MARY HOWITT. Colburn.
 2. *The Neighbours.* Longman & Co.
 3. *The President's Daughters; and Nina.* Longman & Co.
 4. *The Home.* Smith, Fleet Street.
 5. *The H—— Family.* Smith, Fleet Street.
 6. *Life in Dalecarlia.* Clarke & Co. Old Bailey.
 7. *Strife and Peace.* Smith, Fleet Street.

It is now some years since the interest of the story-loving world was excited by a series of tales fresh from a northern land, which, though not distant from us, was yet almost as much a *terra incognita* as old Scandinavia to the ancient world. While Sweden was well versed in our literature—not only acquainted with Shakspeare, but familiar with such newer lights as Bulwer and Miss Martineau—we as a nation knew no more of that country than could be collected from one or two books of travels, or the sight in the Court Circular of some long unpronounceable name which used to be classed in the fancy with his Excellency the Turkish Ambassador or a Rajah from Burtpore. We are not speaking of an *enlightened* public, but of the larger class who read for amusement, and to whom the Swedes as a people were as little known, and as little objects of thought and interest, as Kamstchatka. What a surprise then, what a new world, to see opened to us vivid pictures of a society at once new in many of its social aspects, and yet akin to all our sympathies: lively, intellectual, domestic! where we see realised that favourite dream of the imagination of all times, the union of the refined with the homely—where the most opposite excellences seem to combine as in the golden age,—where the ideal Arcadian shepherdess finds her type in the Swedish lady, at once elegant, refined, accomplished, and skilled in all housewifely labours; alternately delighting her hearers by her sallies of wit and thought in the saloon, and ministering to their vulgarer wants in the kitchen. But nothing there is really vulgar: the ‘pancakes,’ the patties, the raspberries and cream, prepared by her hands have all an ambrosial fragrance, and seem elevated above their rank in the ordinary *carte de cuisine*. The perpetual allusions to these dainties, the important part that favourite dishes play in the most excited and inspiring situations, is quite another matter to what such an intru-

sion would appear in our common-place joints and puddings; they harmonize with the humour, the sentiment, the sublime aspirations of the various actors in the scene, with a perfect congeniality.

It was all very new, very amusing, very refreshing. Every lady asked of her correspondent, 'Have you read "The Neighbours," and how do you like the Bear and his wife, and what do you think of *ma chère mère*?' And in reply, every body had read 'The Neighbours,' and thought the Bear and his wife delightful, and agreed that *ma chère mère* was a new character, an artist's creation, conceived and executed with equal genius and boldness. People were charmed with her long speeches, instructed by her proverbs, diverted by her eccentricities, awed by her tragic passion; they only wished that her first introduction—playing the fiddle to her servants' dancing—had been on any other evening in the week but Sunday, and that there had been some indication of the Bear and his wife having been at church, which they clearly had not; but these were features of national manners, and we have often to get over such things. As for Bruno, few people talked about him, and a great many 'skipped' wherever he appeared in the scene—from an entire want of interest or sympathy in that style of character. Books where the bad parts are also dull, have a great advantage. Dulness is a veil. Even if the eye takes in, the attention does not; or if it does for a moment, the memory will not retain it, but fills itself with the more attractive parts of the story. As a fact, many have read 'The Neighbours' and forgotten what a curious epitome of all the vices this Bruno is, how full of all dark, evil, base passions, how selfish up to the last moment. They have cared too little for him and Serena to remember what a sacrilege and profanation was committed in uniting him to the author's idea of the perfect, the angelic Serena. Bruno was passed over as a sort of Corsair, and Serena was simply insipid. The interest rested at the time, and the memory looks back, on the real characters of the piece; and it should not be omitted as a testimony to the author's native and genuine taste, that her heart and imagination dwell more gladly, expatiate more freely, in scenes of innocent affection, harmless mirth, honest, pure, self-sacrifice, than in the workings of a dark misanthropic spirit. There is no *love* of evil in her mind; on the contrary, it warms to everything pure, generous, and noble. This all her works testify, especially (we are sorry to enforce the qualification) her earlier ones. But the perusal of them all forces one painful conviction on the mind—that with all a certain constant, and we believe sincere profession of religious feeling, the series of her works betrays an absolute want of settled principle and Christian faith.

She has a religion of her own, but it is not the Christian religion. There is no recognition even of the duty of casting down imaginations, no bringing into captivity *any* thought to the obedience of Christ. If her reason or fancy falls in with the revealed word, she makes much of it, and talks religiously; but where they diverge, she follows without scruple her own reason, as it would seem, not concealing from herself that she does so. Gifted with great natural endowments, with an intense love of nature and appreciation of art, with a heart and intellect apparently formed for enjoyment, and a power of entering into, realising, and almost prolonging the present; with an extraordinary knowledge of character, and insight into motives; an admiration for what is great and powerful, and a contempt for everything mean and unreal; and inspired by a genial expansive benevolence which feels as if it could embrace all mankind; she sets herself to study and comprehend this world which she so dearly loves, this life in which natures like hers find so much to satisfy and to enjoy, and yet where she sees so much evil and misery; and without looking for a guide, without depending on that which Providence gives her—as if indeed there were neither guide she must follow nor revelation to which she must bow,—she sets herself to reconcile difficulties, to make a world of her own, an image of this present one, where things can go as she chooses, where she may follow out her speculations, and set to right all that is wrong in her own way; where she may allay the doubts and answer the questions of a restless, undisciplined spirit.

As a general rule, those powers which enable their possessor to understand character and motives, to follow the complex workings of society, and to portray all these with truth, pathos, and humour; that versatility of talent—susceptible, various, intuitive—that wide range of vision, which constitute the novelist, are not met in conjunction, are hardly compatible with the deep, clear, steady glance of abstract reasoning—the quiet brooding spirit, necessary to the moralist and the philosopher.

The talent for observation for ever taking a man out of himself, the gift of imagination always arranging and combining its plastic creations, constructing an inner world in harmony with this outer one, naturally incline the mind to pursuits uncongenial with the calm severe research and concentrated intellect of the philosopher or theologian. Yet it is a common mistake with novelists to enter into these superior forbidden regions, and to suppose that because they can describe the world as it is, that therefore they can originate schemes and theories for making it better.

Theirs are powers of which they can hardly fail to be conscious, which set them up by unanimous consent above others, which

most men are able to appreciate, and for which they receive a general homage; and yet all the while their steady reasoning faculties, the faculty of deducing one proposition from another and proceeding in due order from premises to conclusions, their powers of argument, their comprehension of a line of thought, may be *below* others, and they may be actually less capable than ordinary people of taking a clear, candid view. The intellect sharpened in one direction may be blunted for want of use in another. Their habit of going out of themselves in perpetual observation, is in fact opposed to reflection; and probably they might have been profounder thinkers with less external exercise of this power. Yet, because they surpass others in one respect, they suppose themselves qualified to teach in all; they are not content to illustrate what is old and established, but must state some new moral of their own. Because they can portray a vivid scene, and invest their personages with characteristic look, and tone, and action—because they can tell what each will say and think under every contingency—very high and extraordinary gifts—they conclude that therefore they know best what is abstract truth: whereas the danger of such is, not to believe in abstract truth at all; to see, for instance, religious truth not as an external dogmatic creed, but as something that changes with the holder of it, and so to survey all shades of opinion from a superior eminence; to regard good and evil, not in their separate nature, their changeless antagonism, but only in their actual combination in the world as we see it. It is hard for those who intensely realise what they see, who dwell upon it and make social existence their study, to be severe enough. It is difficult, as has been said, to hate properly, people that one knows;—a paradox which means, of course, not the people themselves but the error that is in them;—to believe in the amount of evil that may lie under a smooth and amiable surface, and to detect and unmask sin under all its fair disguises. Their temptation is, to excuse and overlook the evil for the apparent good. This is their *temptation*, we say—which ought to make them distrust themselves, and anchor and ground their faith on a definite creed; and if this is needful in all cases, much more in that of women, whose construction of mind qualifies them for minute observation, for appreciation of home virtues, and insight into social distinctions and shades of character; and who are eminently suited to instruct and advise in this sphere, but who are *not* formed to make philosophers, or moralists, or theologians, in the literal scholastic sense of these terms. If they wander after theories and strain for originality in this ungenial element, it will certainly be to the loss and sacrifice of their real powers. Of this many female authors furnish an example. How many women gifted in their own line, and useful in it, have made

themselves absurd, or dangerous, or become trite, and poor, and unreadable, by stepping out of the familiar paths of home life into the wilderness of polemics, or the vast ocean of abstract inquiry! And of this none furnishes a more striking example than Frederika Bremer, admirable in her own sphere,—bewildered, presumptuous, profane, out of it. There is indeed so much that is immoral and directly irreligious in her works, that some apology may be needed for discussing them in these pages. But we fully believe that her case merits pity as well as blame; that, trained in a different school, she would have escaped many of these errors; that she suffers from the faulty, ruinous system under which her mind has been developed; that her *Church* is in part to blame.

Lutheranism, that form of it at least that exists in Sweden, does not seem even to attempt to direct and guide its children. It leaves men's faith in their own keeping. It gives them a Bible, indeed, and it professes to give them a creed; but it leaves it to each individual mind to accept these, and adapt them to their own fancies and prejudices as they see fit. Thus we are assured, that while clergy and people profess to receive creeds, and symbolical books, and Church ordinances, they only believe them so far as the Bible, interpreted by each individual, sanctions them; and the Bible they compare to the sun, which no two people can be certain that they see alike, and about which every one is welcome to have his own opinion.¹ So long as they are Churchmen in word, and acknowledge Lutheranism in word, they may think as they please: and as a confirmation of this, there is, in fact, no dissent in Sweden.

Lutheranism may be said to have had more entirely free course, to have more uninterruptedly developed itself, in Sweden than in any other country. It was introduced with little opposition, it was maintained elsewhere by one of its greatest kings, who won for himself the title so familiar to us as the 'Defender of the Protestant faith';—it still possesses the affection of its children; but it seems not even to desire to rule their minds, to teach, to train, to check, to control their faith. It would appear as if Miss Bremer offended no rule, was conscious of no departure from any profession, in advancing her extraordinary opinions. She uniformly shows affection for the religion of her country; her clergymen are good men; her favourite characters are taught and instructed by them; the best understanding appears to exist; her congregations are crowded and edified. She seems to feel no want, and can breathe freely. She would not desire to introduce another state of things. There is no indica-

¹ Schubert on the Swedish Church. See also an Article on the Swedish Church, *Christian Remembrancer*, April 1847.

tion of feeling under a yoke, but the uniform, sweet, unprovoked temper which implies absence of opposition or censure.

This state of the Swedish Church has been felt and acknowledged by an able writer, himself an enthusiastic admirer of its founder; and has called forth all his skill, to account for what militates against his most cherished convictions. He treats the question in connexion with the subject of the demoralized state of Sweden—an incontrovertible fact, which private sources confirm. We will give some of his preliminary statements, not only as information, but as in some sort exculpating our authoress, who, in the intimations of a bad state of society which we find in her works, at least did not go out of her way to invent what does not actually exist. Taste and instinctive propriety, indeed, commonly preserve her from enlarging on scenes of wicked passion, though certain unfortunate exceptions to this prevailing rule rise to our memory, and forbid our trusting too much to what seems a naturally pure and healthy imagination. However, whether a corrupt social state is portrayed or only inferred, its evil influence is taken for granted in characters scarcely less favourites with her on that account, and excused as something inevitable.

‘It is a singular and embarrassing fact, that the Swedish nation, isolated from the mass of the European people, and almost entirely agricultural or pastoral; having in about 3,000,000 of individuals only 14,925 employed in manufactories, and these not congregated in one or two places, but scattered among 2,037 factories; having no great standing army or navy; no extended commerce; no afflux of strangers; no considerable city but one; and having schools and universities in a fair proportion, and a powerful and complete Church Establishment undisturbed in its labours by sect or schism; is notwithstanding in a more demoralized state than any nation in Europe,—more demoralized even than any equal portion of the dense manufacturing population of Great Britain. This is a very curious fact in moral statistics. It is so directly opposed to all received opinions and long established theories of the superior moral condition, greater innocence, purity of manners, and exemption from vice or crime, of the pastoral and agricultural state of society, compared to the commercial and manufacturing, that if it rested merely upon the traveller’s own impressions, observations, or experience, it would not be entitled to any credit. The traveller in a foreign country swims on the surface of society—in contact, perhaps, with its worthless scum, as well as with its cream; and is not justified in drawing sweeping conclusions upon the moral character and condition of a whole people from what he may meet with in his own little circle of observation. I would not venture to state this fact upon any grounds less conclusive than the following.’—*Laing’s Observations on Sweden.*

Then follows a statement from the official returns, giving the number of prosecutions and convictions for criminal offences: all, offences—he explains—involving some moral delinquency greater than the simple breach of a regulation or conventional law of the state; with a comparison between these returns and those of Norway, Denmark, Scotland, England, London, and Ireland, immea-

surably to the disadvantage of Sweden. The rural population are bad, but Stockholm is worse.¹ But we will not overwhelm our readers with pages of figures, from which the majority of mankind can gather so little. Mr. Laing proceeds to give his views of the causes of this astonishing state of things, and enumerates various reasons—as, for instance, the preponderance of privileged classes, and the influence and example of a dissolute court. The cause, however, which most concerns our argument, and which appears to us most remarkable, he leaves to the last; we give it with his remarks, reminding our readers that Mr. Laing himself is a zealous Presbyterian, and therefore not likely to be biassed on the side of his argument;—his acknowledged character for candour and impartiality may at any rate justify us in assigning some weight to it:—

' Another cause I conceive to be, that although Luther's reformation found the minds of men in part of Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, and Scotland, prepared for it, and demanding a form of Christianity more intellectual, more addressed to the understanding, and less to the senses, than that of the Roman Catholic Church, the public mind in Sweden was in no such advanced state. The change was the act of government, connected apparently with the policy of the new dynasty, and supported by an enlightened few, and by the inferior resident clergy, not averse to be relieved from celibacy and other restraints; but the public mind appears to have been in a state of apathy, in that age, on religious concerns. No sects, schisms, preachings, meetings, publications, indicate such a ferment in the public mind here at the time of the Reformation as in England, Scotland, and other countries. The resident Catholic clergy became, with few exceptions, Lutheran; and a few ceremonies less, a little difference in church forms, were all the changes which the mass of people saw; for the public mind was not advanced so far as to appreciate the difference of doctrine. Gustavus I. always denied that he had introduced a new doctrine; and at the beginning of John III.'s reign, says Geyer, the people did not know but that they were still Catholics singing Swedish mass. The country is too extensive and too thinly peopled, even at the present day, for the effectual diffusion of religious knowledge, or the spread of zeal, by preachings, or the press. As far as regards the influence of religion on morals and conduct in private life, I conceive the Reformation has not worked beneficially in Sweden. It found the public mind dormant, and sensible to nothing in

¹ ' Figures do not bring home to our imagination the moral condition of a population so depraved as that of Stockholm . . . Suppose a traveller standing in the streets of Edinburgh (as he might in Stockholm) and able to say from undeniable public returns, "One out of every three persons passing me is, on an average, the offspring of illicit intercourse; and one out of every forty-nine has been convicted within these twelve months of some criminal offence!" . . . There are two minor causes, both however showing a degraded moral feeling, which were stated to me as contributing much to this low state of female morals. One is, that no woman in the middle or higher ranks, or who can afford to do otherwise, ever nurses her own child. A girl who has got a child is therefore not in a worse, but a better situation, as she is pretty sure of getting a place for two years, which is the ordinary time of nursing. The illegitimacy of the child is in this community rather in recommendation of the mother, as the family is not troubled with the father or friends; as to the girl's own child, there is a foundling hospital—the second minor cause.'—*Laing's Tour in Sweden*, p. 116.

religion but the external observances of a ceremonial church; and was superinduced on it in that state, and in that state it remains. In no country are the exterior forms and decencies of public worship better attended to. The churches are substantial, and not merely well kept up, but even decorated inside and outside; and there is a kind of competition between parishes for erecting elegant structures for public worship. The clergy are fairly endowed, well lodged, and in general on good terms with their flocks; they are all well educated men, and form a body of great power in the state, the chamber of clergy being one of the constituent parts of the diet. Yet, with all these exterior signs of a religious state of the public mind, and with all the means of a powerful church establishment unopposed by sect or schism to make it religious, it is evident, from the official returns of crime, that in no Christian community has religion less influence on the state of public morals. The just inference is, that no spirit truly religious has ever been generally kindled in this country; that the Reformation, as far as regards the moral condition of the Swedish people, has done harm rather than good, for it has merely substituted one ceremonial church for another; and that which it supplanted, if considered apart from religious doctrine or sentiment, and merely as an establishment for the check of immorality in private conduct, by its observances and rules was, of the two, the more effective system of rural police over a rude and ignorant people. Rude and ignorant as the Irish Catholic population are, their priesthood keeps them free from such a list of heavy crimes as Lutheran Sweden presents from her rural population alone, in numbers little exceeding 2,735,000 souls.'

So incompetent does Mr. Laing deem the Lutheran Church of Sweden to stem the torrent of evil that threatens to overwhelm it, that his hopes, after all, rest exclusively in the lower orders:—

'The regeneration of Sweden, her restoration to the rank of a moral nation, will probably be effected by means directly opposite to those which are working on society in England. There, it is the influence of a virtuous middle and higher class, penetrating through a mass of ignorance, poverty, and vice, in the vast population called into existence by our manufacturing prosperity. Here the impulse will come from below. It will be a virtuous, labouring population, influencing a priesthood and upper class; the former, too far removed by corporate and political rights from the condition of the class they should instruct; the latter, dissolute, idle, dependent on court favour, and independent of moral character or public opinion.' — *Laing's Observations on Sweden.*

In the eyes, then, of an impartial inquirer, Swedish Lutheranism is to its children merely a religion of forms; one that exacts only an external obedience, or perhaps we should say acquiescence, and is content to leave their thoughts free and uncontrolled. Nor are its rules very burdensome or stringent. Though the lower orders are described as excellent church-goers, the higher classes, if we may trust our authoress, appear to suit their convenience in this respect, and to wish to make up by excited devotion when they do go to Church, for the absence of a punctual, even weekly attendance. Daily Service, and that a mere shadow, is only kept up in one or two Cathedrals; but the chief festivals are splendidly and universally observed. As a fact,

persons seem able to conform to their national Church, and yet retain with it a certain opposing worship after their own heart, according to their individual fancy and intellectual development. No one can become acquainted with Scandinavian literature without being struck by the evident hold which the old heathen worship maintains over all minds, ignorant or refined. The land is full of superstitions, which the poor blindly believe, and join with their Christianity; and which the intellectual refine, philosophize, poetize upon. Their hearts are, as it were, yet set upon, still cling to, their old gods. It is a sort of patriotism and national pride to talk to one another of Thor, and Odin, 'Valkyria, and the good Balder;' to repeat the heathen legends, to quote the Sagas and the Edda, 'that love for the great and strong may awake therefrom.' These names are still household words among them; they haunt them in their solitary musings, amid the beautiful scenes of nature, and in their dreams. The old gods of the land have still a half-unconscious worship; they fall in strangely with the new lights of the age, and are in a kind of grotesque harmony with the spirit of the nineteenth century; and men who would think it unphilosophical implicitly to believe their Bible, will seek for deep meanings and hidden truths in the fierce, wild legends of their barbarous forefathers. We are reminded of the inhabitants of the Samaritan cities, who feared the Lord, and at the same time served their own gods. This may be felt a harsh judgment, but the *fact*, at least, of a continued reference to heathenism, and that in an affectionate tone, cannot be denied. We, too, have had ancestors who worshipped Thor and Odin; but who ever talks about them? who regards them with more reverence than if they were so many six-armed Hindoo idols? It may be one of the many boasted advantages of our mixed race, that such temptations have been driven out of us. They are, however, as we have said, very tractable deities, and follow the triumphal car of modern enlightenment with a somewhat crest-fallen submission. Though these gods of the land have a certain precedence and permanence, yet all claims to divinity are listened to; and our authoress sometimes shows herself very strikingly impressed with a fine statue of Minerva or Hebe—not *merely* with the sculptor's skill, but as if he had infused a certain spirit and presence into his work.

All this being granted when the occasion allows such displays, our authoress, in the ordinary progress of her narratives, shows frequently a devotional spirit and a pious fervour inconsistent enough with the propensity we have dwelt upon: but there is one attribute in the God of Christians which does not enter into her creed, which forms no part of her idea of the

Supreme Being;—she does not see in Him ‘a jealous God!’—the awful announcement must be a stumbling-block to her, as to many others, which recalls the thunders of Sinai in our dispensation of mercy,—‘Our God is a jealous God, and a consuming fire.’ There is in her writings, and doubtless in her heart, much piety and warm devotion,—reverence for holiness of life,—longings after the invisible,—high aspirations,—good thoughts; but no fear; no jealous, exclusive worship. The Christian faith, with her, is one of many systems,—the crowning system, and as such to be preferred;—but it is not *the* one truth as opposed to all error; it is not a creed stern, dogmatic, uncompromising; but a blending of all that in her mind is good and fair, and a rejection of all that her heart shrinks from; and it is her own reason, or, as she thinks it, the heart of man, that is the standard and guide, not an external inexorable rule, to which man’s reason must submit itself. The aim, rather, is to fit Christianity to the size and stature of each mind, and to persuade people to be religious by assuring them they already are so; by telling them that the thoughts which spring naturally in them *are* in fact Christianity, if they did but know it; not calling on them to renounce their own imaginations, and embrace a creed in some sort, perhaps, repugnant to their undisciplined reason. With this state of mind, a Church of externals to affect and excite the imagination, and yet making no stern exclusive demands on the faith and reason, exactly harmonizes. There seems no need for them ever to come into collision, nor does it appear that they ever do. Novelists must not, we know, be regarded as authority in such a question as the efficiency of a Church, except so far as what we read in their works tallies with what we learn from other sources, when, as a sort of indirect evidence, their testimony may be received. In our country, we feel convinced that any writer advancing such opinions as we find in Miss Bremer, would be in direct antagonism with his Church, not in apparent harmony with it. The particular individual theories advanced are of course, as in all fictions, those of the Authoress herself, for which no one else need be accountable.

However, Miss Bremer’s do not *aim* to be what in any strict sense may be called religious novels. She takes her own course, developing her own views, apparently not conscious of infringing any rule, or opposing any man’s prejudices. She has one enigma which she seeks to solve, and one panacea for all evils moral and physical. The enigma—the question of questions, is, ‘What is Life?’—the universal panacea is ‘Love;’ and these two watch-words pervade all her works.

And first, of ‘Life.’ Authors have, by prescriptive right, the privilege of representing the whole world, the entire human family,

as exclusively occupied with their own peculiar speculations; and Miss Bremer gives up none of the advantages her position thus offers her. With her, the whole world—young or old, grave or gay, prosperous or unfortunate—is perplexed, overwhelmed, engrossed, by that problem called Life; what it is, in what it consists, who has it, and who has it not. Not very intelligible questions; and, as definite subjects of inquiry, we believe, absolutely unknown to the world at large; but apparently the first thought of the opening mind in Sweden. Life has many meanings, which adds greatly to the difficulties of the solution. With Miss Bremer it sometimes means thought, sometimes excitement, sometimes success and prosperity, sometimes sympathy, sometimes happiness—knowledge—acquaintance with self—the fulfilment of active duties—impulse—feeling—animation—enjoyment; anything and everything that is not dull, inanimate, sleepy, unreal; and the too frequent tendency of the discussions on these various aspects is to make this life all in all, to make the present everything, and in it practically to forget the future. There is a permanency and sufficiency given to it; it is a palace, and not a caravansary. As the scene of our probation, it has a length and breadth and height given to it; not like 'the ship 'that passeth over the waves of the waters, and the trace thereof 'cannot be found;' nor 'the bird, which when it has flown 'through the air, no token of her way can be seen;' nor 'the 'arrow shot at a mark,' nor 'the life that passeth away like a 'shadow.' There is no sympathy with such images of transitoriness as these. With her, life is real, not only as it affects our immortal interests, but it is something real, admirable, *sufficient* in itself. And if a sense of its insufficiency will creep in, it is only because men are yet ignorant of the glories to which mortal life can attain:—the period of universal enlightenment is to come; we may even live to see it; we may now realise it to ourselves if we will. Visions are opened out of what is to be; we are not always to be imperfect, not always shortcomers, beginners, in this world. 'Life' is to be something complete, with developed powers and capacities for happiness; with a beginning, a middle, and an end; with not only 'rich moments,' but rich periods; not mere foretastes of a future state of things, but a settled, present, blissful existence. This vision of life, it is no wonder, stands in some measure for heaven; it dazzles the eyes till they cannot see beyond. It is one of the forms of setting up the temporal against the eternal, which would seem to belong peculiarly to a self-indulgent, luxurious age; not denying the eternal and unseen, even in thought, but *looking* at the present, and teaching the heart to be satisfied with it,—as with health and spirits and active intellect men can readily be; and into Miss Bremer's earthly paradise they will admit no other. Those who, to use her fanciful language, at

present 'creep mole-like round the roots of the tree of life'—those who are dull, unfortunate, sick, stupid, must look about them. She feels pity for them; she would willingly raise them to her level; she seeks to work a transformation in their 'inner life;' but if, in spite of these benevolent pains, dull and sick and sorrowful they still remain, there is no room for them in the terrestrial paradise—they must knock at another Door. Here are promises of a glorious earthly future.

'How often does it not suddenly penetrate man as he goes on his way, amid his own activity, with an inexpressible clearness, with an infinite happiness,—the beam of a higher, incomprehensible life passes over him, and he is compelled to exclaim, 'There is a God!' and yet there are so many poor forlorn ones who are in want of everything which gives worth to life. It will not continue so! The prophets have had their time; the heroes their great days,—now comes MAN. But mankind is legion; and every individual of this great mass steps forward in these days with his own authority before heaven, and demands room upon earth for his freedom, for his love, for his activity, for his happiness. That there should be at first much thronging, much cuffling and pushing, is only natural. All press towards the healing, fresh-bubbling fountain,—all will fill their cups. Many get thrust back and trodden down; but patience! it will be better; for the leaders of the people have spoken to the rocks, and these have opened their bosoms, and have poured forth a higher and a richer stream. In time all will be satisfied, all will have drunk.

'One fountain is there whose deep-lying vein has only just begun to throw up its silvery drops among mankind—a fountain which will allay the thirst of millions, and will give to those who drink from it peace and joy. It is knowledge, the fountain of intellectual cultivation, which gives health to mankind, makes clear his vision, brings joy to his life, and breathes over his soul's destiny a deep repose. Go and drink therefrom, thou whom fortune has not favoured, and thou wilt soon find thyself rich! Thou mayest go forth into the world and find thyself everywhere at home; thou canst cultivate thyself in thy own little chamber; thy friends are ever around thee, and carry on wise conversations with thee; nature, antiquity, heaven, are accessible to thee! The industrious kingdom of the ant, the works of man, the rainbow and Runic records, offer to thy soul equal hospitality. The magnificence of creation illuminates not only thy eye, it glorifies also thy thoughts, it enlightens thy understanding. Oh! with such observations, with such impressions, feelings, adorations, has not earthly life enough? Enough! O inexpressibly infinitely much! But how is it enough—how is it so much? Eternal Fountain of light and life! Because by that means we approach thee.'

We must now give some instances of the form of the ceaseless inquiries we first described, and the answers they elicit; and they must be taken very much at random. Nina, the dreaming, half-alive, beautiful daughter of the President, thus interrogates the stern Edla, her elder sister:—

"Clouds gather over my soul and disquiet me. * * I wish I could penetrate them with my glance; they veil from me a clearness which I yearn after. Ah! Edla, tell me what is life? what it means to live?" "Life, my dear child, is a warfare. To live, means to develop our strength, our indwelling goodness." "But happiness, Edla, what is happiness?" "To know oneself—that gives peace and freedom." "But Edla, what is enjoyment,

what is joy? * * * * How does one conquer one's weaknesses?" "When we unite ourselves with thorough earnestness to a stronger, higher life—to God, or to a clear, vigorous, human soul."

Of Edla herself it is said—

'Her glance was still and penetrating; one felt that the soul which spoke out of it had fought its way to peace—that it lay not in indolent ease, but went seeking and inquiring after the reality of life.'

Adelaide, the beautiful bride, exclaims to her husband—

'O Alarik! how beautiful is life! How pleasant to live!' "To live," repeated Count Alarik thoughtfully, "and what is it to live?" asked he, smiling. "To love!" replied Adelaide, "and to adore Him who gave us love!"

This Count Alarik had now satisfied his former longings. 'It is not easy to express by words what I desired. I wanted Life! Life to press to my heart.' The dark Bruno makes the same reflections.

"Serena appears, and with her the angel of life, her whom I have profaned and despised. Do not say it is too late. I have wrestled with the wild spirits of life. * * In the battle-field, in contending against the raging elements, I felt a higher, mightier life; but then all was blank, blank! I had no belief that the fulness of life could be found in a human breast, * * but if I could press a wife," &c. &c.

A certain Don Juan sings a song which strangely affects his hearers.

'She would that she might have died at that moment; and yet never before had she such a foretaste of the fulness and the affluence of life as then.'

An affected young lady is awakened to real feeling, and exclaims,—

"I feel myself humbled, and yet elevated; I wish to be able to return to nature,—is it not so?" said I. "You would like to comprehend nature, and restore to life its deep interest?"

The disconsolate Jeremias Munter, in 'The Home,' is advised to write a book; he answers, with disgust,—

"No, I will not write, but I wish to——live! I have sometimes dreamt that I could live."

The reader will be glad to hear that towards the end of the volume he accomplishes this dream, when at his grand climacteric he married the real object of this aspiration. The hapless Petrea, in somewhat the same predicament, took a voyage for the recovery of her spirits.

"I stood (she writes) facing the wind and space, and allowed the foam of the sea to sprinkle my lips and eyes; a gentle shudder ran through me, and I felt that life was beautiful. * * I drank the morning wind; I opened my heart to life!"

Lagertha, the fair sculptor, wanders among the cliffs and ports of Iceland. 'That was a time of fresh life.' In her father's house she was visited by unrest—

'that thirst and longing for a life, an activity; that thirsting for a fullness of existence for which she believed herself to be destined, and which so many others renounce.'

Clara, the reserved maiden in 'Nina,' whose silence, whose composure, whose never-ending sewing, form such an atmosphere of repose, in the midst of all the clever, excitable, exalted personages of the piece, 'has yet within her a rich and full life,' which very much annoys the gifted and witty Miss Greta, who, endowed with all that fortune, the world, and the interests of life could confer, had often felt an inward emptiness in vexatious contrast with this 'inward fullness of life.' The domestic life of the North cannot fail to be affected by the long winters and interminable evening hours. The tendency in man to sympathize with this sleep of nature, little accords with Miss Bremer's ardent spirit. She thus happily describes its influence:—

"'Calm, but wearisome," might be the motto of every-day life of a great many families in the North, during long periods. The evenings—the time of shadows—are long with us, and none can escape from their dominion. The inclination of life to drowsiness and sleep is felt more or less, at certain times, by every one. Perhaps it is a good, a merciful institution, this slumbrous state of life! When the bear sleeps in his winter den, he knows no longings, no wants: he knows not that the snow falls, that the storm raves; perceives not the long winter, its darkness and its frost. Yet "Watch," says the Gospel; and no living soul can long sleep in this way; and we firmly and fully believe that there exists in man the power to make the time of twilight one of morning twilight or evening twilight for his whole life.'

A very different state of things prevails where her fancy has free scope, as in the 'Brothers and Sisters,' who, having passed through their various trials and probations, reassemble towards the end of the volume with minds and characters formed after her model, to commence the regeneration of society.

'It was an active, merry, restless, strange life which prevailed there. There were now together young, powerful human beings, who upon different paths had developed their different talents, and who, by means of them, had attained to clearness and stability even in the outward life. They had arrived at a certain station in their life's career, and now a pause occurred, or rather a moment of rest. Most of them felt that something new must now take place, a higher, a more perfect development of life. * * They were all together every day, in particular every evening, these warm struggling souls. There were they all alive with news from foreign lands, thoughts about mankind, the times, life, both the inward and the outward; then did heart and brain open their chambers and give and receive new light. Drop fell to drop, fire kindled fire, and the household gods of home guarded and watched it, whilst all the winds of heaven blew up the flames.'

In spite of so much that is false in thought and feeling in all this, and the mannerism with which it is often expressed, we cannot read Miss Bremer's views of life, and especially her thoughts on social life, (which rather pervade her works, and are expressed in the example and opinions of her most attractive characters, than

can be extracted in formal sentences,) without entering into the truth and reason of much that she says, and sharing her aspirations, that the world at large, not to say ourselves, were possessed of a 'richer life'—'a fuller life'—'an inner life.' It is a sort of slang into which the thoughts readily fall, and which expresses some vague, indefinite wants. It is, in fact, a sad thing that social life (we do not of course include domestic) should be so dull a thing as it is; that intercourse which in books can be represented as so pleasant, so attractive, so invigorating, should be so wearisome, so dispiriting—such waste of time, in real life. That people from year to year should meet and sit and talk, and yet their meetings produce no warmer cordiality, their sittings no more friendly intimacy, their talkings no new interchange of ideas, no mutual kindlings of thought, no lighter refreshments of wit and vivacity. That two persons should meet, each fairly endowed, each with innate powers of entertaining (as who can literally be without them?), each with capabilities for reflection, each with real interests, if they could but be got at; and should yet part so weary of each other's company, so gaping, so dull. After such occasions as these—familiar to all of us—who does not reflect something after the manner of our Authoress on 'Life,' though the *word* does not suggest itself? Who does not ask himself, in a sort of desperation, 'Can nothing be done?' Is it inevitable that men should always assemble together to conceal their thoughts, to present their husks and rinds to one another, and never come really into contact and collision; to talk of what does not interest or concern them, to discuss the worn-out topic, to listen to the thrice-told tale, which neither occupies the speaker nor his hearers; to prose on simply to pass that time which would be so precious at home, and without thought of either giving or receiving instruction or amusement; and yet know all the while that they are capable of better things; that all have some feelings and interests worthy of sympathy, if they could but be roused, some thoughts not altogether trite and common, and a tongue which in expressing them can flow naturally, if not eloquently, and win a glad and unforced attention; know that the eye which looks so dully upon us can sparkle, the features that hang so heavily relaxed can collect themselves into all the vivid beauty of expression; that all these who are so insipid to each other have what Miss Bremer calls 'an inner life,' by which, if it could but be developed and got at, we should be interested, amused, refreshed,—benefited in some way?

It is not safe, however—not conducive to charity or modesty, to call our neighbours, for any cause, insipid, to use hard words towards them, without each including himself in the censure, and sharing the blame, which in such cases is commonly mutual.

There is a good reproof from Mrs. Gunilla, in 'The Home,' of the exclusive and critical spirit to which we are all too liable, which we will extract as an antidote, if what we have said needs one. She is in conversation, so to call it, with the cynical Jeremias Munter. We add his rejoinder, as being also upon the subject.

"I like to see," cried Mrs. Gunilla, speaking shrilly and staccato, "I like to see my fellow-creatures, and like them to see me. If they are not always agreeable, why I am not always agreeable myself. Heart's, dearest! people must have patience with one another in this world! and we should not always presume or exact of each other. Bless me! I must be satisfied with the world, and with my own fellow-creatures as they are created. I cannot bear people who constantly blame and criticise, and make sour faces at everything, and say, 'I will not have this,' and 'I will not have that,' and 'I will not have it so,' and 'It is so wrong, it is unbearable,' and 'It is tiresome, it is stupid!' just as if they themselves were the only bearable, amusing, and witty persons! No, I have been taught better manners than that. It is true, I have no genius, no learning, nor any talents, as so many others must have now-a-days, but I have learnt how to behave myself." At the same time that this lecture was going on, the Assessor endeavouring to outcry it, exclaimed, "And have you the least pleasure in your blessed social life? No, that you have not! What else is social life but a struggle to get into the world in order to find the world intolerable! but to plan and wish for an invitation; to be offended and low-spirited if not invited; and if invited, to complain of dullness and weariness, and afterwards to repeat the complaint! Then to ask a great many people to come to one's own house, and wish them a long way off; and all this in order to become poorer, more out of humour, and less healthy; in one word, to gain a perfectly false position, vis-a-vis of happiness." "There is not a single word of truth in all you have said," was the last but laughing salutation of Mrs. Gunilla to the Assessor.

We are disposed to think that, for some cause or other, society with us is at a low ebb at present: great contentions, important differences, conflicts of thought and opinion, such as have torn the moral world of late years, may in some measure account for this. People are afraid to trust one another with their inmost feelings. If they talk of what interests them, they may trench on tender ground. It is safest to be dull, to expatiate on mere externals, and touch on no principles; caution is the prevailing influence of many a circle, and how far this state of things is removed from *relaxation*, is easily seen. But in itself it is an evil, and if only a local and temporal evil in its present extent, we may hope for a remedy. On this subject, Miss Bremer has thoughts worth listening to, and a most happy ideal of what the conversation of society ought to be. One chief charm of her books, is the fresh, easy, original flow of thought and graceful vivacity of her social scenes. They are full of felicitous reflections on men and things, showing comprehensive sympathy, feeling, experience, delicate satire, and at once keen and good-natured powers of observation. In all matters of social deport-

ment, as kindness, temper, forbearance in difficult circumstances, in inculcating simplicity, sincerity, and truth; in exposing affectation and pretension; in leading the reader to value men and things for what they really are, rather than for their estimation in the world; in all these points her works contain many useful lessons—lessons which we can imagine to have real weight and influence with young people, for whom they are especially designed. All her earlier stories contain happy examples of what we mean. ‘The Neighbours’ abounds in pleasant domestic and social scenes, where real conversation is carried on. Miss Helevi Housgebil, the sprightly old maid, and Franciska, the Bear’s wife, graceful, lively, sympathizing, full of tact and good sense, are always saying something practically useful or amusing; and Miss Greta, and the Baron H., in the ‘President’s Daughters,’ are instances of the same, with comments, just and witty, on the characters and incidents that pass before them. On these points, a Swedish lady may properly be a guide and instructress; for in no country, we are told, are women endowed with greater natural sweetness and grace of manner. Indeed, the whole people seem gifted with good manners. Mr. Laing, so severe in their want of more important virtues, gives his testimony to the sweetness, grace, and propriety universal in the deportment of all classes, high and low. ‘The nobility have the appearance and manners of gentlemen in the highest degree;’ and of the common people he says, ‘Whatever may be the want of morals in this country, there is no want of manners. You may travel through the country, and come to the conclusion that the people are the most virtuous in Europe.’ Again, ‘There is a simplicity of taste, an innocence and openness about these people, even here, in Stockholm, which seems quite inconsistent with that moral degradation and vice which exists beyond all doubt. It is impossible to reconcile the appearance with the facts, without supposing that there is in Sweden, and here in Stockholm, a great mass, a great majority, to judge from appearances, as uncorrupted, as simple in their habits, tastes, and modes of living, as any population in Europe.’ Again, he describes the Swedish peasant as kissing the hand of his superior, and bowing with a grace that many a country gentleman in Queen Victoria’s court might envy. It would seem, then, that in good and graceful manners, in all that may be termed the art of society, (as a *moral art*, which it may be regarded,) Miss Bremer, both from her own and her national gifts, is fitted to be a teacher. It cannot be too much regretted, then, that she should have departed so widely from her proper sphere. Good easy natural manners, the art of making every one happy and at ease, must be an

index of something good within, of something worthy of imitation, and we might have profited by these foreign examples of this gift. We might have learnt from Miss Bremer, how to pass a leisure hour at once more pleasantly and more profitably. Her hints might have made our 'inner life' more accessible to each other; but as it is, the good of her books is overshadowed by the greater evil, and they cease to be a safe school in even this minor department of morals. Her views develope into such strangeness, that we must learn to distrust them, even when apparently most innocent.

But to return from this long digression to the great question of 'life.' In connexion with her adoration of this earthly being, is her evident shrinking from decay and death; not that death is absent from her thoughts, or that she does not sometimes avail herself very freely of its agency; but death, as absolutely irresistible, is a growing *crux*, and is becoming almost revolting to her feelings. She imagines human strength contending against it, and prevailing in the contest. She invokes unheard of powers of nature to her aid. In this spirit she delights in impossible, we may say, miraculous cures; in bringing people to the very jaws of death, the verge of the grave, when by all natural laws they must die, and then snatching them from it by some new discovery of science. In the case, for example, of Augustin, one of the 'Brothers,' in her last work: he is sinking under a fatal disease, or what is expected to prove so; and is attended by a bevy of physicians, who are without hope; his sister, in despair, writes to her old lover in India, and conjures him to come and help her; he obeys the summons, brings a plant of unknown powers which he has discovered in the East, applies it, and effects a complete cure; a contemptible piece of *hocus pocus*, which no sensible mind, unwarped by fancy or theory, could have devised. Two other personages in the same book are restored to health, and live, in much the same impossible fashion.

A more vivid instance of this impression or aspiration, this notion of opposing death, is given in 'The President's Daughters.' Adelaide is dying for grief at the desertion of her lover; the symptoms of her illness are mysterious, and would probably puzzle the faculty. Her lover, Count Alarik, is one of Miss Bremer's favourite *strong* characters; superior to many, high minded, and pure in morals, feelings, and aims; a philosopher and a believer, a man of powerful mind and strong will. The misunderstanding is cleared up, and he returns to Adelaide and finds her dying. The scene is vividly given. She is resigned to death; but to him, her loss is annihilation. He, as it were, 'struggles with the angel of death.' '*He would not let her die,*' it is said, and she lives. It frequently appears as if, with all her

admiration for the grace of resignation, she gives it to her weaker characters—her stronger and more vigorous ones can do without it; they can conquer imminent dangers, they need not then submit to them. It is in the same spirit that she makes her weak, dreaming, uncertain 'Nina' impressed with the shortness and vanity of life, while her more vigorous natures find it 'enough, inexpressibly enough.'

From Life, the transition with Miss Bremer is inevitable to *Love*, holding, as it does, so leading a place in her list of remedies. It is indeed more potent than all the herbs of the East, and perhaps with more reason. With her the *word* is everything, for in order to adapt it to the wants of all her characters in their different moral stages, she is obliged to allow great deviations in its meaning. She confounds heavenly and earthly love, pure and impure, lawful affection and idolatry. There is but one absolutely necessary quality; so it is but strong, an intense passion, it is the wonder-working, reforming power. She does not oppose mortal and divine love, but takes them for one and the same, and literally applies the words in Scripture which relate to the one, to the other.

In 'The Neighbours' there is a woman, a certain Hagar, a disgraceful appendage to Bruno's establishment, who, after in a fit of jealousy attempting to kill her rival, Serena, dies from a wound by her own hand: *her* love, we might suppose, had few of the heavenly or divine qualities in it, yet in her dying confession, when she lies humbled and subdued, converted as it were by the 'angel' Serena, she says, 'My love to him was my punishment (for former misdeeds); it has bowed, but *improved* my soul.' Indeed, practically Miss Bremer will not allow *any* intense love of the creature to be other than a good thing; and in cases where she disapproves, which do occasionally occur, she treats them as the fruit of idleness and emptiness of mind, as it so often is,—as something unreal. It is because it is a sham, a mere mode of passing the time, that she feels hatred and contempt for it. But as an *idolatry*, she sympathizes in all cases, even where she cannot in words approve. Indeed, this is almost necessary, to fulfil all her requirements of strength and devotion.

'If thou love—if thou sincerely love—if in thy friend's heart, in her eye, thou have found the sabbath of thy soul—if in love and its perfection thou have conceived of the goodness of God and the bliss of heaven, and thou be forced to fear that the beating of that heart will cease beneath thy hand; * * * * if then, with the sentiment of the infinite love in thy breast, thou art ready to defy Heaven itself to give a higher happiness than thy love would have given;—if thou have experienced these sentiments of tremulous love, of remorse, of strife with Heaven itself, then thou canst understand, &c.'

Again, in 'Brothers and Sisters,' Engel, represented as peculiarly innocent and religious, speaks thus of her atheist lover:

'If above me there was a world full of light and beauty, with angels' songs, and all the glory of the world or of heaven, but *he* was not there—and if below me were another world, dark and desolate, cold and silent as the grave, but *he* was there; in which of the two would I be? In the grave! in the grave, in eternal darkness, with him!'

At this profession, Hedvig, the elder, pattern sister, the idea of perfection, 'smiled; a gentle light was kindled in her eye through a swelling tear!'

How a writer of Miss Brémer's natural penetration should really be delighted with such proofs of affection as this, should attach any weight to them, even so far as they profess to go—that she should imagine any person nearer doing this, for saying it, supposing her brought to the proof, and the scene of eternal horror and darkness as visibly before her eyes, as this world and her lover now are—that she should believe there is anything in the nature of a sacrifice in the profession, is wonderful, and is a proof how stupifying and blinding such imaginations are. It simply proves that the speaker is engrossed with the present passion, to the utter disregard, that is, *disbelief*, for the time, of anything beyond. It shows that at the time Engel did not practically believe in either heaven or hell; she simply wished to indulge her present inclination. There is nothing finer in all this, than in giving way to *any* temptation. All who live in sin, simply prefer present gratification to future consequences. However, Miss Brémer evidently considers it a noble sentiment, a sort of desperate heroic generosity, to defy Heaven. When Adelaide spoke of the happiness reserved for her in heaven, her lover answered, 'None will love you as I do, Adelaide; can 'happiness be increased when the bands of love are sundered? 'can any one understand you as I do? could angels give you 'more bliss than I? O Adelaide, have you learnt to mistrust the 'strength of my affection?' Again, her lovers idolize one another in a more extravagant style than most venture upon. This is a fault not confined to our Authoress, and she may think she has in her vocation a prescriptive right to adopt the language of worship: however, she carries it further than we are used to, for whereas we are accustomed to hear men (in books) call women angels, she makes her fair ladies so address our rougher sex.

"Oh! I knew it!" cried Nina, "filled with heavenly confidence and superhuman love. Are you not an angel?"

We could multiply examples of love and love-making, in all their innumerable bearings and aspects, *ad infinitum*, but they are not wanted for any purpose of our own, and would not prove very edifying to our readers. None but a woman certainly could

give this sentiment so commanding and abiding a control over all the concerns of life. We must however in justice to Miss Bremer say, that with so much for grave censure and reprobation on this topic, she is free from many of the commoner, vulgarer errors in its mode of treatment. We have no designing mothers or designing daughters; nor, in spite of all her preposterous expectations of 'life' and power from marriage, does she yet treat it as the sole object of woman's ambition. She does not forget respect to her sex; she has proper *esprit-de-corps*—almost too much so, we must think, for her ordinary mode of viewing the marriage tie is simply as instructing, reforming, edifying the men. The harsh nature is to be softened, the irreligious converted, the heedless sobered, the evil liver reformed, the bashful made self-possessed, the awkward refined; and all this without a corresponding class of advantages to the other side. The ladies are a sort of guardian angel, who sacrifice their own peace to us ruder mortals for our good. All that men can impart in return is *strength*—a quality of which indeed Miss Bremer makes a great point, but it is a severe and bitter tonic to most of the gentle beings who require the remedy, as in the pathetic case of poor Nina, who has the austere and forbidding Count Ludvig as it were forced down her throat, and literally dies of the bitter draught.

Except the latest of Miss Bremer's productions, which heads our list, her works have been read by most who have learned to feel interest in them, or care to do so. Their cheap form brings them within the reach of most readers; and, from our observation of both styles of translating, we give a decided preference to some of these same cheaper translations, over the expensive and much boasted ones by Mrs. Howitt, which often betray great hurry and carelessness, and are disfigured by some vulgar colloquialisms that disturb us in the best scenes—'a many,' 'a deal,' &c. &c. Each novel has its peculiar set of characters, which harmonize well together, and are remembered in connexion with each other; but all her stories are deficient in plot and arrangement, to a degree which prevents many readers from ever appreciating their otherwise great ability. They are in fact what she calls them, with some consciousness of her want of skill as a story-architect, —'Sketches,' groupings of characters and scenes, rather than well ordered fictions. And it is surprising how important a well managed, well arranged plot is to the interest. The scenes *tell* so much more when given in proper order, and leading up to a climax. But in Miss Bremer, the climax may be anywhere; sometimes in the beginning, as in 'The H—— Family;' sometimes in the middle, as in 'The Home:' and then after this pleasant excitement, we have to wander off in the dark, as it were, not

knowing what to expect, or why we wait any longer; while she introduces new characters and fresh incidents, which would have done excellently well to lead up to a grand climax, but seem poor or out of place, or long-drawn-out, after. And if her stories suffer so much at present from this defect, their continuance in general acceptance and popularity is likely to be still more affected. They stand a chance of being forgotten, like so many loose leaves. In the best of these novels, however, there is always some one point of attraction, some leading character which concentrates our interest, in a way partly to atone for the want of artistical arrangement. In 'The Neighbours,' it is *ma chère mère*, perhaps the most striking and original of all Miss Bremer's conceptions; her strength and her weaknesses harmonize so well together, and make such a complete whole. No woman can assume a man's position and tone of mind, and affect masculine habits, without exhibiting, by way of indemnity, a counterbalancing array of weaknesses and absurdities. Masculine women, whatever their natural gifts and ability, have always whims and eccentricities which incur ridicule. These, in *ma chère mère*, are admirably set off one against the other, and are sketched with a free, vigorous, assured hand. The artist is so confident in her own power of keeping up the reader's respect for her subject, that she does not fear to make her consistent with herself, by little strokes of ridicule in the most critical positions and circumstances. These give reality to what otherwise might seem extravagant, and sustain our interest and curiosity to the end.

In 'The President's Daughters' the centre of attraction is Adelaide. She is a beauty; and no author, we think, has succeeded better in giving a real impression of beauty and its influence on others, than in this instance. With all the pains that poets and novelists lavish on their heroines, it is comparatively a rare thing for the imagination to be in the least taken by their pictures, which are commonly mere catalogues of charms and accomplishments, nothing that we can realise as a woman. Serena, the *day* to Bruno's *night*, is little more than this: so, after all, our feelings are less disgusted by the sacrifice than they otherwise would be. But Adelaide is charming, because she is something real and harmonious. She has those qualities in happy combination which constitute what is meant by a beauty, and of which features, though indispensable, are the least. How often, for example, are seen in society faces, perfect in their way, that have feature, complexion, every external requisite; neither are they, perhaps, wanting in mind; and yet they are nothing—so to say! they make no impression on the fancy, and appear to fail in the purpose for which beauty

was designed, from their not seeming to *correspond* with anything within. But sometimes appears a vision where external beauty harmonizes with, and is as it were formed by, the soul which inspires it, and is gifted with a certain emanating grace, giving it voice and meaning. Then is beauty an influence, a power, a gift for good or evil, which, if seen rightly, refreshes our spirits like the sight of the sea, or the fresh winds of spring.

And this is Adelaide, with her spontaneous goodness, which costs her so little effort; and is, in fact, the fruit of a happy temperament living in an atmosphere of love, rather than self-discipline. Goodness which shows traces of struggle, of hard conquest over evil, however noble, is not loveable like that which seems to result from a genial, warm, pure nature, and which delights us, like genius, by its facility. What springs of itself, has seemingly a richer luxuriance than what careful cultivation will produce. We may esteem the one most; we may feel that it will stand trial best; but we are most delighted with what has cost least pains. We are speaking of what is natural, not regarding it as a moral question; and, as a fact, men, and women too, are loved for their *gifts* rather than their *graces*. Everybody loves Adelaide—the servants, the children, the animals. She pleases intuitively and without effort, and is happy in her vocation. Her faults and weaknesses take this amiable side. She accepts all this love as her due, yet she values it and is grateful for it. The sunshine of her good-nature shines on the most insignificant. She has a consciousness of power, from seeing all things yield to her will; but she is uniformly sweet and amiable, and a happy confidence in herself increases her influence. She is without those misgivings and doubts which make many a good heart externally cold and forbidding. She has never experienced the chill of neglect and indifference, but blooms and expands in a perpetual sunshine. All this gives the present a charm to her; she finds her appropriate place in it; it occupies her, though herself does not; wherever she is, she is at home, and constitutes the crowning ornament of the scene; and everywhere she is satisfied and happy. And this makes her manner always easy and graceful; she expects to please, but she is not anxious about it. When Count Alarik first visits at her father's, and talks so well and so finely that all therest of the party hang upon his words, a certain independence, a sense of her own fitness with her natural sphere, make her care and think less about him. She listens, then she runs after her pursuits or fancies; she amuses the children; she attends to her household concerns; she thinks of a great many things besides the topic on which he is descanting; she calls him 'that proud man,' and goes her own way; and when at last he wins her

affection, she alone has no fear of him, but speaks her mind, indulges her tastes and fancies, disputes with him, sets him down—always with sweetness, but with childlike wilfulness too. She has the step of virgin liberty. When at last she is worked upon by her artful rival to believe that her power and influence over her lover have failed, that she has lost his love—her perplexity, and consequent timidity, the fear of him that is awakened in her, is quite pathetic. It seems as if some charm she had always trusted to had suddenly been dissolved, and she stands powerless and bewildered.

The President himself, too, is among Miss Bremer's best characters. His fine appearance and gentlemanly bearing, and the good sense he talks, contrasting so amusingly with his little self-deceptions and small weaknesses; his horror of display for his daughters, and real pleasure in every public exhibition of them; his philosophical contentment with a little, after a good dinner; his tender-heartedness to his children, contrasted with his harsh bearing towards the unfortunate Edla, whom he cannot at all understand; his allusions to his late wife, the 'Blessed Fredrika;' his necessity of being surrounded with comforts and attention; the sort of dignified helplessness of his life,—are all excellently given.

In 'Nina,' the second part of 'The President's Daughters,' Edla, the elder sister, takes the lead, and is as it were the presiding genius. Her character is a singular example of Miss Bremer's two conflicting powers. She is the fruit especially of her system and habits of thought, the consequence of her multitudinous reflections on the position of women, and the social anomalies under which she imagines them to suffer—of all the restless, surging notions; yet full of talent, and even genius, with which the condition of her sex inspires her. She wished to draw a strong-minded woman, one at once above the fascinations and the weaknesses of her sex—noble, high-principled, intellectual,—ruled by reason, not feeling; and she really succeeds. Edla is not an assemblage of qualities, but a woman, though not an every-day one; and as such Miss Bremer's other intuitive self sees her as if she were alive, and—does not like her. Edla acts entirely on reflection, not on impulse. She is severe to herself, and therefore thinks she may be so towards others; she represses her natural tenderness; she is inexorably just (which often is not being just at all); she will consult what she considers her friends' ultimate good alone, and not their inclinations; and prefers the benefit of society at large, to either. No prejudices or local ties confine her; she sees the world and mankind from an elevation; she is free from envy, jealousy, love of display—all petty vices; she knows herself, duly estimates her disad-

vantages and her powers; and all this is the result, not of natural disposition, but severe discipline. Edla is *ugly*; her ugliness is constantly dwelt upon, and receives no gentler name. It embittered her early years, and went near to make her envious of her beautiful sister Adelaide. Emma Ronquist, the governess in the President's family—the Genius of Miss Bremer, who under different shapes and names pervades all her works and represents her views, setting straight what is crooked, and righting what is wrong—converts her from this unhappy state, makes her read Plato and the Bible, and developes great powers of mind. Before, she was disagreeable; now she is awful. Having educated and disciplined herself, she takes the little Nina in hand, and determines to bring her up on the dictates of pure reason alone; and it is as her monitress, the stern guardian of her poor feeble mind, that we see her. Her system fails most signally, as it certainly would in real life; but why Miss Bremer makes it fail is not quite so easy to understand, except that her theories cannot really make her blind to what is true and natural. Edla was going to write a little work on the intellectual education of her own sex, when her premature death put an end to such projects. It was a perfectly natural employment, but we do not regret its loss. But Edla had other occupations besides educating or writing. She had a lover, towards whom her deportment was in rigid conformity with her general principles. Never, indeed, was there so purely intellectual a courtship. ‘Oh! sweet, wise madness!’ Miss Bremer somewhere exclaims, after describing the unreasonable conduct of a pair of lovers: but this affair is on a totally different plan. We have before considered the gravity of our pages unsuited for scenes of this nature; but our readers will see that Edla’s courtship is an exception to this rule, but for the unhappy drawback that the gentleman, Professor A., is an atheist—a common condition of mind, apparently, in the range of Miss Bremer’s observation. Edla justly considers this an objection. So far, so good; but her next suggestion we must quarrel with. She says he ought to marry some ‘beautiful soul, whose love, piety, and gentleness will infuse into him the living feeling of that great truth against which his sifting and proving reason struggles.’ What is to become of the ‘beautiful soul’ in the contact, she does not inquire. If any body is to marry Professor A., we should certainly say it ought to be herself, who is practised in intellectual conflicts; and so the Professor thinks. Let us, however, hear him speak for himself:—

“You will not partake my fortunes, Edla; you refuse my hand, and desire only half my heart! The other half you make a present of to some wife—whom I shall never find. Possess yourself of more impressive words

and more effective arguments, to make a man deny himself a happiness which he regards as the highest upon earth. Edla! you have permitted your friend to speak the unvarnished truth to you; yes, Edla, I have learned to love you for the sake of the love I cherish for my goddess Truth; through my love of truth, I have alienated my so-called friends, frightened away all my acquaintances. You alone, Edla, feared not my rough sincerity; I did not offend you by it; you heard and understood me. You stand alone now as my best friend, the only one to whom I could without fear open my heart; and I acknowledge it as a happiness, that I can venture to say to you boldly, that you have not in your answer dealt truly and honestly by me. You answer me as an ordinary woman dismisses an ordinary man. Foolish reasons! petty considerations! how can Edla condescend to use them! 'You are old and ugly!' Very well, Edla, I admit that you are an old maid. How old? perhaps forty. Well, then, you are in the best years of a woman; which one may assert without being a fool like Balzac. Don't talk to me, I beseech you, of your damsels of seventeen. 'They are lovely flowers,' I hear you say. Very well; but I know not, in fact, what I shall say to them any more than to a pretty flower. . . . 'You are plain.' Yes, you *are* plain, *uncommonly* plain; I hardly know a countenance which at the first sight is so repellant. 'You have also something stiff, something disagreeable.' Yes, you have all that; I concede you that, Edla. Sincerely beloved Edla! Silly, childish, unphilosophical woman! understand you not that one can love you with all this; yes, precisely on this very account? Precisely because you are plain, Edla, do I love you the stronger. Were you handsome, had you only the most usual attractions of a woman, then I should fear lest a less exalted feeling mingled with my love. But you are 'plain,' 'disagreeable,' and therefore do I love you, Edla; therefore do I love you warmly. There is a beauty which is not external, which gives no external testimony of itself. My love to this makes me believe in immortality. And, because you are not beautiful, do you think that I cannot love you? How womanish, miserable, silly, do you make me, when you believe that nothing else can enchant me than what things and beasts possess as well as human beings!''

It is at least a stroke of nature, that this kind of love-making does not answer; nor would it have been at all to Edla's discredit if she had refused him again on the simple ground that he thought her ugly, for love is incompatible with such an opinion. A man may *know* his wife to be plain, but we are not the slaves and victims of our reason. Affection has its lawful magic, a light of its own, which beautifies the homeliest features. No good Christian thinks his wife ugly. Edla persists in her refusal, but they continue friends, and the Professor visits her on her death-bed, where they argue on the differences of their opinions till her latest breath. It is a shocking scene, though intended to be a religious one, from the repugnance all must feel on seeing doubts and disbelief poured into the ears of the dying. However, it does not disturb Edla. When life is over, the Professor pronounces her eulogy in words characteristic of the man.

"A beautiful, a noble strength, has departed from the earth. Farewell, thou noble, thou strong-minded woman! Edla, farewell! Thou hast left me behind impoverished."'

The last volume of 'Nina' is remarkable for some striking descriptions of Northern scenery; one, of the regions of perpetual snows, is very impressive. The following we think a very graphic picture of the scene and groups assembling to witness the midnight sun, which for three days of summer never descends below the horizon. Nina, her stepmother, and their party, are joined by foreign travellers, English, French, and German, whose different bearings are satirized by our Authoress.

'At Mattarånghe, in the parish of Tortula, not far from Tornea, the travellers had engaged rooms. From one of the hills there they proposed to view the solemn spectacle. The whole inn was surrounded by tents. Numbers of Lapland families, half wild hordes from Finnmark, stream at this season of midsummer towards this country, in order to feast here three days by the light of the never-descending sun, to play, to dance, and to go to church. There the Frenchman saw with rapture, not indeed the originals of Victor Hugo's tragedy, but wild, strange, original shapes, with little twinkling eyes and broad hairy breasts—the miserable children of want and wretchedness, whose state of culture and inward life no romance writer has truly represented; because, indeed, the romance built on the reality of this district would turn out tolerably meagre, and because love, this marrow of all romances, knows here no nobler, fairer aim, than that which Helvetius would vainly attribute to it. The spirit of the earth holds the people here in captivity, and, mole-like, they creep only in the sand and about the roots of the tree of life. Sometimes, however, in their clear winter nights, by the indescribable splendour of the moon and of the stars, when they fly forth in their snow shoes to chase the bear and the reindeer, then awakens in their bosoms a higher life—then breathe they to pensive airs deep and affectionate feelings, in simple, beautiful love-songs. But they soon relapse again into their dark Laplandish night.

'In the mean time, the German was in the third heaven at this sight, and at its lively contrast with the civilized world. Lady Louisa found all this "rather curious," and noted it down in her journal. The weather, strange enough, favoured all the undertakings of the travellers. The sky was clear, and a silent midnight saw all our travellers assembled in glad sunshine on one of the green hills. Slowly descended the sun; it extinguished one beam after another. All eyes followed it. Now it sank—lower—ever lower—lower. Suddenly, however, it stood still, as if upheld by an invisible hand. Nature seemed, like them, to be in anxious suspense; not an insect moved its humming wing; all was silent; a death-like stillness reigned, while the sun, glowing red, threw a strange light over the earth. Oh wonderful, almighty power! It began now again slowly to ascend; it clothed itself again with beams, like a pure glorified spirit; it became every moment more dazzling. A breath! and Nature lives, and the birds sing again!

' "Oh!" said Lord Cummin laconically, and took out a gold snuff-box. Lady Louisa immediately sketched the sun, the country, and the groups on the hill, on one of the leaves of her album. The Frenchman protested repeatedly that it was "*très imposant! très majestueux!*" The German, at some paces distant from the rest, was on his knees beneath a juniper bush. The Countess Natalie enjoyed this sublime spectacle with eyes overflowing with tears and with real feeling. The Colonel stood there like the god Thor, and with his hands on his sides gazed into the sun as into a hostile battery. Baron H. had involuntarily, and with pious seriousness, folded his hands on the knob of his stick, on which he supported himself.

Clara leaned on Nina, whose arm rested within hers, and said softly to her, "See, the sun does not go down! It ascends again! It will not be night; it only threatened us with it." Nina thanked her with a look, but answered not. The Baroness looked with an expression of the most heartfelt pleasure, alternately at the sun, at her husband, and at the young ladies.

Those who made acquaintance with Miss Bremer first in '*Strife and Peace*,' would perhaps of all her readers be most favourably impressed—not that it equals some others in power, but—by a certain sweetness and rustic grace that characterize this little story especially, which is besides more a whole than her longer histories. It is indeed a very pretty and graceful pastoral; and the character of Susannah, with its ebullitions of temper, warm generosity, and affectionate heart, is quite one to dwell on the memory. The struggles she goes through in combating her disappointed feelings, the humble sense of her own deficiencies, the devoted love which outweighs them all, the practical good sense compensating for the want of intellectual cultivation, and the gradual influence all these qualities gain upon Harold, are detailed with great truth and delicacy. Nothing, too, can be more spirited than their '*Strifes*,' carried on with such utter unreasonableness, and the disputes on the comparative merits of Sweden and Norway, from the magnitude of their mountains and waves down to their national dishes. The beautiful descriptions of wild Norwegian country—the sympathy, too, with the small domestic world of the poultry yard, showing such vivid enjoyment of every natural scene—all make this a most delightful little story; and the gloomy Fru Astrid, the dark shadow with which Miss Bremer always likes to give depth to her pictures, is so separate from the rest—who form an unusually small group of characters,—and commonly indulges her despair so exclusively by herself in the soliloquy of letter-writing, that we need not disturb ourselves on her account, unless we like that kind of dismal speculation.

'*The Home*' is wanting in any one leading character to fix our attention. We are introduced to a multitude of people, all well drawn and natural, but not engaging or remarkable enough to sustain our interest in the great deal that is said about them, and the years through which their history is carried. There is an absence of some of Miss Bremer's peculiarities, which might lead us to suppose it one of her earlier works; and where new views are brought forward, they are ably combated. Some passages are, however, objectionable in another respect; and the part the young tutor performs on his first entrance into the family, and the mischief that might have resulted from it, betray either a disordered imagination, or an acquaintance with a state of things happily unknown amongst ourselves in the steady,

respectable class to which the Lagman Frank and his family belong. As a composition, 'The Home' is beyond measure rambling and disconnected, so that, in spite of great cleverness, it is really a difficult task to read it through. It grows, towards the close, so prolix and diffuse, that the impression is a good deal like that of hearing a man tell his dream—the more there seems no reason why it should ever give over, the more we earnestly long for the end.

Simple nature, in a group of characters, is by no means sufficient to secure interest. There should be some, or at least some one, on whom our interest centres, towards whom we can feel affection; but a set of personages, for none of whom we can particularly care, playing their independent parts with all their various engagements, difficulties, episodes, thoughts, peculiarities, confuse us at last. Petrea, Eva, Jacobi, and his comfortable sensible little Louise, we get tired of them all; and yet all are well sustained, Petrea especially, who is the most original of the party—and yet we get infinitely weary of her. She seems a sort of caricature of what may be the defects of the Authoress's own mind, so disjointed, uneven, uncertain: her fancies and disquisitions bore us as much as they do some of her unhappy hearers. But she embodies many of Miss Bremer's difficulties, as to what is to be done with women who want the charm and natural attractions of their sex, and yet have talents and impulses of good that might be applied to some useful and valuable purpose. Petrea has one comic misfortune connected with her appearance, which is often alluded to, and fits in admirably with her character—is indeed a sort of type of the imperfections and disproportions of her mind,—a large shapeless nose, which much interferes with her beauty. This feature is a great trouble to her, as she is born with an unlucky desire to shine and to be admired, together with a perverse set of instincts, some of them very amiable ones, which stand in the way of this longing.

On one occasion all the young people of the party are invited to some grand wedding festivities. Petrea, who is never without expedients, or hope of a remedy, thinks this a fit occasion for trying some experiments, which are thus described:—

"Since every thing was now settled in the family of the Franks, we see nothing that can prevent a general joyful journey to the place of festivity; but yes! it is true, Petrea's nose! It was large, as we have often remarked, and somewhat clumsy. Petrea had a great desire to alter its shape, particularly for the approaching festivities.

"What have you done to your nose? What is the matter with your nose? How is it with your nose?" were questions which Petrea heard in every direction when she came down to her breakfast the morning before the journey.

'Half laughing and half crying, Petrea told all the innocent machinery

which she had used during the night in order to somewhat alter the shape of her nose, which now, from the effect of this, bore a mark like a fiery red saddle across it, and besides was very much swollen. The mother began directly fomenting it with thin water-gruel. "Don't cry, my dear girl," said she, "your nose will only get still more inflamed."

"Ah!" exclaimed Petrea, "those who have got such a nose are really very unfortunate. What can they do with it in this world? They ought to go into a convent."

"It is far better," said the mother, "to do as one of my friends did, who had a very large nose—nay, decidedly larger than yours."

"Ah! how did she?"

"She made herself so beloved that her nose was beloved too. Her friends declared that nothing was more pleasant to them than to see her nose when it appeared at the door, and they would never have been without it for any price."

Petrea laughed, and said quite cheerfully, "Ah, if my nose could be so beloved, even I would soon become reconciled to it."

"You must strive to grow out of it!" said the good and wise mother, jokingly, but significantly.

Family affection—the home circle—the joys and sorrows of the domestic hearth, are all dwelt on by Miss Bremer with a very pure delight, though there is a restlessness, and in the calmest scenes a kind of ground-swell, which mars very much the repose such subjects are calculated to inspire. The daughters in the house have always some scheme in their heads. We have a feeling of 'what next?' about them. In opposition to this restless element, are one or two soft, downy characters, who are a real refreshment;—Elise, the mother, and Gabrielle, the fair youngest daughter, and pet of the family: these diffuse a calmer atmosphere. The mother, especially, is really a character; a lady—delicate, affectionate, somewhat romantic, not too sentimental, but with a true grace and harmony about her, which makes us well understand the devotion of her children to her. The beautiful affection between her and her only son, 'her first-born, her summer child,' as she calls him, constitutes, as far as anything does, the centre of the story; and the death of this Henrick, just after he has distinguished himself as a poet, and raised his mother's joy and pride in him to the highest point—their mutual farewell—her high-wrought feelings, form one of the few really pathetic scenes Miss Bremer has ever attempted. Her late discoveries in science, which prevent people ever dying at all, or not till extreme old age, stand, indeed, greatly in the way of pathos. We are not now taken in, however near we appear to some painful consummation; something is sure to turn up and make all things right again.

'Life in Dalecarlia,' again, is, in point of story, one of Miss Bremer's greatest failures. It positively goes out and disappears in a description of some copper mines. She had evidently a good set of characters in her head, but could find nothing for

them to do. A more complete balk to the reader cannot be imagined. But Dalecarlia itself is well and picturesquely described, and the character of Siri is a pretty imagination. She is a sort of land Undine, a nymph, a dryad, a witch—one of the 'Hill folks' who so much occupy her fancy. The shadowy poetry, the unsubstantiality of her nature, account in some way for certain heathenish propensities and startling tastes and wishes. Like Undine, she has not yet attained her soul, and talks at random. But she has a real fascination: her intense love and intimate acquaintance with all fanciful fairy lore, her belief in it, quite different from the sentimental antiquarianism commonly adopted towards such subjects; her earnest seriousness alternating with wild mirth, her tears and laughter, her flute tones, her exquisite dancing, the mysterious power of her eyes and glance, all by turns attract us; and in excellent contrast with her is Brigitta, with her lanky lover, (to whom she talks Latin and Babylonish,) her naïve homely wit, and simple affectionate heart. Some of the social scenes in the early part of this story have quite a character of their own, which probably belongs to the simple, isolated, rural district in which they are laid. The stories they tell, the riddles they propound to one another, all evidently fit in to the locality, and remind us of legendary times, even if we were not told that the god Odin was in the practice of trying his strength in these intellectual pastimes. Siri is great at riddles, and also delights in taxing people's powers in more modern mysteries and speculations; as, where she inquires into the future life of the animal creation, and promises a glorious future existence to her fawn on the sanction of Luther, who is quoted as having said to his dog one day when he growled, 'Growl not, my little doggy; in the resurrection thou, too, shalt have a little golden tail.' If his followers indulge in freedom of inquiry, he certainly set them the example.

'The H—— Family,' with some good scenes, is chiefly remarkable for one blemish, so serious as to characterize the story to the memory by that blot alone. Miss Bremer does not often detail scenes of guilty passion, but we find them here, and between persons whose relationship renders them still more revolting. She evidently believes herself to be portraying in her Colonel H——, a picture of stern virtuous self-denial; the revelation of his real feelings being as it were torn from him against his will, by a wild explosion of passion in the object of them; but the closing scene of the blind girl's life, and the comments of those around, show how imperfect a view she really had of the effect on the heart of sins of this nature, and how blind and indifferent she is to their real evil.

We now come to the story which heads our article—Miss Bremer's latest production, and, we are sorry to add, her worst. The weeds, which have shown themselves in all her writings, have here overpowered the flowers. It is rambling, flighty, unnatural. The watchwords 'Life,' 'Love,' and 'Beauty,' are more prominent, and play an overbearing part. The book is a sort of harmonizing of heathenism and Christianity, an attempt to construct a Valhalla, in which the Bible is allowed the first place, though it is but a nominal sovereignty. The golden age is certainly coming, and everything, even evil, is made to tend towards that blissful period. In this work, especially, we feel that in her idea of the Supreme Being, and the Christian's God, there is little in common but the name;—so much superstition is there, so many heathenish thoughts and images; such recklessness in the expression of profane thoughts; such a want of holy fear, true faith, or hatred of evil. And in this moral obscuration the intellect also has suffered. Some good scenes there are, but as a whole the falling off is melancholy. Instead of her characteristic faults being occasional clouds and mists, they form the atmosphere; and we are sometimes disposed to think that Nature is dead, as well as 'the good Balder,' the deity over whom she laments. And when we have a glimpse of the old manner, it is disfigured by something monstrous. Uncle Herkules, who is the advocate of common sense, and represents the wisdom of our forefathers, now and then reminding us of *ma chère mère*, swears horribly. His vocation, indeed, is alternately to swear and pray, which he does with so rapid a transition, that he has scarcely risen from the one exercise before he delivers himself to the other. His conscience, however, is entirely at rest on the question of this habit. But his easy apologies, and the mode in which he expresses his conviction that all is right in spite of this 'breath of the mouth,' as he designates his oaths, are, unfortunately, of too cool and irreverent a nature to be repeated. These constant allusions to the Evil One, the sort of familiarity with that awful power which the book implies, is something astonishing, when we know it to come from female hands, so familiar with the beautiful, the angelic—the 'rich,' the 'full,' in life. But from other sources we learn that swearing is a Swedish vice; and Miss Bremer apparently considers it her vocation to reconcile whatever is universally practised with her theory of good. So, if people will swear, she has, in her benevolence, to prove that at least it does no harm, and to resolve it into a sort of piquant characteristic seasoning.

Again, there is his pet niece, Gothilda, one of the 'sisters' not taken up by the philanthropic visions of the rest of the party,

and whose part is to be lively and amusing. She shows real spirit and animation, but every now and then utters impieties enough to make the hair stand on end;¹ indeed, such a little heathen was never before imagined at sixteen. On one occasion, in order to enliven the party, she takes upon her to inquire of her venerable pastor, Dr. Lund, who, with the accustomed bald head and benevolent face of this class of divines, represents the Church in 'Brothers and Sisters,' whether he is sure he baptized her properly; for, from the multitude of evil inclinations and heathenish ideas which haunt her, she has had serious doubts on the subject. He allays these with amiable readiness, assuring her that his part was performed in all order, but that she certainly screamed like an evil spirit throughout the whole ceremony. To comfort herself under this unfavourable intelligence, she drinks a glass of punch; and further to restore her cheerfulness, the affable pastor takes her hand and dances the 'Nerika Polska' with her. The whirl and the punch combined were too much; as she expresses it, 'it was all over with her.' This concluding event of the evening, together with her infant possession, form the amusing incidents of a letter to her friend next day. This same Dr. Lund—

'belonged to that portion of the Evangelical Lutheran Church which, attached to it in many important particulars, yet in others go beyond its point of view. He had deeply and independently made himself acquainted with, and searched into, the holy Scriptures, and had found that no other Church, no other form of religion on earth, had been able fully to establish and diffuse that light over heaven and earth—that kingdom of grace and happiness over all spheres of existence, which are comprehended in these writings. He was one of those who believed the time to be at hand when this light should dawn; when a higher, a more universal Church should arise on earth; and he rejoiced in the light of a spiritual heaven, in which he saw prefigured the advent of that new day.'

In another place, in commending the Americans' attachment to the Bible, he describes the settler with 'the Bible, his axe, and a newspaper; that is all one needs on earth.' Indeed, the patronage extended to the Bible, as a whole, would be very edifying, if it were not found compatible with an utter disregard of every passage not in conformity with the writer's views, and did not admit of contradictions, both in spirit and letter, of which it is impossible she should not be aware.

The story of 'Brothers and Sisters' is in her most rambling plan, as can hardly fail to be the case when the histories and feelings of seven members of the same family have to be circumstantially detailed. Ivar, full of Socialist and Communist

¹ See vol. ii p. 81; vol. iii. p. 101, &c.

notions, occupies a leading place. He disputes with, and disgusts, his Uncle Herkules, who sets him down after his manner. Ivar has got entangled in an affair with a French woman, who appeared to him the very Goddess of Reason, till she deserts him for a rich rival. He then becomes misanthropic, raves, despairs, and behaves altogether like a *mauvais-sujet* and a bad fellow. Gothilda recommends the water-cure. Hedvig, the elder sister, lavishes all her abundant amiability, and all her reason, to soothe and cheer him—all seems in vain, and suicide looms in the distance. The reader early grows weary of him and his sorrows, and his 'frenzied words;' while one wise precaution of Hedvig's relieves in good measure any anxiety we may have felt on his account. She did not wholly trust to argument, but took care also to provide herself before their interminable conversations with 'preserves and sweetmeats, which sometimes dissipated his troubles;' a little stroke of nature in which we were quite glad to recognise Miss Bremer's former self. At length, after a desperate brain fever, he comes to a better mind; his favourite sister, Gerda, assures him that 'the world is great, and life is great and glorious, but they must both begin to live anew.' They agree to travel, and to refresh themselves with the sounds of their own songs, which means—but this belongs also to Gerda's history, and Engel's comes next in order.

Engel is the beauty, and from her sweetness and innocence is always called 'the child.' There is a certain Uno, a valued friend of the family, evidently in love with her, and whose attachment she returns, but he long holds back from making any declaration. At length accident draws it from him, and Engel and the whole family are happy till she makes an unlucky discovery. Her spirits then leave her; and Hedvig hears her weeping away her nights, and at length draws from her that she has found out Uno to be an atheist—a fact which in his long acquaintance with their family they had never dreamed of. Hedvig is shocked at first. Then Engel makes that desperate profession of constancy which we have already quoted, and soon Uno enters, and commences a discourse on the subject with Hedvig, who at first fears to give her sister to him. He fully admits the fact of his unbelief, and evidently does not think it likely he shall ever change. 'Engel clasped her hands to her breast, raised an inconsolable glance to Hedvig, and then towards heaven.' Uno then slightly changes his tactics.

"But why only see, why only think of my influence upon her? Deep are the mysteries of love! When soul unites itself to soul, heart to heart, spirit to spirit, wonderful things are done. Nobody can calculate upon them; and if there be truth in Engel's belief, it may, perhaps, become

clear to me, may become a certainty to me through her. If there is a Being which is truth and love itself, will he not be found by those who seek for him in sincerity and truth? And if there be not, and if life be confined to this short time on earth, still is it not beautiful to unite in love; to make one another happy while it lasts? But no, I will not, I ought not, to persuade. I will not be selfish. You now know me. Decide in freedom. Engel is released by me."

"On another occasion in my life, I heard similar words to these," said Hedvig, after a little silent reflection. "I heard them some years ago from a lady—my friend. She also had no belief in the truths which both Pagans and Christians regard as the highest and most beautiful in life, and she died without hope of a life after death. Her death-bed was sorrowful; but her life! how true, how Christian, how penetrated was it with the purest spirit of love! What would she not do and suffer for her fellow-creatures! How indefatigable, how strong and patient, when she had to help, to amend, an erring, a fallen fellow-creature! And her friendship, how tender and steadfast it was! How pure was her love of truth! how sincere her humility towards everything that was high and holy. If she, and those who resemble her, cannot find an entrance into the kingdom of heaven, then I know not who can. But she, and some others whom I have known, have made me think that there is a faith, a secret love of God in the human heart, which operates separately from the consciousness thereof, and attracts and guides them without their being aware of it themselves. Such persons may deserve the very highest esteem, and admiration, and love, but I have not found them happy—or, more properly, able to make those dearest to them happy."

"And therefore you do not consider it advisable, nor a happy circumstance, to be nearly connected with such," said Uno, closely observing Hedvig, and seeming to read her soul.

"Uno," replied she, with deep emotion, "pardon me, but I should fear for her whom I love."

"You are, perhaps, right!" said Uno, after a moment's silence; and, added he, not without bitterness—"Engel thinks so too, and considers it as the most prudent and the wisest to—"

"Be not unjust towards her!" exclaimed Hedvig; "be not severe, Uno, towards her who would rather partake with you, and that for ever, the darkness of the grave, than the joy of heaven without you!"

"Is it so?" said Uno to Engel; "have you said so? You will accompany me to the desert of life, into the eternal night?"

"O yes, Uno!"

"And you are not afraid of going with me?"

"No, I fear not!"

"Oh! then, indeed, all is clear," exclaimed Uno; "Engel! beloved, you, young, angelic, adored girl—you sunbeam, you heart of my heart! come, share with me darkness, light, death—whatever fate, whatever Providence decrees! Come, mine own! What dare, what can separate, when your heart speaks thus? Are we not one? Oh! what and whom art Thou that didst create love?—beautiful, wonderful, Power! Thou must also bless her—crown Thy most beautiful work! Hedvig, mourn not! be calm, be joyful! If you trust in an eternal God, who is full of love, then trust also in his mercy to us; see his work in us! Give me the child of thy heart without hesitation, give me thy blessing!"

"Ah!" said Hedvig, "who am I that I should venture to decide, venture to bless? You, yourselves, must prove—you, yourselves, must decide!"

"But spite of all hesitation, all proving, all questions, Love, full of light and confidence, had already given his decision. The lovers were clasped in each

other's arms. Spite of that gulf that threatened to separate them, they had bound themselves together in a sacred defiance of all the powers of darkness, in the light of a love which let them "believe all things, hope for all things, overcome all things." A mighty heartfelt joy trembled through their souls with unspeakable harmonies, whilst eye beamed in eye, lips met lips, and words of holy burning tenderness passed from the soul of one into that of the other, amid blessed tears and smiles. Hedvig wept in silence, she sympathised in their feelings, she was happy in their love; and the words of warning on her lips changed into blessings. It was not till she was alone that clouds returned to her soul, questions and doubts. She longed for evening, and the hour of conversation alone with Augustin. He came, and Hedvig eased her heart, and communicated to him the important event of the day, and the sad secret which had been made known to her.

'Augustin started at this unexpected communication. But the same thoughts which calmed Hedvig were present also in his soul; and his sanguine temperament made him discover, beside these, new light wherewith to overcome Hedvig's continued uneasiness. Hedvig then said, "It is, however, sorrowful when husbands and wives think differently on the highest and most important questions of life. They then can never properly become one."'

Augustin differs from her. Similarity of belief does not matter, so long as there is 'the one thing needful'—love. Differences of opinion are often merely like different boughs of the same tree. He conceives that the Almighty allows people to be born under dissimilar influences, in order that they may take hold of the dissimilar sides of life and truth; an argument which, as far as it has any meaning in this question, would seem to imply that Atheists are a necessary part in the scheme of God's providence. He goes on to say, that people talk so much about unity, a point on which he does not trouble himself. 'Let us, in Heaven's name, be different.' The combat is not the evil, only the bitterness and dishonesty which commonly accompany it. And we may hope, on whatever side of the question we find ourselves, if we are only honest and chivalrous towards each other, that we may be instrumental in the hands of Providence for the advancement of his world-plan.

'It is, for the rest, very difficult now-a-days to say who is a Christian and who is not. I know no better proof of this than the disposition and the fruit. Christian life has so penetrated the life of the world, that we are in the midst of its current, driven on by its knowledge even without our own consciousness of it. In manners, in laws, in social life, in literature, everywhere do we meet with its light and its spirit; and he who loves this light, this spirit, and is guided by it, he is a Christian, although he should mistake its origin. And the voice which cries through the world, "Blessed are the pure in heart! the merciful! the peace-makers! they who hunger and thirst after righteousness!" has likewise pronounced a blessing on these nameless worshippers. Yes, on all who from the beginning of the world have lived in love to truth and virtue.'

Then follows much mystical nonsense about a universal

Church, of which unbelievers form a part; on which Hedvig exclaims:—

“What good your words do me, Augustin! They seem as if they had the breezes and the light of morning in them, I become so assured and so hopeful. And Uno is certainly one of those of whom you speak?”

“Yes, he is. He deserves, of a certainty, to have the name and joy of the Christian, because he has the Christian disposition; and I consider it very probable, that his marriage with Engel may lead to a change in his mode of thinking. I have known more than one man who has handled the highest questions of life very superficially until he became a husband and a father, and asked himself, ‘What shall I say to my child? what shall I give to it as a stay, and as an object in life and death?’ And these questions have again led him into deeper investigation, through which he has ascended to the most beautiful truths of life. Engel’s soul and temper have, ever since childhood, had a singularly warm and bright religious tendency. She cannot be without influence upon Uno. It is not possible for me—no, it is not possible for me to be uneasy about their union.”

So, because their young sister, ‘the child,’ has these bright religious tendencies—is the ‘beautiful soul’ of whom Edla speaks—this pattern brother and sister give her to an Atheist, twice her age, of practised powers of mind. Because she is a lamb, they give her to the wolf. The only warning she receives from Hedvig is to the following effect:—

“But you must not argue with him, my sweet child; nor seek to show what you believe and know; this habit leads to disputation, and seldom does good. Besides which, you have not knowledge and ability for it.”

“Oh, no! I know that very well, Hedvig; neither have I thought of such a thing. I will merely love him; make him happy every day; and I think that God will help me—teach me. I feel myself so happy, Hedvig, so calm, and so filled with hope. Uno is so good. I believe that I like him better than ever now; because I think that he is to be pitied because he is not happier. But, Hedvig, how pleasant it is to love with all our soul, and all our heart, and to live for him whom we love! That is life! Sweet Hedvig, I must kiss you!”

Miss Bremer has, after all, some feelings better than her creed; Engel is not happy after her marriage, and, in the very midst of a conversation with her husband on the cause of her lowness of spirits, meets with an accident which leads to her premature death. This event is brought about that her *spirit* may afterwards visit her husband and convert him—a means in which Miss Bremer places great confidence, but which Scripture expressly does *not* warrant.

The sister most congenial to Ivar in disposition, though not in views, is Gerda. She is the genius of the family, ‘handsome, vigorous, brilliant,’ of an ardent temper and generous impulses, and endowed with the gift of song; on her the chief interest of the book centres. The reader is introduced to her last of the family party, as she has not lived with them for many years, but with a rich aunt in a distant town, who had

adopted her after her father's death, and to whose son, Sigurd, she is betrothed. She and her party now come to spend some time in Stockholm, that she may visit her family and prepare for her marriage. Her arrival had been looked forward to by them like the coming of spring. At length she comes, and there is a joyous meeting full of gay affection—one of those scenes Miss Bremer always describes well.

Gerda is gay and animated on every subject but her lover and her marriage; and when Sigurd calls for her in the course of the evening to take her back to her aunt, her manner changes, and she becomes silent and pale. It is soon evident that all is not right between them. Sigurd, on the contrary, talks 'a deal,' and talks well, but dictatorially and with a stern voice. He is tall, and would be handsome but for a certain sharpness of feature, and severity of glance and expression, which make an unfavourable impression on the family, and convince Gothilda that he is descended direct from Saturn. He is stern towards Gerda, and sarcastic in every display of enthusiasm. At length, as conversation does not answer, she is asked to sing, and enchants them all. The description of her singing, and the warm and intelligent feeling for music, evident in all Miss Bremer's works, must remind her readers of the friendship which is said to exist between her and her distinguished countrywoman, the sweetest singer of modern times. Sigurd is pleased by Gerda's success, and assures her family that she has had the best masters that money could obtain. In fact, his money, and her dependence on himself and his mother, have guided their conduct towards her. He treats her as his property, and already assumes all the authority of a husband over her. Soon he pronounces it time to go; but Gerda pretends not to hear, and somewhat wilfully excites his anger and jealousy by her expressions of intense pleasure at finding herself in her old home once more. Hedvig has at length to interfere and persuade her to accompany him. If we may judge of the Lutheran practice of betrothal from the various examples of its working in Miss Bremer's novels, we cannot but rejoice that we have it not amongst ourselves. It destroys all the romance of marriage; it is the honeymoon anticipated; and sanctions perfect familiarity by the almost legal publicity of the engagement, while yet the persons are free to part, and often do part. In this instance it allows Sigurd to be exceedingly intolerable towards Gerda. We cannot but take her part, and yet we always feel it dangerous ground in fiction to side with incon-
stancy.

Gerda is represented as really attached and grateful to Sigurd and his mother; and yet their narrow-minded views, and

their harshness towards any infringement of these in herself, work by degrees upon her, till the thought of her marriage is dreadful to her. Her family seeing this, and indignant at Sigurd's tone and assumption of captious stern authority, urge her to give up her engagement and return to them. They are poor, but anything is better than the bondage of spirit which threatens to darken her whole existence. At length, after having been visited with much sullen displeasure by both mother and son, Gerda makes up her mind to the important step, for which both are utterly unprepared. Sigurd really loves her, but understands her so little, that in his uniform thwarting, unsympathizing course, he has never dreamt 'he was destroying the bloom of her devotion.' Certain schemes for Ivar's good strengthen Gerda's determination; her elder sister, having seen her unhappiness, has proposed to her to come at once to them, and leave it to her family to explain her resolution to Sigurd. But Gerda has still too much regard for her lover to allow any but herself to announce to him his fate. He and his mother have planned to leave Stockholm, and she, of course, is to accompany them. It is on the eve of this journey that she takes courage for the decisive step. Sigurd this day is out at a dinner party, and will not return till late. Gerda resolves to sit up for him, and have her explanation. Through the day she has been busied with and for his mother, packing and arranging her dress, and performing all her wonted attentions towards the cold-hearted old lady. When she takes leave of her for the night, she longs to open her heart and tell her, but is repulsed by her wonted indifference of manner. Then she sits down in the parlour to wait for Sigurd, in great commotion of spirit; there, however, she has time for thought, and grows calmer and more confident in the course she has decided on.

'Still she trembled when she heard Sigurd's steps, those well-known steps, in the passage; but this emotion was transitory.

"You still up!" said Sigurd, as he came in, and seemed a little astonished. "My mother is in bed,—is she already asleep?" "Not yet, I believe." "I shall go in and bid her good night." Sigurd went into his mother's room, and came out a few minutes after. "And now let us say good night to one another, my little sweetheart," said he; "I have still some writing to do to-night; do not oversleep yourself in the morning, because we must be up early. Give me a kiss! But what! your hand is as cold as marble, and you are pale! Are you ill?" "No! but I have something to say to you to-night, Sigurd?" "Well, what is it then?" said he, impatiently. "Speak quickly, for I am short of time. No? What is it then?" "Sit down, Sigurd!—Grant me your patience for a moment; it is the last time I shall try it."—"Only don't let it be long. Have you got your things in readiness? Remember that we must set off in the morning precisely at ten o'clock."

"Yes, *you* will set off, Sigurd, but I shall not go with you. I shall remain here with my family."—"Aha! does the wind blow from that quarter? I thought so. But, my little friend, let me escape any farther altercation

on the subject. I do not desire to hear the perpetual whimpering about Ivar! he is out of danger; you yourself have told me so. There is actually nothing which can rationally prevent your setting off; and any thing unreasonable, you know, is no affair of mine. Besides, you know that my determination is tolerably steadfast, and is not accustomed to be turned about by any childishness or woman's nonsense."

"I know, Sigurd, that your determination is steadfast; that you do not waver. Nor will I endeavour to persuade you. I would merely say to you to-night, Farewell; and would thank you for the time when you loved me, and for the good-will you showed me. I would restore what I can no longer retain. You leave the city to-morrow, and I return to my family, to the home of my childhood. We separate. There is your ring, Sigurd. It was with delight that I placed it on my finger; with sorrow it is that I remove it. But it must be done."

There was a mournful, quiet determination in Gerda's voice and demeanour, which was very unlike her. Sigurd had often seen her in towering defiance, burning indignation; he was accustomed to these, and to see them go over and change. But this was something new; it sounded, it felt strange; a cold shudder passed over Sigurd; he looked at the young woman with an enquiring glance. But her glance opposed his, calm, strong, solemn, but very sorrowful. There was a something in it which penetrated Sigurd's breast, and touched his heart, as if with the finger of death. He looked away, and then again he looked at her; on her pale countenance, on the determined deep glance. For the first time, Sigurd seemed to have met in her an equal, whose being he could not understand, and against which he could not contend. An increasing astonishment in his countenance seemed to express the question of his soul, and involuntarily he uttered, "What is this? Is it serious?"

Gerda laid her marble-cold hand upon his—"Yes, it is serious," said she, as before. "We must part, Sigurd; but gladly would I that we should part friends. And, believe me, Sigurd, I am attached to you still, though I say to you farewell!" and her voice trembled. She leaned her forehead for a moment against his shoulder; then she rose up and remained calmly standing before him. His sensations were extraordinary; he still felt the pressure of that marble-cold hand upon his, and it seemed as if an icy coldness went from it up into his breast. There was a buzzing in his ears; his heart beat violently, whilst he felt that some great change was about to take place between himself and her whom he had governed so long. "I do not understand what you mean," said he, in almost a stammering voice; "What is the cause of all this? But this you know very well, that I desire your true happiness, your real well-being; and I think that no childish displeasures ought to make you doubt it. What is it that you reproach me with? What is it that you desire of me?"

"Nothing, Sigurd, nothing; only to be free! It is no caprice, no accident, which separates us. It is the necessity of the thing; it is the dissimilarity between our two natures. More than this I will not say to you. I will not embitter this moment by reproaches. You have believed that you have done right by yourself and for me—but if I should, with the excited feelings that you daily waken in me, become your wife—woe both to you and to me! our lives would become miserable. I have felt hatred and bitterness towards you growing in my heart! Thus it ought not to be. No; I would still love you as a friend, as a benefactor; and therefore we must part before it becomes too late. It cannot be otherwise, Sigurd: I have proved it for many years, and have become clear on the subject only within a short time. I highly esteem—I am attached to you; but—we must part."

Sigurd's head had sunk whilst Gerda thus spoke. Mild and gentle as

her voice was to him, it sounded like the thunder of doom. When she had ended he looked up, and she appeared to him beautiful as she stood there in her stern gravity, with glances that quietly seemed to flash fire:—never had she appeared to him more beautiful, more worthy to be desired!

‘Love, anger, jealousy, rage, penetrated him; and his eye flashed, as he said in bitterness, “You are really rash, Gerda,—this is very easy to you;—it is a light matter to you to break faith and promises, and, as a matter of course, it troubles you very little how much I may suffer! It is a small affair for you to give him up who has devoted his life for you these many years, because you have already, perhaps, given yourself to another.’

Gerda assures him it is not so—that she feels towards him as she does to no other; that she shall never be as happy as she has been again; that she shall never forget him. But yet they must part; only she entreats that they may part as friends.

‘“My friend, my teacher! Sigurd!—Give me a friendly look!—It is too bitter to part thus; a heavy debt will notwithstanding rest upon me—the debt of being ungrateful to my benefactor.” She wept. Sigurd had clearly understood by Gerda’s words, and her whole behaviour, that there was now no return, no reconciliation to be thought of; but his pride rose up, and would not allow her to see how deeply he was wounded; and a nobler feeling also stifled in him the expression of anger and of pain. The noble womanliness in her manner and behaviour, awoke the noble manliness in him; for it existed there, however much it might be held in subjection by ruder powers;—in this moment of struggle and suffering it came forth. Sigurd rose up and said, “Be calm! I forgive you. And as you feel it necessary for the happiness of your life to separate from me, it is my duty to feel the same. That which I have to bear in consequence of it, I will bear. You are free; to-morrow I will myself conduct you to your family; may you find in them better friends than I and my mother have been to you!”

‘These words cut Gerda deeper to the heart than the bitterest reproaches would have done; she wept silently but painfully. Sigurd, evidently proud and cold, walked up and down the room. Did he enjoy Gerda’s tears? Did he expect some change in her thoughts and resolution? Neither of them said a word for a long, long time.

‘At length Gerda rose up and said softly, “Good night, Sigurd!” He stood still and looked at her with darkly inquiring glances; she went nearer to him and offered him her hand. “Good night!” repeated she, with almost a beseeching glance.

‘He did not move, but continued gloomily to gaze at her. Thus stood they silent for a moment. Perhaps, at this moment, each waited for the other; perhaps Sigurd believed that now the long power of habit and womanly weakness would throw the young girl into his arms, and therefore he stood stiffly and proudly against her, as he so often had done before.

‘“Well then—for the last time!” whispered Gerda, “Forgive!—farewell!” and she clasped him in her arms, and impressed a kiss upon his lips, and was gone. The kiss seemed to take away his life; he gasped for breath.

‘“Was that the last?—is it past—past for ever?” Thus spoke a mournful sound within Sigurd’s soul: life was darkened before him, and the world seemed as if it would fall to ruins. It became desolate and cold within him and around him. He went into his chamber. It became night. “Is it really possible?—is it not a dream?” said Sigurd, shuddering from time to time, during that long night. “Have I actually been the cause of this? Have I chased spring out of my world? Have I killed the life of my life?” But his pride sustained him, and prevented him from seeking for a reconciliation.’

Next day he restores Gerda to her family. This scene is real and interesting: we can enter into the thoughts and feelings of each actor as it passes. Gerda's next step does not appeal in the same way to our common sympathies. She returns home when Ivar is just recovering from the fever we have already recorded, but is still in a desponding state of mind. It is then that she discloses to him her scheme for their mutual restoration after their troubles:—they must open a new path of life; they must realise the wandering fancies of their childhood, and travel; they must 'refresh themselves with the sounds of their own songs;' in a word, she had planned a professional visit to America. They were to 'sing the songs of their native land out in the world among the foreign people, so that people should clap their hands and cry, *Da capo*;' "And, Ivar, I know that we shall begin to live *da capo*, and that a better and a happier life." Miss Bremer has all along shown very lofty ideas of the mission of art and accomplishments. Painting, sculpture, music, are all regenerators of mankind, and in their nature, apart from the uses to which they are applied, evangelizers of the world. But Gerda's step is a development—and certainly a strange one, to elicit all the grand hopes and all the fine language which are lavished upon it. Uncle Herkules alone opposes the plan with old-fashioned prejudices. He thinks "Gerda is worthy of something better than quavering and crowing before the world for money,—and to the Americans, who are one and all fools,—and with that madcap Ivar too!" And he alone has the money necessary to launch the young adventurers on their new field of usefulness. Gothilda, in this difficulty, hits upon a novel expedient, and offers to sell herself to Uncle Herkules, and place herself from henceforth at his entire disposal; otherwise she will dispose of herself for the sum wanted to a certain elderly gentleman, who, she has reason to think, would gladly buy her as his wife. Uncle Herkules cannot spare his pet, especially to that selfish old fool, Urbanus Myrtenblad; and pays down the money, with which the explorers of new worlds depart. Their success in America is unbounded, reports of which gladden the home circle. At length they return home, rich, and with restored spirits and energies. Gerda was handsomer than ever, and this 'was in accordance with the nature of things, for she had lived in affluence, and her life had been active and happy; she had felt her soul expand, become greater and better—in one word, grow.' In the mean while, things have not gone well with Sigurd. His mother dies, his affairs become involved in a lawsuit, his health suffers, his temper had grown gloomy and misanthropic.

Gerda had not observed, when she landed from her voyage,

and was greeted and surrounded by friends and relatives, that dark gloomy eyes were watching her from a carriage drawn up near. The face was hidden, and did not wish to be seen. This was Sigurd. The next day Gerda visits him, and breaks in upon a wonderful dream on the subject of the goddess Valkyria. At first he is cold towards her, and shuts up his heart; but she wins upon him, takes his paralyzed arm (it became so on the death of his mother), which falls as it were dead on her lap, rubs it with her beautiful hands, breathes upon it, and finally, by that magic which Miss Brémer delights in, restores pulse and sensation to the dead limb. 'But greater was the miracle which was wrought on the inner life;' the bond between which was broken, gradually re-united. She attended upon him, was his daily companion, his sympathizing friend; and he too 'was quite a different man to his former self,' softened, subdued. They felt and conversed together as they had never done before—and the end may easily be imagined.

It is difficult to attempt any kind of abstract of a book so broken into parts as this, where some characters are brought in who have nothing to do, and others whose only task is to add to the confusion; and where we are carried off from the histories and the trials of individuals, to vague schemes of universal philanthropy. Our readers must be content with such intimations of the story as we have already given.

The end of the book is occupied in establishing a 'Swedish Lowell,' a community to elevate the workpeople to the highest possible improvement, freedom, and happiness—an Utopia. All throw themselves with zeal into the work. Dr. Lund preaches, Gerda sings, Beor contrives, Gothilda tells fortunes, Lagertha, the sculptor, gives her 'Fates;' all dance, and feast, and enjoy themselves, and get married. There is no end of weddings. Festivities follow one another; all the speeches are given, the reminiscences, the historical details; we might suppose we had closed the novel, and taken up a newspaper report. The scheme of course succeeds brilliantly. All the characters lose themselves in this scene of mawkish philanthropy, and we gladly at length find ourselves at the last page. Philanthropy, without severe, genuine religion, is a cold thing; and this is a cold book, different in this respect, in spite of all their defects, from Miss Brémer's other works. The high flights, the language on stilts, the prolix discussions, the unreality, the profane allusions, the heathenish images—all give a dreary impression. We miss the genial flow of social talk, the sprightliness, the innocent mirth and humour, in the drawing of which Miss Brémer chiefly excels. In the same way there is an absence of that poetry, expressed with a certain refined, though

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somewhat affected eloquence, which in her best efforts relieve these home, domestic scenes. Till now, her original, fresh style has always excited curiosity and interest, however much the end may have disappointed the expectations raised. There is danger now of the charm being broken, of the natural flow of spirits being changed into excitement and bombast. New-fangled schemes of benevolence or reform have also a chilling effect on the curiosity of the reader, who takes up a story and finds it gradually change and fade into a vision of social regeneration—some hobby of the author's he can neither follow nor admire. He feels himself taken in—as when, in unsuspecting mood, he has let his interest be awakened by some newspaper paragraph professing to give a Court incident, or characteristic trait of 'the Duke,' and finds it all end in the eulogy of some sovereign elixir, or ointment which will raise the dead to life.

There is one point, however, on which Miss Bremer knows still how to appeal to the sympathies of her readers, and which we really believe to have been one cause of her general popularity. It is the prominence, the interest she gives to those necessary duties and pleasures of life, eating and drinking. These she treats as a true woman of genius. She knows their power over the heart of man, and does not scruple to invest them with all their real importance. She knows as a fact, that they do act a part in every event and circumstance of life; that, in sorrow or joy, we must eat; and she is not afraid of investing them with their full consequence in the social drama. No grief is too poignant, no anxiety too engrossing, no joy too transcendent, for eating and drinking not to assert their influence in sustaining the mourner, encouraging the dejected, and helping the happy to realise their joy. And not only does this appeal to our appetite give a genuine, hearty, genial character to her writings; it has also assisted in establishing their moral reputation, in giving a general impression of soundness and domesticity: for if the gentlemen eat, the ladies cook; and what harm can we really suspect, in spite of appearances, in a household where its mistress spends half her time in her store-room weighing out coffee and sugar, and where her daughters bake the patties, fry the pancakes, and whip the creams?—where a threatened *liaison* is interrupted by care for the preserves, and a wife's well-founded jealousies lost sight of in a misapprehension about the veal cutlets?

We can hardly lose the impression, that this homely simplicity of manners implies what it would do in our own country. The perpetual discussion of dinners and suppers, the never-ending baskets of provisions, the share the ladies take in their preparation, the warm disputes on baking and brewing, quite carry our

thoughts out of the region of unlawful speculation and low morality. With us, these evils are the fruit of idleness and nothing-to-do—which must always be their more natural sphere. We cannot readily suppose them compatible with a social state, in which scepticism and infidelity are tolerated, and the most sacred domestic ties too often disregarded.

Of toleration and sympathy for unbelief, we have adduced proof enough in Miss Bremer's writings; and though we give her credit for a sincere desire to raise the moral tone of her countrymen, there are yet too many indications of familiarity with a corrupt social state throughout her works, we find too confused an idea of what are the duties and callings of her own sex, too great an indulgence in what she thinks inevitable evils, to make her a safe guide even in those points where her naturally pure feeling and good sense might otherwise have qualified her to become one.

ART. III.—*The Phenomena and Diosemeia of Aratus, translated into English Verse ; with Notes.* By JOHN LAMB, D.D., *Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Dean of Bristol.* London : John W. Parker, West Strand. 1848.

THE poets tell us that the setting sun, before his total disappearance in the western waters, casts one bright glance expressive of his regret at leaving a world so beautiful as our own. This poetical description of the sunset is applicable to the literature of ancient Greece in its decline and decay.

The literary glory of Athens was fast disappearing. The voice of the orators who had once 'wielded at will the fierce democratic,' was no longer heard fulminating in the Pnyx. The *soccus* of Aristophanes, and the Sophoclean *cothurnus*, but ill became their degenerate successors. The olive groves of Academus, once the retirement of the almost inspired Plato, resounded only to the lectures of a Polemo and a Crantor ; while of all the pupils of the Stagyrte, Theophrastus alone had succeeded to some portion of his master's genius.

In a period so devoid of literary talent, it was the good fortune of one of Alexander's ablest generals to become possessed of a kingdom beyond all others adapted for the arts of peace. Bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, and communicating with the Asiatic continent by a narrow isthmus only, Egypt, secure in its position, had little to fear from the only nations which were likely to disturb its repose ; and the Ptolemean or Lagian dynasty was thus enabled in a great measure to keep clear of the jealousies and quarrels which distracted the other provinces of the disjointed Macedonian empire. The fertile soil and mild climate of Egypt also produced the necessaries and comforts of life in such profusion, as rendered its inhabitants entirely independent of other nations ; while advantages rarely to be met with were presented to those, especially to the Greeks, who were desirous to settle on its shores. In a position so favoured, the first Ptolemy, when secured in the undisturbed possession of his throne, devoted all his energies to the development of the resources and promotion of the prosperity of his kingdom. Under his wise government, Alexandria became, as the conqueror from whom it derived its name anticipated, the first commercial city in the world. Ptolemy Soter was also a great patron of learning ; he invited Theophrastus and Demetrius Phalereus to his court, and collected materials for the great library which was established by his son.

But it was reserved for Ptolemy Philadelphus to make Alexandria the great seat of learning, as his predecessor had made it the chief emporium, of the civilized world. He was the first monarch in history who took the muses under his especial patronage, or thought that the encouragement of learning was likely to procure him as lasting a fame as the pursuit of arms or the promulgation of laws. He offered such inducements to men of learning, of whatever nation, to settle at Alexandria, that his capital soon became the great focus of literature, rivalling in some degree the ancient glory of Athens itself.

It was under his auspices that the first translation of the Hebrew Bible was made. At his court did Manetho, the priest of Sebennytus, record his country's history in the language he had himself adopted. Here, too, did Theocritus, with a truthfulness of feeling never surpassed, sing of his shepherds and their loves, while Callimachus chanted his hymns in honour of the gods, in Homeric strain. Here, too, Lycophron enveloped in darkness the prophecy of his Cassandra, making that inspired maiden the vehicle for the display of his own erudition. Rather later than these lived Apollonius Rhodius, the only extant Greek epic poet except Homer, and the pedantic Colophonian, Nicander, whose works, on poisons and their cure, present no attractions except to those who pursue the study of zoological or medicinal antiquities.

Such were the greater stars, amidst a host of lesser fires, at the revival of learning under the Ptolemies. It was, however, but a struggle of light with darkness—a transition state between day and night. With the splendid exception of Theocritus, originality of genius they had none; they followed in the wake (*sed longo intervallo*) of the earlier poets, and endeavoured to reflect their borrowed light, expanding their ideas, but at the same time weakening their force; adopting their language as far as they understood it, and imitating, without attaining to, their flow and cadence. Compared with their predecessors, they show in somewhat of the same light (humanly speaking) that the Apocryphal authors of 'Judith' and 'Bel and the Dragon' do, when contrasted with the inspired authors of Ruth, and Esther, and the prophet Daniel; and their works are as inferior to those of the earlier poets as the 'Wisdom of Solomon' is to the Proverbs of the veritable king of Israel. It is to the poets of this era that Aratus belongs; and we shall find that his merits and defects are very much of the same stamp as the writers we have alluded to.

Aratus was born at Soli, a city of Cilicia, and flourished about 270 B.C. It was in all probability the neighbourhood of their respective birth-places, Soli and Tarsus, that made St.

Paul so familiar with Aratus. Our poet completed his education under Persæus the Stoic, at Athens. At the invitation of Antigonus Gonatas, he accompanied his tutor to the Macedonian Court, where he seems to have been taken into favour, and to have filled an office somewhat resembling that of our poet laureate, until his death. It seems that Eudoxus, the astronomer, had about a century before published in prose, a work he called 'Phenomena;' and that Aratus, in accordance with the request of his royal patron, engaged to clothe this work in a political garb. Such is the generation of the greater poem at Aratus, to which he appended a smaller one of 422 verses, termed the 'Diosemeia,' or 'Prognostica,' which is said to have been derived almost entirely from lost works of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

In respect to the subject of his greater poem, the most ardent admirers of Aratus can challenge no more originality for it than we could for a metrical version of Newton's 'Principia,' or a poetical Euclid. He was set, we know not for what crime or misdemeanour, as an exercise, by his patron Antigonus, to turn a given subject into Homeric verse; and a most difficult and disagreeable task it must have proved.

We all know that, from the time of the patriarch Job and the poet Homer, the stars visible to the naked eye have been grouped into constellations; that is to say, *tortured* into various forms, figures of men and figures of animals, things animate and inanimate, things possible and impossible. The sprightly imagination of the Greeks was not long before it had adapted to each constellation a myth or story, and in some cases more than one, which poetically explained the cause of its mysterious exaltation.

And this system carries with it certainly this advantage, at least in modern times, that it renders the study of sidereal astronomy, *i. e.* the study of the celestial globe, peculiarly attractive to boys at 'the first school,' and ladies of tender years. The artistic representations of lions and dragons, and flying horses, and bears (especially those with dogs' tails), excite the curiosity and please the fancy; and we ourselves well remember the delight we felt when examining Taurus to find the right ascension of Aldebaran, and the admiration with which we gazed on the supernatural outlines of Capricorn and Cetus. It, however, unfortunately happens that the system, however alluring to the sucking astronomer, labours under considerable disadvantages. Men of science have been long agreed that scarcely could a worse method have been devised for the purposes of modern astronomy. The boundaries of constellations are ill-defined, the descriptions of catalogues clash together; some constellations have made raids upon portions of others, just as in counties there are isolated portions which are component parts of other counties with which they are apparently disconnected. Some

catalogue stars never existed, or owe their creation to a wrong entry, or a mistake in reading an instrument. All this is so manifestly wrong, as well as inconvenient, that Sir J. Herschel has proposed a plan for the reconstruction of the southern hemisphere, and recommended that the same course be pursued with the northern.

But our poor bard is certainly not responsible for the inconveniences the ancient classification of the stars presents to modern astronomers; enough for him are his own unavoidable misfortunes—that the ruthless tyrant should have forced him to describe these constellations in verse. We must take care to entertain a proper idea of the undertaking. The Cilician poet had not to describe the appearance of the heaven by night, its magnificent arch, its starry mosaic, or all its other inimitable paraphernalia; nor had he, like Ovid in his *Fasti*, the privilege of narrating the origin of each constellation, to move our tears by his description of the forsaken Ariadne, or excite our sympathy for the unhappy minstrel Arion. A far more unpoetical province fell to Aratus' lot. The heavens had been mapped, and arbitrarily arranged into such and such forms; Aratus had to take these figures for granted, however incongruous or startling they might appear, and enumerate the stars which made up the imaginary outlines; to trace out the family group of the 'starred Æthiop queen,' which affectionately included her husband, her daughter, her son-in-law and his steed; to record the stars which formed the belt of Orion, the paw of the Lion, and the muzzle of the Bear.

The plan of the *Phenomena* is exceedingly simple. The poet, like Hesiod in his 'Works and Days,' and in conformity to the laudable practice of the Homeric Rhapsodists,¹ commences with the praises of Zeus—the source of all power, the cause of all good, the only omniscient and omnipresent deity, from whom all are descended—who has most especially shown his beneficence to mankind by appointing the stars to advertise them of seed-time and harvest, and to guide them in all their agricultural labours. Then, after a parenthetical, and, we must say, rather peremptory summons to the Muse—without whose aid what poet from Homer to Byron durst adventure upon his task?—he commences his work in sober earnest. He describes the heavens as revolving on a fixed axis—of which one extremity (the North Pole) is visible, and the other (the South Pole) is invisible—around the earth poised in the centre. He then, with great skill as well as patience, gives us representations of the Bears, the Dragon, the Virgin, and other constellations of the northern hemisphere, describing their positions with respect to

¹ Cf. Pind. *Nem.* ii. *initio*.

the principal groups. His landmarks in the southern hemisphere are the Argo and Orion. Sometimes the mythical account of the origin of the constellation is given, at other times omitted. Descriptions of tempests and other effects, supposed to arise from certain phases of celestial phenomena of a highly poetical character, are interwoven with the narrative.

Having exhausted this apparently inexhaustible subject, he laments the non-classification of certain stars in the south hemisphere between Argo and Cetus; in which lament his readers will probably not sympathise. He then proceeds to speak of the 'five other wandering fires' (as Herschel and Adams had not then added two to their numbers), but with great circumspection, for he says, 'but of these I am not confident.' He intimates that they have a motion of their own, and that the period of their conjunction (according to Plato, the consummation of all things, and the end of time,) is very remote.

He then describes what he conceives to be the most important circles of the heavens: the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, the Equator and Ecliptic—all, as he says, invisible: and, lastly, the circle of the Galaxy, or Milky Way, the only one which is visible! The *Phenomena*, from v. 560 to the end, treats of the rising and setting of the signs of the Zodiac, in order that mariners, in their nocturnal voyages, might judge of the approach of day; in the absence of chronometers, no doubt a useful piece of information. And the plan is this—Given the knowledge of the sign in which the sun is, and an acquaintance with all the constellations; to determine, from the poet's description of the contemporaneous movements of the heavenly bodies, the nearness or distance of the sun's approach; a problem, to our mind, entirely unnecessary, if the sailors, in the first instance, knew the relative situation of the constellations.

Of the *Diosemeia* or Prognostics it is unnecessary to say much. Let it suffice that it treats of the advent of fine weather, rain, wind, and storm, from external phenomena; in fact, that it is an *unmercurial* barometer.

And, first, the moon is pressed into the poet's service. From her colour, and clearness, and dulness, at different periods of her age—from the position of her horns with respect to the earth—from the absence or presence of halos, one or more, faint or vivid, unbroken or dissolving, the weather is supposed to be greatly influenced.

But the sun is the great weather almanac. If he be pleased to rise with a clear and broad disc, if he be cloudless when he sets, or sets palely after rain, or encircled with crimson clouds—fine weather is certain. If, when the sun rises, his rays dart north or south, if he be very red at rising, or with a mixture of black and red tints—wind is the inevitable consequence. If his

rising be black; if his rays at sunrise or sunset converge to a point; if a little cloud rises before him; if he be encircled by a halo—rain must necessarily ensue.

The roaring of the sea; the murmuring of the shore; the appearance of shooting stars, or a double rainbow; all denote rain or wind; as also do thunder and lightning, and the presence of fleecy clouds.

Nor is it inanimate nature alone which is taxed for the poet's purpose. Herons, cormorants, wild ducks, swallows, ravens, ants, mice, crabs, frogs and flies, oxen and hens, are all prescient of forthcoming atmospheric changes, and kindly impart their knowledge to mankind. This they contrive to do by making extraordinary noises; by leaving the elements to which they are accustomed; by preparation for indoor occupation; according as they are timorous and bewildered, or provident and industrious.

And, finally, omens of impending storms are derived from the flickering of lamps, and fungous excrescences proceeding from them; from dulness of embers, &c. &c.

And thus is expanded into a tedious poem of 422 verses, a subject which Virgil at the end of his first Georgic exhausts in 110 lines of incomparable beauty.

The style of Aratus is, on the whole, decidedly poetical, and his lines very harmonious; but he is obscure in the extreme, partly from an affectation of archaic language, and partly from misunderstanding the Homeric words and phrases. He seldom rises, is totally devoid of imagination, and we cannot but think that he has chosen (or rather had thrust upon him) a very tedious subject.

Such is our impression of a poet whom some of his contemporaries were extravagant enough to rank equal to Homer! and of whom the early Christian fathers had a peculiar admiration, apparently for no other reason, than that St. Paul, in his discourse to an Athenian audience, had made a very apt quotation from his works.

The German editor of Aratus, Professor Buhle, is nearer the mark, who can only urge, '*Neque tamen Aratus est poeta plane contemnendus*;' where the adverb has clearly much force. He but faintly contradicts the opinion of those who maintain '*esse Aratum mediocris ingenii poetam, qui humo serpat, quamvis eum pro consilio suo per astra incedere oporteat*.' His greatest praise we think to be, that he is dignified with a eulogy by Ovid, and has not been thought unworthy of imitation by Virgil and Manilius.

Aratus has had more Latin versions¹ than any Greek poet of

¹ The only acknowledged translation of a Greek poet by a Latin one (at least in the most classic age) is the '*Coma Berenices*' of Catullus.

antiquity. It was in a translation of the 'Phenomena' that Cicero's youthful muse essayed her first flight—and it certainly was not a very lofty one, the attempt being rather a proof of Cicero's patriotism than of his poetical powers. For few, probably, now-a-days will agree with Middleton, that from this and other specimens we are justified in supposing that the great Roman orator would have achieved the highest triumphs in poetry, had not the bearing of the times hurried him off to other pursuits.

Nor did Germanicus Cæsar, the great hero of Tacitus' idolatry, when turning from his sword to his pen, disdain to try his hand at a poetical version of Aratus. And his work is not altogether unworthy of the contemporary of Virgil and Horace, and of the encomium lavished upon him by Ovid. In the fourth century of our era, Rufus Festus Avienus, an Italian (some say a priest) made a diffuse translation of our author,—interpreting him, as well as paraphrasing him,—and we must allow that few poets need interpretation more. The version of Avienus is a work of purer Latinity than is usually met with among the writers of that age.

Lastly, Grotius, in his edition of Aratus, published the fragments of Cicero's translation, filling up the *lacunæ* from his own elegant muse. Two Italian, one Polish, and one French version, are the only modern translations of Aratus we have been able to discover. It is certain that no poetical translation of Aratus in English had appeared before that by Dr. Lamb, of whose performance we have now to speak.

The Dean of Bristol's translation seems formed on the model of Pope's Homer—free and flowing; rather a modern poem on the same subject, than a faithful representation of an ancient one. And such a style has many advantages in the eyes of exclusively English readers. But, inasmuch as few merely English scholars would seem likely to peruse a translation of an author like Aratus, we cannot help thinking that Dr. Lamb has adopted the wrong style. It is tantamount to addressing a peculiar set of readers in a way the least calculated to engage their sympathies. To those who have not studied Aratus in the original Greek, it would be as well to suggest, that expressions such as

—— 'a daring poet's flight,
Who scours on fancy's wing the realms of light.'—V. 17.

'Those diamond orbs.'—V. 19.

'Plumbing its dark abyss with philosophic eye.'—V. 94.

The God of day's 'torrid car.'—V. 153.

'The wolfish wind,'—*Diosemeia*, V. 123.

and many others, which feelingly remind us of the 'Berecynthus

Attis,' and 'Cœruleum dirimebat Nerea Delphin,' of the poetasters of Persius' time, have no place in the hexameters of the Cilician poet.

Again, there seems no good reason why, in a translation from a poet, portions of history should be introduced which are not in the original author. Why, for instance, should the words—'In the heaven flies the swiftly moving swan,' be metamorphosed into—

'Jove's mottled swan. Th' adulterous bird, they say
That lent his form fair Leda to betray ?'

Why, in the description of the dolphin, should this interpolation be made—

'Obedient fish, that from a distant shore
His coy reluctant bride to Neptune bore ?'

And Aratus' 'The remnant of Eridanus, much lamented river,' is expanded into—

'When high-born Phaëton, with boyish pride,
Presumed his father's fiery steeds to guide,
And from his shatter'd chariot to the wave
Hurl'd headlong, to ambition gave (*sic*)
An awful warning.'

Is it possible that the Dean, while professing to translate Aratus, has in reality merely versified his paraphrast Germanicus? In the version of the latter we certainly have (*in loco citato*)—

'Amnem, qui Phaethonta suas deflevit ad undas,
Postquam patris equos non æquo pondere rexit,
Fulmine reddentem flammæ Jovis : hunc nova silva
Planxere ignotis mœstis Phaethontides unis.'

We must also protest against the arbitrary admission of Arabian names of certain stars, as Aldebaran, Antar, and Atair, of course unknown to a poet who flourished 170 years before the Christian era.

Our confidence in the accuracy of Dr. Lamb's scholarship is not altogether unlimited. We think that in more than one passage he has mistaken the meaning of his author, while he has not unfrequently misunderstood his words. It does seem very unfortunate that a line in the epigram of Ptolemy (taken from the anonymous life of Aratus), which Dr. Lamb has paraded in his title page (partly in capital letters) should, by the omission of an *article*, fail in answering those conditions which are usually, and we must add, not without reason, expected in a pentameter verse.

Concerning the preliminary dissertation 'on the Celestial Sphere' we have a word to say. It is indeed most satisfactory to be able to trace in the legends or customs of heathen nations, vestiges of the Scripture history—as the prevalence of such legends or customs would greatly corroborate (if that were

necessary) the truth of the Bible. And there are numerous instances of undoubted connexion between Grecian legends and the Scripture records. Few probably would venture to express a doubt, that from the Mosaic account of the Fall is deduced, by the channel of tradition, the Hesiodic story of the introduction of evil into the world by the curiosity of Pandora—or that Deucalion's flood is, in the main feature, identical with the general Deluge. But it is at the same time quite evident that such a subject, from its very nature, must be treated very delicately, or its entire value as a corroboration of Scripture is thrown away—that it is not a field for the imagination to take a free range in—and that a fanciful resemblance between two circumstances must not be necessarily considered as a proof of their identity. It will be for our readers to determine whether Dr. Lamb has sufficiently consulted probability in his reference of the celestial constellations to the narrative of the Pentateuch. Dr. Lamb supposes, and the supposition is not an improbable one, that the Babylonians were the first to construct a celestial sphere. His hypothesis goes on to assume that their grouping of the stars was intended to be 'a picture history from Adam to the time of the invention of the sphere,'—though it does not by any means appear why the Babylonians should retain such a vivid recollection of the early history of the human race, when we know that among them an idolatrous worship was first substituted for that of the true God. In pursuance of his theory the Dean thinks that the two chariots (Græce, Bears) revolving round the pole, and Draco the great Serpent between them, 'were emblems of the Cherubim and flaming Sword turning every way'—although we cannot see what advantage the hypothesis gains from the intermediate position of Draco. En-gonasin represents Adam condemned to labour by the sweat of his brow—but not, that we can remember, in a kneeling posture. Ophiuchus or Serpentarius (*i. e.* according to Dr. Lamb, 'one who restrains the serpent') is none other than Seth, who was looked upon as the promised seed. Argo, of course is the Ark; and the Raven, the very same bird that the Patriarch sent forth to see if the waters were abated. The reason for the latter identification, to be sure, is not a perfectly satisfactory one: 'for,' says Dr. Lamb, 'all the fables respecting this bird relate to his 'having been sent by Apollo to fetch water, and not returning in 'proper time;' and the errand of the raven in Genesis (viii. 7) was not exactly of this nature. And finally, the Patriarch himself is metamorphosed into the Centaur—which transformation will dispense with further quotation. All these authentic portraits were transmitted from the Assyrians, through the Egyptians, to the Greeks, who soon adapted tales and names of their own to the heavenly figures.

Now surely all this is trifling, or worse than trifling—a taking unwarrantable liberties with Holy Scripture, to serve no purpose whatever that we can divine. It reminds us of the allegorical interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis by Pope Innocent III., who contended that by the two lights were meant the office of Pope and the office of King; by the greater light was meant the former—by the lesser light, the latter office; so that as the light which rules the day is superior to the light which rules the night, the dignity of Pope is superior to the dignity of King.

The notes, which accompany the translation, though they show no great extent of reading, are interesting. They consist principally of parallel passages from Latin poets, illustrative of the text. There is in them but little philological research; and we regret to say, that the omission of the little that appears would have caused us no poignant anguish. Take an example. The poet remarks that Grecian sailors usually direct their course at sea by observation of Helice, or the Great Bear, in contrast to the Phenicians, who are generally guided by Cynosura, or the Little Bear. Would it be believed that from these data Dr. Lamb hazards the remark, that ‘it is in reference to this custom that Homer applies the epithet ἐλκωπες, “observing Helice,” to the Greek sailors!!’ (page 86). We certainly were not before aware that the object of Agamemnon’s baneful attachment, Chryseis ‘of the glancing eye,’ (to whom the same epithet is applied,) was a star-gazing damsel; nor do any of the poets of antiquity lead us to suppose that the golden Aphrodite and ‘the sisters nine’ deserved to be thus characterized in consequence of their astronomical propensities. Nor, in our opinion, is the Dean more successful in his application of Horace, *Od. i. 32*, to the celestial phenomena. There is, in the northern hemisphere, a constellation representing the figure of a man upon his knees, called by Aratus, Engonasin, for which the name of Hercules was afterwards substituted; this constellation Dr. Lamb terms ‘the Labouring-man,’ quite gratuitously, as we imagine: and, inasmuch as the Lyre is situated in the heavens near the stars which represent his arm, the Doctor, with an exuberance of fancy, supposes that this proximity is alluded to by the Latin poet, in the following verses:—

‘O decus Phœbi, et dapibus supremi
Grata testudo Jovis: O laborum
Dulce lenimen.’

We are also bound to confess that our nerves have been startled at the bare suggestion of a possibility that the expression

Κεκονισμένος ἐν Διὶ πατρὶ.—*v. 253*,

as applied to the constellation Perseus, can have anything to do with his proximity to the Milky Way. The words of course mean

'moving quickly in the heavens'—literally 'covered with dust in (the realm of) his father, Zeus.' This metaphorical sense of *κεκονυμένος* (as the reading ought to be) has been in use from the time of Homer downwards. The idea that the light of the Milky Way shows on the figure of the Gorgonicide, like dust on a traveller's back after a ride in the dog-days, appears to us supremely absurd. We know that the authority of the Greek Scholiast on Aratus may be alleged in defence of Dr. Lamb's interpretation—but what improbable, ridiculous, or impossible doctrine cannot be dignified with these same scholiasts' approval?

But we have already dwelt sufficiently long, much longer than we willingly would have done, upon the imperfections of Dr. Lamb's work. We are anxious not to treat Dr. Lamb with unfairness. We are meeting him as a scholar on the neutral ground of literature. Were such our present theme, we had much, and of greater severity, to say to him as Dean of Bristol, and about his unwarrantable and discreditable attempt to suppress the choral service—an attempt already commenced—in that cathedral. However, from what we can gather, the people of Bristol seem as little disposed to submit to this outrage on their rights as Churchmen, as, on a very different occasion, the folks of Edinburgh were to receive an opposite attempt. As Bristol has only half a cathedral, and a moiety of a Bishop, possibly the Dean thought it a fit place to experimentalize upon. But the case is obviously one which demands the Episcopal Visitation to which all Chapters are amenable.—But to our immediate subject. We may now turn to the more pleasing side of the picture, and let us consider Dr. Lamb's production rather as a poem than a translation. We shall find that it is frequently pointed and vigorous, presenting much graphic description, with even an excess of poetic embellishment. We will proceed to make good our assertion by extracts from the work itself.

The exordium of the poem (to which allusion has already been made, will perhaps not be unacceptable to our readers, as it presents a fair specimen of the style of the whole, and, moreover, contains the words quoted by St. Paul in the 17th chapter of the Acts.

'Let us begin from Jove. Let every mortal raise
His grateful voice to tune Jove's endless praise.
Jove fills the heaven, the earth, the sea, the air;
We feel his spirit moving here and everywhere.
And we his offspring are. He, ever good,
Daily provides for man his daily food;
Ordains the seasons by his signs on high,
Studding with gems of light the azure canopy.
What time with plough and spade to break the soil
That plenteous stores may bless the reaper's toil,
What time to plant and prune the vine, he shows,
And hangs the purple cluster on its boughs.

To Him—the First, the Last—all homage yield,
Our Father—Wonderful—our Help—our Shield !'

Aratus' description of Astræa's departure from the earth, in abhorrence of man's increasing wickedness, perhaps excels in pathos any part of the whole poem ; and, to our idea, far surpasses the passages in Hesiod, Catullus, and Ovid, referring to the same subject. We subjoin the Dean's version, even at the expense of being censured for a long quotation :—

'Or art thou, goddess, she of heavenly birth
Who condescended once to dwell on earth,
Astræa called, in fabled days of old—
Alas! for ever gone—the poet's age of gold!
Then justice ruled supreme, man's only guide;
No fraud, no violence, no strife, no pride.
No sailor ventur'd then to distant clime,
And brought back foreign wealth and foreign crime.
All tended then the flock, or till'd the soil,
And milk and fruit repaid their easy toil.
All happy—equal, as the poets sing,
No fierce seditious mobs—no tyrant king.—
But soon these days of innocence were gone:
In his sire's place arose a viler son
Of silver race. Then to the mountain's glen,
Scared and offended from the haunts of men,
Fair Justice fled. Yet still at times were seen
Her angel figure and her godlike mien.
But when she view'd the crowded city's throng—
The proud man's contumely—the poor man's wrong—
Vex'd was her righteous soul. "Mortals, farewell,
"Farewell," she said, "no more with man I dwell.
"Ye of your sires a vile degenerate race,
"Your offspring you their fathers will disgrace.
"War soon will desolate these fruitful lands—
"A brother's blood will stain a brother's hands.
"Rising to view I see a ghastly train—
"Revenge—oppression—love—despair—and pain."
She said; and, hastening to the mountain's height,
Fled far away from mortals' longing sight;
These men soon pass'd away, and in their place
Far viler sons arose—the brazen race—
They first the stubborn ore obedient made,
And forg'd—unhallow'd skill—the murd'rous blade.
The patient ox, long wont to till the soil,
To tread the corn, and share his master's toil,
Dragg'd from his stall—poor harmless slaughter'd beast—
Gave to his cruel lord a bloody feast.
Justice was shock'd, the blood-stain'd earth she flies;
Jove bade her welcome to her native skies.'

We will, with the indulgence of our readers, make one more extract. It shall be the description of tempest portended by the bright appearance of the constellation 'Ara' in a cloudy sky. We will append a literal, unpretending (*'sermoni proprius'*) version of our own, that the reader may have an opportunity

of comparing, tolerably accurately, Dr. Lamb's translation with the sense of the original.

'When Scorpion in the South his claws expands,
Burning with constant fire an altar stands.

Primeval night, who with the God of day
O'er earth and ocean holds divided sway,
Pitying the toils and dangers of the brave
Adventurous sailor, through the pathless wave,
By certain signs the coming tempest shows,
While zephyr breathes and smoothly ocean flows.
When thou behold'st the altar bright and clear,
While all around is cloud and darkness drear,
Forewarn'd, take heed—soon loud and fast (*sic*)
Will Notus drive upon the furious blast.
The prudent sailor, with attentive eye,
Observes the warning beacon placed on high :
Tightens each rope—binds fast the flapping sail—
And rides securely through the threat'ning gale.
Imprudent mariners these signs despise,
Nor heed the murmuring wind, and lowering skies :
With sail to shivers torn, and broken mast,
Headlong they drive before the furious blast :
Now frowns with ruin big the mountain wave—
Now gapes the dark abyss a yawning grave.
If to their prayer propitious Jove attend,
And from the north storm-quelling Boreas send ;
Dispersed the clouds—serene the troubled air—
And curb'd is Neptune in his mad career.'

The literal translation of the poet is as follows :—

'But underneath the scorpion's fiery sting
Southward the altar poised in heav'n appears.

Around that altar ancient night hath set,
In pity for man's toil, a token sure
Of storm by sea ; for she rejoiceth not
In vessels tempest-tost, and often shows
In the mid ocean signs of coming gales.
If on the waves, while clouds obscure the sky,
Pray not that constellation may appear
Cloudless itself and bright, whilst all above
The dark mist presses ; such as oft we see
When fierce autumnal Boreas blows amain.
For Night, dread goddess, by such circumstance
Of rising south wind oft forewarns the sailor.
If he forewarn'd believe the certain sign,
And quickly lighten and prepare his bark ;
His toil will then grow easy. But should perchance
The direful storm on high dash on the ship
All unexpected, and the tackle rend—
Or underneath the watery surge they drive ;
Or, (should Zeus, at their prayer, to aid them come,
And the stout north wind gain the mastery ;)
After much labour past, again they see
Each other, on the vessel, face to face.'

ART. IV.—*A History of the Holy Eastern Church. The Patriarchate of Alexandria. By the Rev. JOHN MASON NEALE, M.A. Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead.* 2 vols. 8vo. London: J. Masters. 1848.

AMONG other evils resulting from the miserable divisions of the Western Church since the period of the Reformation, and from the mutual estrangement, or rather hostility, of the various sections into which it was split by that ecclesiastical revolution, is the entire oblivion that prevails in this country of the past history, and present position—we might almost say, of the actual existence—of other large branches of the Catholic family, comprehending four Patriarchates of ancient Christendom; to which has been added, since the separation of East and West, a fifth, of such extent as almost to compensate for the losses that the faith has sustained by the ravages of Nestorian and Monophysite heresy, and by the conquests of the Mahometans in the East. This oblivion of our remoter brethren we justly ascribe to our home divisions, which have left us little leisure to look beyond the limited arena of our own controversial strife. The fulminations of the Vatican, responded to by the heavy artillery of the Anglican divines, has raised a murky cloud on the continent of Europe, which has obscured from our view the regions further east; and these rude sounds, swelled by the din of our internal and domestic feuds, have drowned the plaintive melody of the Oriental Church, which, degraded, and debased, and enslaved though she be, still finds mournful utterance in the primitive seats of the Church's faith, among the scenes of its earliest and most glorious history, in spots associated with all its most sacred and thrilling recollections—amid the inhospitable crags of Sinai,—by the manger of the Nativity at Bethlehem,—over the fountain of the Blessed Virgin at Nazareth,—and before the rocky monuments of still more awful mysteries at Jerusalem.

Occasionally, indeed, its witness has been appealed to by controversialists on both sides; and if its spiritual independence of the See of Rome, consistently maintained for nineteen centuries, has furnished Protestant writers with an unanswerable argument against the claims of Papal Supremacy, its perpetual consent with the Latin Church on points called in question by Protestants has not been forgotten by Roman Catholic divines as an argument against the Reformation. But these partial appeals have led, as was natural, to much misrepresentation, and have served but little to advance the cause of truth.

Occasionally, too, a faint attempt has been made to open communication and to restore friendly relations between the Church of England and the Oriental Churches; but while the attempt has met with small encouragement among ourselves, it has been still more unsuccessful in the East. And no marvel. For either the negotiations have been generally conducted on our side by persons who had no pretensions to represent our Church, and were ignorant of the first principles of Catholic unity as they are understood by all churches; or they have been carried on with those who were as utterly ignorant of all that concerns us, as we are, for the most part, of all that concerns them; and who, having been prepared by no previous intercourse, thought of us as of one of the Protestant sects, of whose multifarious varieties of error they had heard, all which alike had been condemned in the Synod of Bethlehem, whose decisions are of authority throughout the orthodox Church of the East.

But another, and still more deplorable error, has lately been committed in the indiscreet zeal of a newly-revived interest in the communities of oriental Christians; an error which, originating in ignorance or simplicity, threatens seriously to compromise the Anglican Church as represented by bishops and priests of her communion. The friendly correspondence of which we heard not many years ago between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, and the actual relations which Bishop Southgate is understood to have established with the Armenian Patriarch and Bishops at Constantinople, would be full of hopeful promise, if we had any security that the heresy which has for so many centuries separated them from Catholic communion, was properly viewed by both parties; if, that is, this friendly disposition of Copts and Armenians, on the one hand, could be taken as an indication of their desire to renounce their heresy and return to Catholic communion; or if, on the other hand, the first and chief aim of those on our side were to win them from their heresy to the unity of Catholic doctrine. We do not, of course, mean that these heretical Churches need be assailed in the spirit which has too often actuated the controversialists of other orthodox communions in the East—a spirit which has tended to widen the breach, and to repel the heretics still further from the truth. What we mean is, that our intercourse must proceed on the distinct understanding that we can allow no compromise with heresy, and that the canons of Chalcedon, so obnoxious to them, are part and parcel of the teaching of our Church, part of the deposit which we have received and are pledged to maintain and transmit inviolate.

If only this were fairly stated and honestly understood, we

should rejoice in any indication of a disposition for intelligible intercourse, even with the heretical sects of the East, on the part of our own prelates, or of the bishops of the American Church. We are certainly in a much more advantageous position than either Greeks or Latins to commend Catholic doctrine to their attention, and to remove the stumbling-blocks that lie in their way to its acceptance: for the bitterness and violence that have characterized the advocates on both sides have introduced an element of private animosity into the theological controversy, and produced, as its natural result, a mutual antipathy, which equally indisposes the orthodox to attempt the conversion of the heretics, and the heretics to accept the truth from the orthodox; while, in the case of the Roman Catholics, their violent aggressive operations in the territories of Nestorian and Monophysite heresy, however successful they may have been in the case of individuals, have only resulted in the further estrangement of the communities. If, however, we could believe that their zeal in proselytism were prompted by jealousy for the Catholic dogmas impugned by those sects, we should acknowledge their measures worthy alike of admiration and of imitation. But there is too good reason to fear that such is not the case, but that the renunciation of heresy is often only an accident of conversion to the See of Rome;—the Supremacy, *i.e.*, is substituted for the faith of Ephesus and Chalcedon as a corrective to the heresies. These and kindred causes render the prospect of the restoration of unity in the East well-nigh desperate; for we cannot regard the converts made from the ranks of heresy, under false pretences and by political influences, as any gain to orthodoxy, or believe that the division of each of the existing sects into two, will tend to the pacification of the distracted Church.

We say, then, that the English Church is in a more advantageous position than either the Greek or Latin for attempting this great work; and that a judicious mediation between the hostile communities of the East, conducted on true Catholic principles, might have been productive of the most blessed results. Not, indeed, that we, in our complete ecclesiastical isolation, well typified by our position on the globe, with our manifold internal divisions, are in all respects the parties to undertake the pacification of the East. But if there was any providential opening for such a mediation—if the ecclesiastical state of the East was such as to justify us in sending out accredited agents to represent the Anglican Church within the limits of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, as has been done—surely it would have been well to furnish them with some definite instructions for working out some intelligible end. Instead of this, we have

seen Quixotic expeditions, (not, indeed, on any very imposing scale), sent forth with no assignable object, bearing letters to Orthodox or heretical bishops, as the case might be, containing promises which were speedily violated; and we may well fear that the result has been as disastrous as the very limited extent of power and the miserable inefficiency of the agency have allowed it to be.

We have made these remarks because, in order to appreciate the importance of Mr. Neale's labours, only the first part of which has yet been published, it is necessary to understand something of the ignorance that prevails concerning the subject which he has undertaken to elucidate, and of the mischievous consequences that have resulted, and may again result, from that ignorance. Had the history of the oriental Churches, and their present position, the consequence of that history, been better understood in England and America, the many worthy gentlemen (chiefly American Congregationalists) professedly engaged in many parts of the East in 'striving to overcome darkness by diffusing light,' would have spared their labour, such as it is, and the pockets of their zealous but deluded countrymen; nor would the testimony of the orthodox Church of the East ever have been adduced in Europe in support of Protestant novelties.

These remarks are so well illustrated by a passage in the history before us, and the point is one of such importance, that we shall return to it again in an epitome of the life of Cyril Lucar, on which Mr. Neale has thrown much new light. Indeed, the highest commendation is due to him for the diligence which he has shown in collecting materials for his work. Not only has Geneva contributed from its stores for the illustration of the history of the Calvinistic patriarch: Egypt, Orthodox and Jacobite, has been applied to, and has liberally aided Mr. Neale's undertaking. It is not, of course, to be expected that he should be able to recover important documents for the illustration of the earlier history of the Church of Alexandria, as he has done for the elucidation of the private history of Cyril Lucar: the student of any part of the Christian East must be content to follow, at such distance as he may, the learned and laborious Le Quien; the divine who would study the early heresies must not disdain to avail himself of the results of Asseman's gigantic labours: the historian of the Church of Alexandria cannot dispense with the less imposing, but not less accurate results of Renaudot's researches and translations. Nearly all that is left for an historian of this period, is to arrange, digest, and harmonize, by the aid of such commentators as Tillemont Pagi, the narratives of earlier

writers as collected and illustrated by Bafronius, the Bollandists, and others: and if only he has patience and ability for this very laborious and not very engaging task, he will deserve quite as much credit as his predecessors.

We may own to fears which we once entertained concerning Mr. Neale's qualifications for this task, since those fears have not been realised. We had conceived apprehensions that the racy writer of fictitious histories, or historical fictions, which have beguiled our vacant hours, was not precisely the person best calculated to undertake so great a work; the trammels of historic truth, we feared, would prove irksome and intolerable; the pen we thought would run wild into the regions of romance; the mind would not endure the painful toil imposed by the necessity of wading through ponderous tomes, of comparing conflicting authorities, of reconciling discrepancies in names and figures, and yet more fallacious facts; of deciphering uncouth names in outlandish characters, and illegible legends in mouldy manuscripts. Nor should we have been surprised to find such an undue partiality for a single aspect of Catholic truth, with such excessive prejudice against heretical pravity, as might have obscured the faults and infirmities of the orthodox, and magnified those of heretics; as might have seen nothing to censure in the former, and nothing to admire in the latter. It is a common, but a grievous mistake to carry controversial animosity into historical inquiry. These were some of our fears; and we are bound to acknowledge that they did the author great injustice. His *apparatus criticus*, as exhibited without parade in the Preface, shows that Mr. Neale has selected the best authorities, and the notes bear ample witness that he has shrunk from no labour in the use of them: and we would particularize the illustrations of Coptic history from the writings of the Mahometan Makrizi, as peculiarly happy. The summary of the character of Cyril Lucar, which we hope to give, is an evidence that he is disposed to do ample justice even to heretics, and his estimate of the character and actions of his great namesake, is a proof that he is not blindly partial even to the Church's most distinguished champions. This is as it should be, and in the true spirit of the very appropriate and religious motto borrowed from Sozomen, πάντα δέντερα ποιῆσαι τῆς ἀληθείας.

Mr. Neale expresses a hope, 'that whatever judgment may be formed of this history, while its deficiencies are noted, its difficulties will also be remembered.' (Preface, p. xv.) It is a most reasonable request, and we apprehend that no one who is in a position fairly to estimate the difficulties, will be a severe critic of the defects. One chief difficulty, as we apprehend, in the history of this Patriarchate is the double succession, com-

mencing in the sixth century, and continuing until the present day: the orthodox growing continually weaker and weaker, the heterodox stronger and stronger, until it has absorbed the whole Christian community in Egypt, and in all the dependencies of the Alexandrian Patriarchate. Indeed, the histories are so little connected, running only in parallel lines of chronology, but ever preserving their distinctive character, as two rivers whose waters refuse to mix, that we almost question the propriety of bringing them together in one general history. The effect is to give to the work the character rather of a catalogue or chronicle, than of a connected history, and to occasion the reader considerable perplexity and confusion in following the continuous thread of either history, interlaced and entwined as it is with the other. We should have conceived that the more advisable plan would have been to despatch the history of the true Church first, and to throw into a supplement the history of the sect; or, better still, to have reserved a history of the various heretical communities for a separate work, which would have embodied a detailed narrative of the affairs of the Coptic Patriarchate, just as the 'Introduction to the History of the Holy Eastern Church' is reserved for a distinct volume. Mr. Neale will perhaps reconsider this subject in the further progress of his history, or we fear that the triple or quadruple succession in the Church of Antioch may involve the history in an inextricable maze of confusion.

But it is time that we turn to a more particular consideration of the history before us, and exhibit some samples of the style in which Mr. Neale has executed his task.

'It is the constant unvarying tradition both of the East and the West, that S. Mark the Evangelist was the founder of the Church of Alexandria,' (p. 3.) The nature and preparation of the soil in which the seed is sown, may enable us to prognosticate what will be the quality and quantity of the produce.

The formation of the celebrated library by Ptolemy Soter, and the encouragement afforded to science and literature by him and his immediate successors, Philadelphus and Euergetes, had served to establish the Alexandrine School on so solid a foundation, that its neglect by later kings, and its desertion consequent upon the cession of Egypt to the Roman power, could not inflict permanent injury upon it. The long line of names still justly venerated for eminent services to various branches of moral and physical science, its grammarians, rhetoricians, geographers, astronomers, geometricians, and philosophers, had procured for it such credit in the world, that it speedily rallied from its temporary declension, and was thought worthy of the patronage of the Roman emperors. It was adorned with a new museum, whose groves and porticos emulated those of the Athenian

Academy, under the religious direction of a prefect of the sacerdotal order, appointed by the emperors. At its common table were entertained students from all parts of the world, receiving instruction in the several branches of study from an efficient staff of professors, under whose culture the schools of new Platonic and Aristotelic philosophy attained a vigorous growth. This confluence of literati, and the nature of the studies there pursued, would have a tendency, one might have imagined, to foster a spirit of liberalism, and an indifference to all forms of Pagan worship, which would afford an open field for the propagation of the faith. But whether it was that the care of its priestly prefect counteracted this tendency, or whether there is a closer connexion between liberalism and intolerance, between indifference and superstition, than at first sight appears; or whether, lastly, the *φιλόλογοι* of the Alexandrian Museum were more knaves than fools, and felt bound to simulate reverence for the State religion, in compensation for imperial patronage, as Philo seems to imply, certain it is that the *genius loci* was anything rather than hostile to the prevailing polytheism. The philosophy taught in its schools, adapted itself alike to Pagan and Rabbinical mythology; and we are informed by Philo, that 'when Caligula had persuaded himself, and wished to persuade others, that he was a god, he found none among Greeks or barbarians more ready than the Alexandrians to admit his immoderate and superhuman pretensions; for they are addicted,' he says, to 'flattery, trickery, and dissimulation; ever prepared for adulation, and confounding sacred names and terms with unbridled mouth; having so little reverence for the Divine name, that they hesitate not to prostitute it to ibises and poisonous asps, and other beasts. By this prodigality of their use of the titles of Deity, they deceive the simple who are ignorant of Egyptian atheism, but are detected by those who are aware of their excessive folly, or rather impiety.' Such were the greater part of the Egyptians, and as such, ready tools to work out the blasphemous designs of Caligula for his deification; and they merited his lasting gratitude by the summary vengeance which they executed on the unhappy Jews, who refused the impious tribute of divine adoration.

In a city thus signalized above all others by its subserviency to the Emperor in his wildest foolery, where a philosophical atheism, united to unbounded profligacy, prevailed, it was S. Mark's privilege to plant the cross of Christ, and to propound that philosophy which was destined to supersede and survive all human systems. The consequence of the diffusion of light, in the midst of this moral darkness, may be easily foreseen; hatred, opposition, and active hostility, assailed the infant Church; and its first preacher became, as usual, its first martyr.

'The Egyptians, indignant at the progress made by the Gospel, resolved to be avenged on its first preacher. A feast in honour of Serapis, held annually on the twenty-fifth of April, was approaching. Advantage was taken of the circumstance to excite and organize a riot, on the preceding day, Saturday, April 24: the rather, that the Evangelist had denounced the approaching festivity as idolatrous and impious. Seizing S. Mark, and tying a rope round his neck, they drew him through the principal streets of the city, till the blood gushed from his sides: and, at evening, they threw him into prison, while consulting with respect to his fate. On the same night the sufferer was cheered by the appearance of an Angel, who comforted him with the assurance that his name was in the Book of Life; and shortly afterwards by a Vision of the Saviour Himself, who, addressing him by the title of Mark the Evangelist, bade peace be with him. To Whom S. Mark replied, "I yield Thee thanks, O Saviour, that Thou hast counted me worthy to suffer for Thy Name." On the next day, the Pagans drew the Evangelist around the city, as before, until with the words, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit," he went to his rest. It was by the side of the Martyr's tomb in the church of Baucalis, that the election of the Patriarchs took place in after times.'—Vol. i. pp. 7, 8.

Thus, the Church planted by the Evangelist was watered with his blood, and became abundantly fruitful; it drank deep of the cup of its Master's Passion, and contributed a full contingent to the martyr host, in the persecutions that preceded the conversion of Constantine. Its stability in the truth may well be accounted for by the provident care of S. Mark; and we have mentioned the antecedents of the Church of Alexandria, in order to notice the admirable adaptation of the agency employed by him to the peculiar circumstances of that city. It was during the apostle's lifetime and presidency, that a fresh stimulus was given to the study of philosophy in Egypt, by the foundation of a new Museum and school at Alexandria by the Emperor Claudius; and the sophists had thus afforded them fresh vantage ground in their conflict with the faith. In order to counteract the influence of the Pagan museum, S. Mark established a Catechetical School at Alexandria, in which the candidates for baptism were instructed in the elements of religion, while the adults were perfected in the higher verities of the Christian mysteries, by masters of the greatest eminence, who expounded the Sacred Oracles to the disciples by word of mouth or in writing, and refuted the objections of heretics and sophists with arguments borrowed from their schools. But while this constant exercise in dialectics was most admirably devised to meet the peculiar exigencies in the case of the Alexandrine Church, the introduction of the *disciplina arcani* prevented the evil consequences that might have resulted from the premature exhibition of Christian mysteries to the uninitiated. The effect was, that the Christians of the Alexandrian Church were thoroughly grounded in the faith, and consequently stood firm against the repeated attacks of Paganism, as it vainly

essayed to check the irresistible progress of the Gospel. This was the school which was illustrated by the life and writings of Athenagoras, Pantænus, Clemens, and Origen, who prepared their disciples, by precept and example, to labour or to suffer for the truth's sake. As, in the last of the above-named teachers, the Platonic philosophy, as adopted by Christianity, was most fully developed, it may be worth while to exhibit some passages from the history of this remarkable man. We pass over his early education, under the careful superintendence of his father, Leonidas, until he was placed in the Catechetical School, soon after Pantænus had set out on his mission to the Indians, leaving the school in charge of Clemens.

'In the Catechetical School, therefore, Origen was placed; and under Clemens, made rapid progress not only in sacred, but also in profane literature. Here, in all probability, he formed that friendship with Alexander, afterwards Bishop of Jerusalem, which was at a later period so important to his welfare. He also attended the lectures of Ammonius, from whom he drank deeply of that Platonic philosophy which more or less tinged his writings.

'On the breaking out of the persecution, such was Origen's desire for martyrdom, that he was scarcely to be prevented, by the tears and entreaties of his mother, from denouncing himself at the tribunal of the governor. And on the apprehension of his father, he was restrained by little short of main force. . . . He at length contented himself with encouraging S. Leonidas to endure to the end, neither regarding his own sufferings, nor the destitute condition of his wife and her seven sons, of whom Origen, young as he was, was the eldest. S. Leonidas was beheaded, and his family reduced to the deepest poverty, the possessions of the martyr being confiscated. Origen himself was, for some time, an inmate in the house of a rich Christian lady; but as she also entertained Paul of Antioch, a determined heretic, whom she had adopted as her heir, he was at length compelled, through hatred of the false doctrine with which he was thus continually brought in contact, to seek an asylum elsewhere. He then undertook to teach the science of grammar, and in this manner obtained a precarious subsistence.

'Pantænus, on his return from India, where he had found some traces of the labours of S. Bartholomew, and had discovered, it is said, a Gospel of S. Matthew, written in Hebrew,—reassumed his place in the Alexandrian School, assisted by Clemens: Origen heard and revered both. On the death of his master, Clemens succeeded to the entire management of the school. But the fury of the persecution increasing, he was tempted to relinquish his charge, and to retire into Cappadocia. On this, Origen, then but eighteen years old, but whose learning was already famous, by degrees, and, as it would seem, at first of his own accord, undertook the conduct of the first Christian school in the world. Some time having elapsed, and there appearing no hope that the persecution would cease, or that Clemens would return, Demetrius confirmed Origen in his charge, and entrusted to him the care of the Catechumens.

'Origen's first resolution on assuming his new office was, to apply himself entirely to the study of theology. With this view, he sold all his grammatical and philosophical books, for an annuity of four oboli a day: and his frugality and abstemiousness enabled him to support life on this small sum. His meals were so scanty, that he seriously impaired his health; he never tasted wine; he had but one garment; in the severest winters it was his custom to go barefoot; his fasts were frequent and rigorous, and he had

no other couch but the bare floor. His reputation for learning and ability soon extended itself widely. His disciples were numerous; they attended him not only from the commoner class of Christians, but from those of higher attainments in philosophy; nay, there were Pagans who scrupled not to be his auditors.'—Vol. i. pp. 19—21.

In the persecution under Severus, many of his disciples were crowned with martyrdom; while their intrepid teacher visited them in prison, accompanied them to the place of suffering, and consoled them in their last moments.

'Undismayed by the sufferings of his friends and disciples, Origen let no opportunity pass of showing his sympathy with the sufferers in the cause of Christ. He visited them in prison, he was at their side when before the tribunal, he accompanied them to the place of punishment; he conversed with them, he prayed with them, he encouraged them, he supported them, he gave them the kiss of peace. He exposed himself in every possible manner to the fury of the heathens, from whom, on several occasions, he very narrowly escaped; he was more than once arrested, and his life seemed preserved by the special interposition of Providence.'—Vol. i. p. 22.

On the cessation of the persecution, he pursued his *adamantine* labours of lecturing and writing with eminent success, but occasional interruptions, until there arose that serious misunderstanding with his Bishop, Demetrius, which reflects little credit on any of the parties engaged in the dispute. It terminated in the excommunication of Origen, which was confirmed by Heraclas, the successor of Demetrius, but disregarded by the bishops of Palestine. Posterity, however, has justified the sentence of the Alexandrian See, and the writings of few authors have been subjected to such repeated anathemas as those of Origen.

The fact is, Origen wrote too much, and too rapidly; and, with all his extraordinary powers, was not equal to the task which his zealous friend Ambrose imposed upon him. The extent of these requirements will appear from the following passage:—

'Origen was now engaged, at the request of his friend Ambrose, in the composition of those Commentaries on Holy Scripture, some of which have descended to our own time. His friend's zeal scarcely allowed the philosopher the necessary time for food and repose, and well earned for him the title of Adamantius. In correcting and polishing his works, Origen owns how much he was indebted to the kindness and liberality of Ambrose. Grateful for the benefit which he had received from Origen, he provided him with seven amanuenses: the genius and fluency of the philosopher being able to keep so many employed. But, as it is well remarked by Baronius, "An inheritance may be gotten hastily in the beginning, but the end thereof shall not be blessed." If S. Jerome and S. Ambrose were incapable of supplying sufficient work for one notary, the rapidity of Origen's conceptions must be allowed to have been full of danger: and the event proves that it was fraught with mischief. Ambrose provided the whole expenses which were necessary to enable Origen to carry on his studies: they were inseparable companions; their meals were always improved by the reading of some grave work.'—Vol. i. pp. 25, 26.

The consequence of this high pressure is, that while his works are free from very serious doctrinal errors on the subject of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Hypostatic Union, 'his warmest admirers must be contented if they can vindicate him from the charge of grave heresy; for the errors and absurdities which abound in his earlier writings, and more especially in his treatise "Peri Archon," are too manifest to be denied, and too gross to be excused.' (P. 36.) They became the fruitful source of contention in all parts of Christendom, and the controversy has been revived at intervals throughout the Church's history until comparatively recent times. His case is thus put by Mr. Neale.

'He is to be judged, not by his earlier writings, nor by his familiar communications to friends; not by the interpretation of his enemies, nor as an author the whole of whose teaching we possess; but by the works of his matured judgment, and which he himself intended for publication. Again, writing before the Council of Nicæa, he is not to be hastily condemned, should some of his statements appear to differ verbally from the Confession of the Three Hundred and Eighteen: provided it shall appear that, allowing his words that fair latitude of expression which will be conceded to them by all unprejudiced readers, they are not opposed to its meaning.'—Vol. i. p. 33.

We have noticed Origen and his labours, not less on account of the light which they reflect on the former history of the Alexandrian Church, than for the imperceptible influence which he afterwards exercised upon it; for, as the limits of a Review are much too narrow to allow of an abridgment of the entire history, we hope to do more justice to the author and his subject by fixing on some salient points in its progress, as indications of the peculiar modes of thought and feeling in the Egyptian mind, which account for the various phases of its chequered history. The following passage, we apprehend, furnishes the key to the history of the Church of Alexandria, and shows how one and the same principle, operating diversely at several times, furnished to the Catholic world the staunchest champions of orthodox faith, and the author of the most disastrous heresy:—

'It is a curious, and not unprofitable, inquiry, in what degree, and to what effect, the authority of Origen influenced the subsequent history of the Alexandrian Church. Notwithstanding his general condemnation, in after ages, both by East and West, and the more particular odium which attached to his name in Egypt, his influence, (or rather that of his school,) pervaded the Church of that country in a manner of which, at the time, his adversaries and his supporters were alike unconscious. In reading the works of Origen, we are not to consider his tenets and opinions as those of one isolated Doctor;—they are rather an embodiment of the doctrines handed down in the Catechetical School of Alexandria. And this school was the type, or model, according to which the mind of the Alexandrian Church was cast: the philosophy of Pantænus descended to Clemens,—and from him it was caught by Origen. Heraclas, though opposed to the principles of the latter, gave evident tokens of having unconsciously imbibed them:—and, still later, Pierius was known as the second Origen.

'The truth is, that in every people there is a national tendency to carry certain doctrines to an extreme length: an hereditary predisposition, so to speak, to a particular heresy. Thus, the English Church has, from its earliest infancy, evinced a tendency to Pelagianism, and the Ethiopic to Judaism. Now, the two great forms into which heresy has divided itself in all ages, have been rationalism, and that which, for want of a better term, we may call spiritualism, or mysticism. Under the former division we may class Arianism, and Nestorianism; under the latter, Sabellianism, Monophysitism, and Monothelitism. To the one, the Church of Antioch was given from the earliest times; to the other, that of Alexandria. Now of this class was the mind of Origen, the mortal enemy of rationalism, and of all the heresies springing up from it. And Egypt never gave way to any such: and from Egypt arose the Doctors by whom they were overthrown: Arianism by S. Athanasius, Nestorianism by S. Cyril. But to mysticism it fell an easy prey. The head-quarters of Sabellianism were fixed in the Pentapolis; and S. Dionysius, who first exposed that heresy, was not an Egyptian by birth or education. But when, in that exposure, he himself appeared to rationalize, his Diocese was up in arms against the innovation in doctrine. Again:—we may wonder that Apollinaris, the forerunner of Eutychianism, should have risen in Syria, till we remember that his father, the elder Apollinaris, was born and bred in Alexandria. In the same manner Alexandria yielded to the teaching of Dioscorus; while that heresy, as well as Monothelitism, was first detected and exposed in the rationalistic city of Constantinople.

'It is therefore certain, that the same principle which dictated the Angelic theories of Origen, gave birth to the subtle heresy of the Jacobites, and the still more refined poison of Monothelitism. But it is also true that the same tendency, subject in this instance to Catholic authority, produced a S. Athanasius and a S. Cyril. The tendency, in itself, one way or the other, is neither good nor bad; the greatest saints have given proofs of sharing it. S. Chrysostom could not have been a Monophysite, nor S. Cyril a Nestorian.

'Nor is it any objection to urge, that the doctrine of Origen has been accused of Arianism, but never of Sabellianism, and that it was actually appealed to by the Arians in defence of their tenets. It is the property of heresy, that apparently opposing forms should be, in the long run, identical. Thus nothing can, at first sight, seem more directly contrary to Arianism than Nestorianism; yet, in truth, the result of both is the same.—And, indeed, there are passages in the writings of Origen, of an apparently Sabellian tendency, which have not received the consideration, nor been thought worthy of the explanation, that they merit.

'In short, Origen's claim to orthodoxy will probably remain an enigma until the end of all things. He can hardly be accused of heresy, whom S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Gregory Nazianzen, S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, and S. Gregory Nyssen, have defended;—he can hardly be acquitted of it whom so many synods, if not a General Council, have condemned.'—Vol. 1. pp. 37, 38.

For reasons hinted at above, we must forbear to enter on the biographical notices of Saints Athanasius and Cyril—the brightest lights of the Alexandrian Church. Indeed, the eventful life of the former belongs not to a province, but to the world, which he compassed in his wanderings; while his labours, and those of his scarcely less renowned successor in the Evangelical Throne of S. Mark, were universal in time as in space. His conflict was with the world, and through the might of Truth the world was

subdued to the grace that was in him, and renders him grateful homage. These two maintainers of transcendental mysteries, "the angels of the Churches, and the glory of Christ," in a pre-eminent degree, and with an emphasis of propriety,—not more honoured by the devout and fervent veneration of the faithful than by the scorn and contempt of the infidels,—would alone have served to raise the Church over which they presided to the highest dignity in Christendom, and to render it no contemptible rival to the chair of S. Peter.

The causes of the rapid progress of Arianism are ably sketched in the following passage, though not so fully nor so philosophically as by a master-hand in a work devoted specially to that heresy:—

'But, after all, these considerations, though full weight be granted them, are far too confined to account for the instantaneous stride of Arianism from the weakness of infancy to the strength of a giant. Alexander and Arius are not to be regarded as simply the heads of two contending factions; but as the embodiments of two principles, which had from the beginning conflicted in the Church, but had never encountered each other on the same scale as now. That the tradition of the Church, from Apostolic times, was in favour of the teaching of S. Alexander, was sanctioned by the Council of Nicæa, and asserted the true and proper Divinity of the Saviour, is a point that has been triumphantly proved by Catholics of all ages. But it is not less true, that a tradition, disavowed by the Church, but still existing in it, an under-current to the recognised course of the stream, had also existed from primitive times, and taught the opposite doctrine. It was this principle which, assuming different appearances, but still acting to the same end, had in the first century broken forth in the heresies of Cerinthus and Ebion; in the third, in that of Paul of Samosata; and now, finding the Church free from external tribulations, made Arius its mouthpiece. It was but necessary to strike the chord, and in every country hearts were found to respond: the train had long since been laid, and the weakest hand could fire it. The creed of Arius was not heard by his disciples as something new and unknown; they recognised it as the true and boldly developed expression of what they had previously held by implication, but had shrunk from acknowledging nakedly. It is easy to see that many of the texts quoted on both sides in defence of their doctrine, could never have been so cited, had they not come down to them invested with a traditional explanation:—for instance, "My heart hath produced a good word," on the part of the Catholics; "For we which live are alway," on that of the Arians. And thus it happens that a City Priest has hardly been condemned in Alexandria, when Egypt echoes with his doctrine; hardly anathematized in a Provincial Synod, when Antioch and the whole East is lit up with the controversy.'—Vol. i. pp. 121, 122.

The influence, first for good and then for evil, exercised by Monasticism, the indigenous growth of the Egyptian desert, on the interests of the Alexandrian Church, will justify, if it does not demand, a particular notice of the founder of the institution, and of the Rule established by him. The subject, indeed, is full of interest, and deserves a more thoughtful consideration than it has yet received. We should be glad to see it

undertaken by some one qualified for the task by a truly catholic spirit, a sound judgment, a nice discrimination, and a vigorous mind, equally removed from slavish superstition and from Protestant bigotry.

The most that we can here attempt is a brief sketch of the rise and progress of Monasticism in the words of our author. The subject is closely connected with that phase of Egyptian Christianity which has been observed on above; indeed it originated in, and was the legitimate result of, the same mystical temperament that had led to the extravagances of Origen, and was afterwards developed in the Monophysite heresy:—

'Antony was born at Coma, a village near Heracleopolis, and on the boundary of Upper Egypt, about the year 251. Educated at home, by Christian parents of noble birth and considerable property, he was so completely cut off from the knowledge of the world, that he was acquainted with no one out of his own family: nor did he ever learn to read any other language than his native Egyptian. Christianity, during his youth, must have been protected or connived at: for we read that he was in the habit of attending with his parents the church, while at home he was a pattern of obedience and submission. When he had attained the age of twenty, he was left an orphan, with a younger sister in his charge; and for some time he continued the same course of life to which he had been accustomed, and occupied himself with her education, and with the management of his estate. At the end of six months, however, while engaged in meditating on the readiness with which the holy Apostles abandoned all things for the sake of Christ, he was struck, by hearing in the church the words of our Lord, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow Me." At once he resolved to follow the evangelical counsel: and parting with all his estates, which contained three hundred aruræ, and were noted for their fertility, he distributed them among his neighbours, that there might be no dispute between them as to right of possession. His other property he turned into money, and apportioned to the poor, retaining a small portion for the future wants of his sister. But, going a second time to the church, he listened to the words, "Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself:" and on his return home he distributed the remainder of his property to the poor, and placed his sister in a kind of religious house for women, perhaps one of those which had arisen in imitation of the Christian love of Basilissa. There she prolonged her life to a good old age: and, in her turn, became the mother and the directress of many virgins.'—Vol. i. pp. 107, 108.

Was it that the eremitical life is so manifestly contrary to the precept or counsel of our Lord and His Apostles, that nearly all who embraced it professed to have been supernaturally called to it by an express revelation from God? However this may be, yet, considering the countenance which was afforded by the Church to the eremitical and monastic profession for many centuries, we should hesitate to pronounce a very severe judgment upon those who embraced either of these two forms of asceticism; while, with reference to S. Antony himself,—the most illustrious pattern of both professions,—the admiration of his great bio-

grapher,—(admitting, for we are not here concerned with the question, the authenticity of the work attributed to S. Athanasius)—and of other eminent saints of the early Church, and the fact that his example became widely conducive to the conversion of unbelievers to the faith, and to the advancement of Christians in holiness, should assuredly check any sweeping condemnation of his practices, however extravagant they may appear to us,—however contrary to our comfortable notions of the requirements of our holy faith. We find, for example, that only twenty years after the publication of his life by S. Athanasius, its perusal was made instrumental to the conversion of two officers of the Imperial army at Treves; and this fact, communicated to S. Augustine at Milan by his friend Pontitian, with other particulars of S. Antony's history, inspired still more ardent longings than he had yet felt for a life of chastity and continence, and promoted, in no small measure, the conversion of the greatest of the Latin fathers, who, in his turn, proposes the rule of the brethren of the Egyptian desert as a pattern to the noble widow Proba while residing in Africa with her virgin granddaughter Demetrias. So widely did the influential example of this remarkable man and his disciples operate on devout minds, and so rapidly did the contagion of their fervour and self-renunciation spread through the length and breadth of Christendom.

Perhaps the wisest and most religious view of the subject is to regard the eremitical discipline as a providential dispensation, permitted for a time in order to meet the peculiar exigences of the Church, affording a striking instance of the expansive and pliant power of the Catholic system, whereby it adapts itself to all temperaments, and admits of such diversified forms and phases of development. We may regard it, *i. e.* in the same view as the Papal Supremacy, and the union of the spiritual and secular power in one Head; allowed for wise ends, no doubt, but not essential to the polity of the Church,—providentially ordered and continued so long as it seemed good to the Divine wisdom, and then providentially brought to a close. That the ascetic discipline, as practised by S. Antony and his immediate followers, was not of the essence of the Christian religion, nor designed for all time, is proved equally by its rise and by its decline. It was, in fact, rather an accretion upon the apostolic and primitive discipline, than an expansion or development of it; and no one will contend that the monastic rule of any part of the Catholic Church in the present day bears the remotest resemblance to that practised by the hermits that peopled the Egyptian desert, or the Cœnobites that inhabited the rugged mountains of Nitria. And they who have studied reverently,

not scoffingly, the eremitical discipline, as illustrated in the marvellous history of S. Mary of Egypt, written professedly by Zosimus, will probably have concluded that the admiration for such a character, expressed by her historian, and evinced by her canonization, did not betoken a healthy state of religious feeling, and will gladly take refuge in the belief that the narrative is almost certainly spurious.

But we must return to S. Antony, whom we left in his first cell, already engaged in personal conflict with the powers of darkness, rendered visible to his bodily eye, and palpable to his sensible touch, under all manner of hideous and frightful aspects. Of these open assaults of the great enemy, which thickened as the hermit advanced in sanctity, we shall pronounce no opinion, for the subject is involved in difficulty, and trenches on mysteries which we should vainly attempt to unravel. It seems clear that such open assaults, if permitted, are not the most formidable of Satanic temptations: they are, perhaps, mere exhibitions of the impotent rage of a baffled and defeated adversary. The real danger of the advanced Christian lies in temptations of a more subtle and ensnaring kind, from which we shall presently find that S. Antony was by no means exempt.

‘ For some time he dwelt in a monument, situated at a considerable distance from his native village. At the age of thirty-five, he resolved on a more secluded retreat. He would fain have had the aged hermit, from whom he had learnt his first lessons in asceticism, for his companion; but the faith of the old man shrank from an ordeal so terrible in itself, and hitherto so wholly unattempted. On this, Antony crossed the river, penetrated, by himself, the wilder parts of the desert, and took up his abode in a deserted castle among the mountains. He closed its doors, and could not be persuaded to re-open them for twenty years. Bread was brought him half-yearly; and he quenched his thirst in a spring that arose within the building. His fasts were most rigorous: or rather his whole life was one continual fast. He never tasted food till after sun-set; and frequently prolonged his abstinence for three consecutive days. His fame attracted numerous visitors from various parts of Egypt: he spoke to them from his prison, but would not permit them to see his face. Frequently his visitors were terrified by the supernatural and terrific sounds which issued from his castle: but the Saint bade them be of good cheer, and scorn the efforts of those who had been conquered on the Cross.

‘ It was now the middle of the tenth persecution, when Antony, overcome by the solicitations of his friends, who were desirous that he should form a monastic institute, came out of his castle. They were astonished to find the same figure, the same countenance, that they remembered him to have possessed. His fasts and his confinement seemed equally to have been unable to affect him. The miracles that he then performed, as they must much have cheered the faith of the Church under her heavy trial, so they induced many of her children to place themselves under the guidance of the great Hermit.

‘ Between the Red Sea and the Nile, and nearly opposite to Mount Sinai, the desert is intersected by two ranges of mountains which, running north and south, stretch themselves interruptedly for many leagues. That

to the east is now called Zaffarana: that to the west is known by the name Khalili. More northerly, and nearly opposite the ancient Heracleopolis, the mountains run east and west; looking down from their northern side, on the pilgrim's road from Cairo to Suez. The whole of this region was soon tenanted by holy anchorets;—S. Antony himself founded his first, and more illustrious monastery, towards its northern extremity.

‘ It lay nearly equidistant from the cities of Memphis, Babylon, (now Cairo,) and Aphroditopolis (now Atfieh). On an abrupt stony mountain, situated at about thirty miles' distance from the Nile, and only to be surmounted by the laborious zigzags of a winding pass, it received its name from the little town of Troy, which lay somewhat to the south of Babylon. At the summit of this mountain, repeatedly termed by S. Athanasius the *interior*, were two small cells, hewn out of the rock, and here it was that Antony himself principally dwelt: his monastery was situated on the opposite, or *exterior* mountain, known also by the name of Pisper. These savage crags, the barrenness and desolation of the interjacent plains, the melancholy sound of the torrents, falling from rock to rock, till finally lost in the bibulous sand, seem to have impressed those who then visited the spot, as they do modern travellers, with the deepest awe. Soon the adjacent mountains were too narrow a domain for his fervent band of disciples: and, crossing the Nile, they began to fill the deserts in the neighbourhood of Arsinoë.’—Vol. i. pp. 109—111.

We cannot so much as mention the names of the eminent disciples of S. Antony, who propagated his rule in Libya and Syria; we must confine ourselves to the founder of the institution.

Emulous of a martyr's crown, he repaired to Alexandria during the heat of the last pagan persecution; but though he ministered to the confessors in the mines and in prisons, went with the accused before the judge, accompanied the condemned to the place of execution, and, conspicuous in his white robe, courted the notice of the prefect, he was disappointed of his hope, and perceiving that the violence of the persecution had passed, he returned to the mountain.

In the Arian storm that soon afterwards embroiled the Church, he assisted the cause of orthodoxy with his prayers, and encouraged its great champion by his messengers, and once by a personal interview.

‘ At the age of ninety, he was tempted to consider himself the most perfect of all the monks. That night it was revealed to him that he had overrated his attainments, there being a hermit who had made greater advances in holiness, whom he was exhorted to visit. Three days' journey brought him to the cell of S. Paul, the first hermit, then in the ninetieth year of his solitary life. They knew each other at once, though they had never before met: and the raven that had brought half a loaf daily for the supply of Paul's wants, on that day came charged with a double portion. S. Paul knew by revelation that the hour of his departure was at hand; after sharing his repast with his guest, and spending the night in prayers and psalms, willing to spare S. Antony the pain of witnessing his death, he requested him to fetch him a mantle which S. Athanasius had bestowed on him. Antony returned with speed to his monastery for the purpose of bringing it: on coming back again, he beheld in a vision the soul of S. Paul carried by

angels into Heaven. Hastening onward to the cell, he found the corpse of the hermit in an attitude of prayer, and bitterly lamented that he had known so late one whom he had lost so soon.—Vol. i. pp. 176, 177.

His own death took place fifteen years later, in the midst of the Arian persecution of the orthodox in Alexandria.

‘During these troubles, S. Antony, who had now attained the hundred and fifth year of his age, found his health gradually decline. Calling two of his most favoured disciples to him, he said, “My sons, as Scripture saith, I am going the way of all the earth: the LORD hath called me, and I am desirous to depart.” After exhorting them to avoid all heresy and schism, he left one sheep-skin cloak, and a cloak on which he was then lying, to S. Athanasius: another sheep-skin to S. Serapion of Thmuis: and his vest of hair to those whom he was addressing. “And now,” he continued, “farewell; Antony is going,—and will not be seen in this world among you again.” And so he departed to his rest.’—Vol. i. p. 187.

The results of his zealous labours and example are recorded in the following passages:—

‘It is a strange and almost incredible picture that Cassian draws, who visited the most celebrated Egyptian monasteries towards the close of the fourth century. On the mountains of S. Antony five thousand monks followed his example, and venerated his memory. Near Hermopolis, S. Apollonius was charged with the spiritual conduct of five hundred recluses: S. Isidore, in the Thebais, with that of a thousand. At Antinöus, Dioscorus instructed twice that number: five thousand occupied the Desert of Nitria: five hundred, that of Cells. The Rule of Tabenna was followed in most of the Egyptian monasteries: twice a year the monks met, or, as it would afterwards have been termed, held a chapter of their order: at Easter, and in August; and the Easter Communion was sometimes attended by fifty thousand monks. These monasteries consisted, for the most part, of about thirty houses: each house contained a certain number of brethren, generally about forty, who all wrought at the same trade: and these were distributed by three and three in cells. The houses were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, and the inmates of the house wore that letter worked on their habit. Three or four houses formed a tribe,—that is, a body that during one week took, in turns, the manual labour, the more immediate service of the Church, and every other branch of monastic discipline. Their usual food was biscuit and water: of the former they took two of six ounces each, one at three in the afternoon, the other at sunset. This quantity of food was not easily eaten by the novices, but was found necessary, after long trial. On festivals, the first meal was taken at noon: but no alteration was made in the quantity or quality of the food.

‘They met for prayer at night-fall, and at midnight. It consisted of twelve Psalms, recited by one of their number, standing, the rest sitting on low stools; for their labours and fastings did not permit them to stand. At the end of each Psalm, they rose, continued awhile in mental prayer, prostrated themselves for a moment, and again sat. To the Psalms were added two lessons, one from the Old, and one from the New Testament: except on Saturday, Sunday, and in the Paschal Season, when they were both from the New Testament. They communicated on Saturday and Sunday morning: on other mornings they did not meet for prayer, but continued at work in their cells, and engaged in mental devotion.

‘But the nearest approach to Heaven which was ever made by the Church Militant, was to be found at Oxyrinchus. It was a large city: but

the monks and consecrated virgins formed the greater part of the population. The number of the former was ten, of the latter twenty thousand. There was neither heretic nor Pagan in this city. It contained, besides the oratories of the recluses, twelve churches; the praise of God continually resounded in its streets; and by the order of the magistrates, there were police continually on the look out for the poor and the strange, who were constantly supplied and lodged by the wealthier citizens.'—Vol. i. pp. 229, 230.

Having said so much of the Catechetical School of Alexandria and its most renowned teacher—of the monastic institution and its great founder—the two principal facts in the early Egyptian Church, which colour all its subsequent history—we must pass rapidly over the later pages of the first, and the former half of the second volume, for we have a promise to fulfil at the end of it.

On the second book, which treats of the Nestorian Heresy, we must, therefore, forbear to enter, or we should be glad to exhibit the candour of our historian in his estimate of S. Cyril's conduct, and that of the Oriental Bishops, (p. 258, note 1, and pp. 274—277.) With S. Cyril, the glory of the Alexandrian Church departed, and 'though some bright years were still in store for it, they were but like a parting sun-gleam before a long night.'—vol. ii. p. 44.

Dioscorus, the immediate successor of S. Cyril, fell into the opposite error to that which his great predecessor had successfully opposed, and the Monophysite heresy seduced those who had stood firm against Arian and Nestorian perversion. The very monks, who had hitherto lent their influence to support the orthodox faith, were now unhappily arrayed against it; and albeit their violent partisanship had reflected little credit on the Church, when employed on its behalf, it became still more disastrous when directed against it; so that it becomes a question whether their former services were not more than counterbalanced by their subsequent desertion.

To the Monophysite controversy, in its various ramifications, succeeded the Monothelite with its still nicer and more intricate subtleties, which gave rise to still more interminable disputes, until the strife of the contending parties was rudely silenced by the fierce war-cry of the Saracenic invaders, under the command of the victorious Amrou.

From this time forward, the Christian history of Egypt deals much more largely with the heretical, than with the orthodox Church.

'We have little for many centuries, but some lists of names, and catalogues of dates, which vary as much from each other, as all differ from truth. Of the Jacobite succession, indeed, we have full and authentic accounts from Severus and his continuers: and to these we shall often be forced to confine ourselves. The orthodox Patriarchs we must be content to receive from the inaccurate annals of Eutychius, whose comparative

value we then only learn, when his history, terminating in his own elevation to the chair of S. Mark, leaves us in midnight darkness.'—Vol. ii. p. 59, 60.

'With the arrival of the Saracens, the Jacobites became, in a certain sense, the Christian Establishment of Egypt. It is true, they were sometimes exposed to persecution; but they always retained a degree of consequence and reputation; and in the eyes of the Mussulmans, the Jacobite Patriarch was the Patriarch of Alexandria. It is not difficult to account for this state of affairs. The Jacobites were, in the first place, by far the more numerous body: if we may believe Makrizi, the number of the Melchites did not amount to four hundred thousand.

'Furthermore, from the circumstance that the Catholic Faith was the faith of the State, all the civil governors and officers in the army, all, in short, who had offered any opposition to the Mahometans, were orthodox in their creed:—a circumstance not calculated to procure it much favour in the eyes of the conquerors. Again, the Jacobites had suffered so severely from the Emperors of Constantinople, that, for the most part, they welcomed with open arms a change of dynasty; and thus procured favour in the eyes of their new masters. It may also be remarked, that the Melchites were for the most part Greeks, or of Greek extraction: the Jacobites, native Egyptians. The Mussulmans therefore could not but regard the former as the immediate dependants on their great enemy, the Emperor of Constantinople. Greek usages were beginning among them to supersede, as they afterwards did in a far more engrossing manner, national rites; and the circumstance that, however much in defiance of the Canons, the Catholic Patriarch was now usually consecrated in the Imperial City, would render him an object of suspicion to the Saracens.

'To all this, we may add two further considerations. The one, that the natural tendency of error is to unite with error; the other, that the Catholic Church could not have been surprised in a more inopportune hour. The Master came; but she was not prepared. Her chief pastor was a heretic; and the sympathy and communion of the rest of Christendom, which might have supported and cheered her, were withheld or wanting.'—Vol. ii. pp. 72, 73.

We should be carried much too far were we to attempt to elucidate the position of the Christians under the Caliphs of the various dynasties. The narrative, full of interest in itself, is interspersed with numerous anecdotes illustrative of the characters that figure in the various acts of the great drama; and the monotony of the ecclesiastical history is agreeably broken by the intervention of the Crusades, and other civil or political revolutions. The interference of the Portuguese in the ecclesiastical affairs of Abyssinia, and their abortive attempts to subjugate the Coptic Church of that country to the Roman See, is also an interesting episode in the history; but as these proceedings affected the heretical communities almost exclusively, and as our limits oblige us to confine ourselves to the orthodox succession, we must refer the reader to the work itself for the instructive particulars, and we will venture to promise that his attention will not flag in the perusal.

We hasten to conclude our task with the promised notices of the Life of Cyril Lucar, which belongs to the latter part of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries.

Born of a good family in the city of Candia, he was sent to Venice in the twelfth year of his age, and there commenced the studies which he afterwards completed at Padua. This course was adopted on the recommendation of his relative, Meletius Piga, who was afterwards raised to the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

‘Cyril became not only acquainted with Latin, but also with Italian; and, on the completion of his academical career, resolved to visit several of the most famous European cities, and, more especially, to inquire for himself into the real condition and character of the Reformed communities, of which so much was heard, and so little known, in Egypt.

‘It were much to be wished that we had any history of his wanderings: we should then be enabled more clearly to trace the gradual steps by which, from a sincere desire for the elevation and purification of his Church, he was led to assimilate fearfully with Calvinian Doctrine. But we only know, that he visited Geneva, Holland, and, it would seem, England; and thence returned to his own country.

‘On the return of Cyril to Alexandria, Meletius Piga, finding him as opposed as ever to the Roman Church, seems never to have inquired whether his principles might not have been warped by his close connexion with several of the Reformers, but in a short time raised him to the Priesthood, and finding that he continued to deserve promotion, made him Archimandrite.’—Vol. ii. p. 360.

In this capacity he passed a year at Constantinople—it does not appear on what business—at the end of which term he was sent into Poland, as delegate of Meletius, on a difficult and delicate mission. This was an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the union of the orthodox of Lithuania and Black Russia to the See of Rome, which Sigismund III., king of Poland, was using his utmost efforts to effect.

‘Finding his efforts unavailing, Cyril returned to Alexandria, with considerable increase of reputation, and a high character for political talent as well as learning. He found his services required in another way, and was dispatched into Crete, to collect the usual contributions for the Patriarchate. He went by way of Constantinople and Paros; and it was at the former place that he formed an intimacy with M. Von Haga, then travelling in the Levant, which also exerted a powerful influence on his future views. Nor need we wonder at this. Cyril could not but see that his Church stood in need of reformation; the doctrines then controverted in the West had received no elucidation nor decision, as they since have, in an Oriental Synod; the views of Lucar were probably indistinct and ill-defined, and rendered, perhaps, more obscure both by his intercourse with Romanists and with Protestants. In this state of things, a compact, clear, well-defined, and logical system was set before him by the teachers and disciples of Calvinism: they seemed to have worked their way gradually, to have shrunk from sudden disclosures and open attacks; and as Cyril seems to have been possessed but of moderate though highly respectable talents, and certainly had no knowledge of the Calvinistic controversy beyond that which Calvinists were pleased to give, we cannot wonder that he fell into their snare. Haga’s character stood high; and one great object of his life seems to have been the bringing about an union between Geneva and Constantinople.

‘On his return to Egypt, he found his benefactor and relation, Meletius Piga, on his death-bed, and closed his eyes.’—Vol. ii. pp. 363, 364.

Cyril succeeded to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, which he governed in peace for ten years.

‘It was in the year 1612 that, on the removal of Neophytus from the Œcumenical Throne by the caprice of the Sultan, Cyril Lucar was compelled to visit Constantinople, in order to assist in the deposition of the Patriarch, and to administer the affairs of that Church. Here he found his old friend, M. Von Haga, who then occupied the post of ambassador from the States to the Sublime Porte; and the acquaintance thus renewed soon became a cordial friendship.

‘Cyril arrived in Constantinople before, or at the beginning of Lent; and it so happened that in one of the sermons preached during that season, a Greek Monk, who was an agent of the Jesuits, publicly preached Romanist doctrines in one of the Greek churches. The Jesuits had established a college at Constantinople about the year 1601: the buildings were handsome, the library well assorted, and the Priests laborious, active, and intriguing. They soon made great way with the Greeks: but, strange to say, found more difficulty with members of the Roman Communion. The latter were, for the most part, under the spiritual guidance of Franciscans and Dominicans who viewed the advances of the new Society with jealousy: and were not without their fears lest the turbulent and intermeddling spirit it displayed at Constantinople, should occasion the banishment of all Romanists from that city. Cyril publicly opposed the new doctrine, and thereby drew upon himself the deadly and implacable hatred of the Jesuits; and a struggle commenced between him and that Society, which only ended with his life.

‘Hitherto Cyril’s conduct seems to have been irreproachable. He may indeed have theoretically entertained too favourable an opinion of the Protestant communities on the Continent; but this opinion had not influenced his conduct. By the advice of Von Haga, while administering the See of Constantinople, he wrote to M. Uytenbogaert, Minister at the Hague, of whom he had possibly gained some knowledge by report during his European travels. This was the first step in his ruin.—Vol. ii. p. 364—366.

We regret that we cannot find space for the correspondence of the Patriarch with the Dutch minister, our own Archbishop Abbot, and Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, which last is now published for the first time. His progress in error is marked in these letters by a gradual apostasy from the doctrine of the Eastern Church, and a growing attachment to Protestant tenets. An intimacy with M. David le Leu de Wilhem, a Dutch gentleman of good fortune and liberal education, at that time travelling in Egypt, served still further to warp his mind and to attach him more strongly to Genevan teaching. In 1621, the Œcumenical throne of Constantinople became vacant by the death of Timothy. ‘Cyril was unanimously elected Patriarch, and from this time he scarcely knew an hour’s peace.’

‘Cyril Lucar’s attention was, immediately on his promotion, drawn to the progress which the Jesuits were making at Constantinople; and they, on their part, were not less anxious narrowly to watch the proceedings of one who had hitherto shewn himself their most determined enemy. The Patriarch’s first proceeding was the publication of a Pastoral mandate, by which all the Faithful were desired to withdraw themselves from the communion of all members of the Latin Church.

' This blow struck directly at the Jesuits; and they were not long in shewing that they felt and resented it. By the influence of the French ambassador, they made Gregory of Amasea, a man who had openly submitted to the Pope, Anti-patriarch; but this step was quite unsuccessful. On the Saturday following the publication of Gregory's elevation, Cyril, accompanied by four Archbishops, and many of his Clergy, solemnly excommunicated the intruder, after a sermon, in which, without expressly mentioning the Jesuits, he referred to certain incendiaries, with whom it would be necessary to deal more severely, unless they desisted from their plots. The government took the matter up: Gregory was banished, and, while on his way to the place of exile, strangled.

' In the following April, the Jesuits waited on the Vizir, with the information that Cyril was intriguing with the Florentines, in the intention of delivering up to them one of the Islands of the Archipelago. As this accusation was accompanied by a present of twenty thousand dollars, the Vizir paid immediate attention to it; and without attending to Cyril's defence, sent him prisoner to Rhodes.

' But now a serious difficulty arose. The Jesuits urged the election of another Patriarch; but the Greeks affirmed that the throne was not vacant, and that if an intruder attempted to occupy it, they would not pay the *Pescesium*, without which the Turkish government would recognize no Patriarch. In this difficulty the Jesuits cast their eyes on Anthemius, Archbishop of Adrianople, a rich but worthless man, and offered to secure his election, if he would consent to pay the requisite sum. Anthemius agreed; and he was thus raised to the dignity that he coveted.'—Vol. ii. pp. 411—413.

' Urban VIII., on hearing of the exile of Cyril, wrote a letter of thanks to the French ambassador, Count de Cesi, congratulating him on the service he had done to the Catholic Faith. "Your actions at Constantinople," says he, "have been heard by the Roman Church with applause. We know the calamities which have involved that son of darkness and champion of hell, and the blow that was struck at heresy, while through your efforts the Venerable Father Anthemius was set over the Church of Constantinople. While you remain the supporter of his dignity, we shall know that the Church in that part of the world does not lack a strenuous defender." But at the same time, King James I. wrote to our ambassador, Sir Thomas Rowe, desiring him to procure, at any cost, the recall of Cyril. The necessary orders having been issued, Cyril returned on the first of September, to Galata; and Anthemius, either struck with remorse, or overcome by fear, waited on him, and offered to resign to him the Patriarchate. But Cyril thought that thus to accept it would be both uncanonical and dangerous, and contented himself with receiving the declaration of Anthemius that the patriarchal throne was vacant: waiting God's time to be restored to his rightful dignity. Count de Cesi, on hearing this, was furious; and having sent for Anthemius, and bitterly reproached him with his cowardice, he persuaded him, by a large sum of money and by promises of protection, to continue to act as Patriarch. He was again proclaimed, especially at Galata, and retained his dignity for some little time longer. At length, overcome by terror, he went to Cyril by night, abdicated the Patriarchate, and besought absolution, protesting that he would rather suffer death than again mount the throne of Constantinople. After this, he retired to the Holy Mountain, with the intention of passing his time in religious seclusion in the Monastery of S. Athanasius. Cyril's friends now persuaded him to come forward; and, by the assistance of a considerable *Pescesium*, he was again recognized as legitimate Patriarch. This business, however, cost the Church of Constantinople sixty thousand dollars,—the interest of which (for it was borrowed) weighed it down for many years.'—Vol. ii. pp. 417, 418.

The Jesuits, however, would not be quiet. The Propaganda next interfered, but for some time without success, thanks to the kind offices of Sir Thomas Rowe, then British Ambassador at Constantinople. An Anti-patriarch was sent out with the title of Apostolic Suffragan, but he was not received by the Greeks, and was glad to make a safe and speedy retreat to Rome.

In the following June a Greek Monk, named Nicolas Metaxa, arrived from England with a printing press, a fount of Greek types, and the requisite knowledge of the art of printing: under the patronage of the Patriarch, and the protection of the British Ambassador, he commenced practising his craft, and undertook to print the celebrated '*Oriental Confession of Christian Faith*,' by Cyril Lucar. The project was defeated for the time, but the work was afterwards published in Latin at Geneva, and, when translated into Greek, became a fruitful source of contention in the Eastern Church. It could not be otherwise, for, although it represented only the private views of its author, whose Calvinistic tendencies had been confirmed by time and by his intercourse with Protestants, yet it was put forth in the name of the Orthodox Church, and with all the authority that the title of the Œcumenical Patriarch could give it. It was opposed to the dogmatic teaching of the Greek Church on several fundamental points, as on the Rule of Faith, Election and Reprobation, the Intercession of Saints, Justification, the number of the Sacraments and the mode of their operation, and on other points of less importance: and was consequently hailed by the Protestants of Europe as an important confirmation of their protest against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome. But for the Orthodox Greeks themselves, however firm and uncompromising they might be in the maintenance of their own spiritual independence, and of the distinctive teaching of their own Church as opposed to that of Rome, yet they had no inclination at all to the cold and deadening theology of any Protestant school, and were as little patient of the platform of Geneva as of the throne of the Vatican.

But to return to the narrative. No sooner was the press in operation than the printer and his patron became objects of the fury of the Jesuits. False accusations were invented, with a view to instigate against them the Turkish authorities, and the whole city was thrown into confusion. The influence of the English ambassador was, however, sufficient to protect the patriarch and Metaxa from personal violence, and to procure the banishment of the intriguing missionaries. And now the Genevans, considering their triumph complete at Constantinople, proceeded to extend their influence, and cast their eyes on Egypt

as a hopeful field for proselytism. Gerasimus had succeeded Cyril as Patriarch of Alexandria.

'M. Leger was now pastor of the Dutch congregation at Pera; and he appears to have exercised considerable influence over Cyril. He and Von Haga, having been successful beyond their hopes at Constantinople, now turned their views to Alexandria, thinking that Gerasimus might be as easily won as his predecessor. They accordingly wrote to the Patriarch, and Cyril seems to have accompanied their letters with one of his own. They proposed, at the expense of the States-General, to erect colleges, and to establish printing-presses in Egypt, on condition that the Calvinistic bodies were received to the Communion of the Alexandrian Church. The bribe was tempting, but Gerasimus thus replied, in an excellent letter:—

"Unity," he observes, "is that at which all Christians ought to aim; but it is necessary to be careful that it is a true, not a false unity. We can only give peace on the same terms on which Christ gave it. A suspected peace is more dangerous than open warfare. Colleges would indeed be a boon to Alexandria; but not on the terms proposed. The recent attempts to make the Scriptures more clear than Christ left them, are by no means to be approved. The obscurity of Scripture has always been confessed; the Apocalypse may more truly be called an *obvelation* than a revelation. There are, for those that need them, the catecheses of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. John Studites, S. Gregory Nyssen."—Vol. ii. p. 431.

Meanwhile, the Papal emissaries were not inactive. The French ambassador at the Porte, two Greek prelates of the Roman communion, and Cyril of Beræa, a plotting ambitious metropolitan of the Orthodox Church, but a disciple of the Jesuits, amply compensated for the absence of the missionaries. Cyril Lucar was banished a second time, and only restored to his throne on the payment of an enormous bribe, to be supplanted again, and driven a third time into exile, the very next year.

Mr. Neale has been so fortunate as to recover twenty-three letters, addressed by the patriarch to the Dutch preacher, M. Leger; in addition to those published by Aymon, in his '*Monumens Authentiques*.' They belong principally to this period, and show how complete was the ascendancy that Protestantism had gained over him, how entire was his apostasy from the Catholic teaching of the Orthodox Church; so that he hesitated not to adopt the conventional phraseology employed by ultra-Protestants to stigmatize Catholic mysteries—phraseology which Mr. Neale justly remarks, 'can be called nothing less than profane.' At length, in 1636, he was restored to his throne for the last time; and it is curious that his abandonment of the principles which his office pledged him to defend, is most distinctly announced in a letter addressed by him to the senators of Geneva, immediately after his final restoration, in which letter he declares his adhesion to Calvin, and his admiration for his teaching. He was not long allowed to occupy his throne in peace; the friends of the deposed patriarch, Cyril of Beræa, were 'the sworn enemies of Cyril Lucar; the Jesuits were still active;

and the true sons of the Eastern Church seemed almost extinct.' We give the conclusion of his troubled life, and a summary of his character, in the words of our author:—

'His enemies, finding that the banishments of Cyril did not advance their own views, determined on his death. And remembering that they had always succeeded best with the Sultan in his absence from Constantinople, they conceived that they had now an excellent opportunity; as Amurath was about to march against Bagdad. They accordingly made interest with Bairam Pasha, who was high in the Sultan's favour from his zeal in this very expedition; and between the Infidel Minister and the agents of the Jesuits the ruin of Cyril was concerted. It happened that while Amurath was on his march, the Cossacks seized Azof; and Bairam, together with another of Cyril's enemies, Hussain Pasha, informed the Sultan that that enterprise had been favoured, if not instigated by Cyril; and that it was most unwise policy to leave so active a man in Constantinople. Amurath, carried away by anger, instantly signed Cyril's death-warrant, and dispatched it to Constantinople. The orders arrived at Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of June; and Musa Pasha, the governor of the city, prepared to carry them into execution. But, fearing that the execution of Cyril in the heart of Constantinople might raise a tumult, the janissaries whom he dispatched were instructed to say, that they were sent to carry the Patriarch on board ship, it being the Sultan's pleasure that he should be sent into exile. Cyril at once submitted; he went that evening on board a boat, expecting to be conveyed to S. Stephano, a small town near Constantinople, where a vessel was said to be waiting for him. But no sooner were they out of sight of land, than, perceiving what their real intention was, he knelt down, and prayed earnestly. When he had ceased, after some abuse and a few blows, they put the bowstring about his neck, and having done their work, threw his body into the sea. It was picked up by some fishermen, and returned to his friends, by whom it was buried decently. But the malice of his enemies did not end with his life: they complained to the governor of the city, by whose orders the corpse was disinterred, and again thrown into the sea. Washed on shore by the billows, it was buried in one of the islands in the bay of Nicomedia.

'Thus, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his Patriarchate, fell Cyril Lucar: a man, whose character can hardly be given, without the risk of doing injustice to his own piety, or speaking lightly of the pernicious doctrines which he taught. It is necessary to keep in mind the vast difference between the propagation of heresy, and the being an heretic, if we would judge of him rightly. The greater part of the doctrines he held had never been censured by his own Church; those who opposed them, opposed them for their own interested ends, and in combating heresy were guilty of schism. Those who held them were Cyril's superiors in learning, his friends, his protectors, his patrons; those who rejected them, his inferiors in every way, his own enemies, and in union with the Infidels. Had the Council of Bethlehem been held previously, Cyril would never probably have fallen into the snares laid for him; or, if he had, must have been more severely judged. It is worthy of remark, that this Council, while condemning his errors, spoke of ten thousand witnesses to his well known piety. Indeed, his humility and patience are conspicuous through the whole tenor of his letters.

'Therefore, while we utterly reject the Protestant idea that he died as a saint and a martyr, we are nearly as far from entertaining that of Rome, that he perished as a notorious and obstinate heretic, whose body sea and land equally refused to receive. Considering what he did and what he suf-

fered, the strength of his enemies, the weakness of his friends, the power of his early associations, the unkindness and unfairness of Rome, the bitterness of his persecutors, his own meekness, and patience, and great humility, and using towards him that charity of judgment which we should ourselves desire, we are justified in believing, that, notwithstanding his many errors,—

“ After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well.”

‘The executioners having carried Cyril's clothes to the market in Constantinople for the purpose of disposing of them, there was an universal burst of grief among the Christians: Cyril of Beræa was openly called villain, murderer, and Pilate, and a body of petitioners entered his house, demanding the corpse. Failing in this application, they applied to the Mahometan authorities; but, of course, to as little purpose.’—Vol. ii. pp. 453—455.

But the troubles to which his unhappy writings had given occasion did not terminate with his own career. Indeed he had but lived to see their commencement. The influence of the Latins again rose in the Turkish capital; through their interest, Cyril of Beræa, the ambitious and vindictive rival of Cyril Lucar, again succeeded to the patriarchate; and, three months after his elevation, a council assembled at Constantinople pronounced an anathema on Cyril, which was subsequently confirmed in the Synod of Jassy, (A.D. 1642.) The Council of Bethlehem, at a later period (A.D. 1672), under the presidency of Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, spared the memory of the Patriarch, while it anathematized the Calvinistic teaching embodied in his writings. The course they adopted was remarkable—The Orthodox Confession was declared a forgery of the Protestants palmed upon the Œcumenical Patriarch, in order to obtain credit for their pestilent novelties, but evidently none of his, as was proved by a comparison of his acknowledged writings, all consonant with orthodox belief. The defence, though ingenious, was scarcely consistent with the decrees of Constantinople and Jassy accepted by the Council. Besides, the authorship of the obnoxious Confession was too plainly avowed by Cyril to allow us to entertain the slightest doubt of its genuineness; and we apprehend that, had the fathers of Bethlehem been in possession of the correspondence with M. Leger, such a defence could never have been attempted.

We have dwelt at such length on this instructive history, because, as we have said, we deem it so important as a warning to those who, in these days, would renew the attempts of the Calvinists of the seventeenth century, to Protestantize the Oriental Churches. It failed then, and it must fail again. The genius of the eastern mind is wholly opposed to the growth of ‘Protestant principles’—if the phrase be not an absurdity—it cannot rest satisfied with mere negations. Nothing but a combination of circumstances could have made Cyril Lucar a Calvinist—his

European education; his early prejudices against Rome, heightened into disgust by what he had witnessed in Poland, and by the machinations of the Jesuit missionaries in Constantinople; his extensive acquaintance among learned and estimable Protestants, and their important services; to which may be added the miserably corrupt state of his own Church. Yet the zeal, the learning, and personal piety of the Œcumenical Patriarch, united to many amiable qualities, which made him beloved in life and regretted in death, could not commend his tenets to the acceptance of his people: with all these advantages, Calvinistic teaching took no root; but, after a desperate struggle of half a century, sank abashed before the acts of the Council of Bethlehem.

And here we take leave of Mr. Neale for the present, with the sincere expression of our best wishes for his success in the further progress of his labours, the continuation of which, we are happy to see, is already announced. The important work which he has undertaken, is worthy of his best and most anxious care, and we hope that his industry will not flag until he has brought it to a happy completion. Only let not the '*timæ labor et mora*' be deemed irksome and unprofitable. Perhaps a more diligent application of the former might have removed some minor blemishes which may have been detected in the composition, but do not call for serious animadversion; and an extension of the latter might have supplied some defects which are not to be visited severely, and to which we allude merely to introduce the expression of a hope that the warning of Origen's example may not be lost on his historian,—that he will not write too much or too hastily. A life is barely sufficient to do full justice to the subject which he has in hand.

ART. V.—*Letters of William III. and Louis XIV. and of their Ministers, illustrative of the Domestic and Foreign Politics of England, from the Peace of Ryswick to the Accession of Philip V. of Spain.* Edited by PAUL GRIMBLOT. London: Longman & Co. 1848.

THE valuable collection of political letters here published are the fruit, as we are informed in the preface, of many years' labour and protracted researches on the part of the editor. Those who are unaccustomed to the dust and weariness of such pursuits have probably no conception of the untiring perseverance and patient zeal which are necessary for the examination of archives and state papers, with a view of extracting and arranging such portions of them as may be presented to the public in a comprehensive form. M. Grimblot, however, has accomplished his work, and the world at its ease may now peruse letters of William III., Louis XIV., and their able ministers, of great historical interest, which hitherto have been scattered throughout Europe in public offices and family records.

The progress of constitutional government had not reduced the power of the crown to its present dependence on the will of its ministers in the age when these letters were written. Struggles, indeed, had taken place in England to gain this object, with fearful results, and royalty had twice fallen in that century; but the government of a popular administration was as yet very imperfect and very partial. The *people* were able, with a convulsive effort, to shake off the Stuarts; but they were unable to resist the arbitrary spirit of Dutch William, who very naturally, when sent for to be King of England, determined to be so. He did not leave the native flats of Holland where his affections ever dwelt, in order to be the tool of English prime ministers—he did not invade the dominions of his father-in-law, and place himself among strangers—without the recompence of gratifying his ambitious turn of mind. William III. was the deviser of his own counsels; and, though much disturbed by the constant effervescence of a parliament impatient at its small share in the executive, and fond of using its power to refuse supplies, and thus to hold the king in check, had yet the pleasure of corresponding with foreign nations as if he alone were responsible. His letters, therefore, were real and responsible national documents, and as such capable of showing the character of the writer, and impressing an individual mark on national affairs.

Of Louis le Grand it is unnecessary to say that he was King of France, truly and literally. In his letters we find the directing spirit of one man speaking for the nation, not at the people's bidding, or, on the other hand, as a stranger ruling them, but as the exercise of a paternal discretion made him see fit. Both the circumstances of the period, and the characters of these two kings, combine to give great interest to the genuine communications which were actually the cause of political events. In these very letters we may see the fountain, as it were, and the small beginnings of after history.

The period comprehended in these two volumes is about three years and a half. First, we have three months' correspondence previous to the treaty of Ryswick, signed September 2, 1697. Then follows the lengthened discussion on the first partition treaty, carried on through Lord Portland, Ambassador Extraordinary at Paris, and Count Tallard, who occupied the same post in London. The overgrown empire of Spain was without an heir, and Charles II. was likely soon to quit his earthly throne, where he had passed but a sorrowful life: his dominions, therefore, were portioned out in the imaginations of France and England in such a way as seemed most likely to preserve the peace of Europe. The first treaty on this subject was signed October 11, 1698; but its arrangements, that were the result of so much forethought, were entirely put aside in six months' time by the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. A fresh correspondence, therefore, was carried on, which, from its similarity to the former, is not given so fully in the present collection.

The second partition treaty was concluded May 13, 1700, and on the 1st of November the King of Spain cleared the ground for its operation; but behold, this treaty also vanished! Louis XIV. could not resist the temptation of allowing his grandson to be placed on the throne of Spain.

Vain, however, as were these treaties, as far as their direct fulfilment is concerned, the historian may learn much of the conditions and views of the nations of Europe from the proposals which underwent discussion, and the manner in which it was thought such affairs were to be settled.

The history of England during the reign of William III. is acknowledged to be but little known, partly from the accident of two historians being cut short in their labours before they arrived at this period, while others, who have written on more recent times, have commenced at subsequent eras. This deficiency is, however, just now supplied in the history of Mr. Macaulay, to whom M. Grimblot has dedicated his work. No doubt, therefore, the new light which these letters are capable of

affording is amply made use of; and in the hands of one so well acquainted with English history, we have confidence that they will but be appreciated at their true and impartial value, and not, as M. Grimblot would seem to imply, be made to change the whole character of the reign in public estimation. The examination of these documents gives undoubtedly a more favourable idea of William's honesty and sincerity of heart than the very uncomely notions which are generally held of him would allow. But his career as King of England remains unsatisfactory as ever. The more we go into the details of any period of history, the more do we see the broad outlines between the right and the wrong softened down. Men who figure in more general history as perfect models, or as given up to everything bad, are found on closer and more personal inspection to have acted, after all, very much on the same principles which guide the average of mortals. Yet we fancy that the larger and more general views of history often convey a juster estimate of historic character than the details; for in the one case we think of kings as kings, or responsible ministers as such, and in the other we are inclined to look on them as men of but the same responsibility which a private station confers; because we think what we ourselves would do under like emergencies; and, surely, men must be judged according to their positions, with the mixture of good and evil, and the varieties of temptation and of stimulus, pertaining to every man's lot.

M. Grimblot is an ardent constitutionalist, and starts with the idea that William III. is the representative of his principles. The confidential and friendly tone of his letters to Lord Portland confirms this favourable impression, and William, forthwith, is perfection. We will, however, give his own words:—

‘It ill becomes a foreigner, I am aware, to reproach any nation with a want of gratitude. But William III. is not a man of one nation more than of another; he is the representative of a principle. Frenchman though I be, I look upon William III. as one of the greatest characters in history; and I willingly say with Mr. Hallam, that “a high regard for the memory of William III. may justly be reckoned one of the tests by which genuine Whiggism, as opposed both to Tory and Republican principles, has always been recognised.” Was it not he, in fact, who accomplished the revolution of 1688? And this revolution—what was it but the triumph of those principles, which in the language of our day are styled liberal, over those of absolute monarchy—the great cause, whose brilliancy is at times eclipsed, but cannot be extinguished—which, under different names, is debated in every land—which, if it must be said, has been triumphed over but yesterday in France, and on which I had fixed all my hopes and thoughts for the welfare of my country. Time was when we were wont to say, that since France had had the misfortune to have her Stuarts, Providence had provided for her a William of Orange, in the person of a prince whose calamities I deplore too deeply to feel at liberty to condemn him. I only regret that he had

too much before his eyes the memory of his ancestor, rather than that of the great man whose career presents to the gaze of posterity a far different grandeur from the miserable satisfaction of placing a duke of Anjou on the throne of Spain.

‘Throughout his whole life, William III. never thought of himself; if he desired elevation, it was to raise the cause to which he was devoted. “It must ever,” says Mr. Hallam, “be an honour to the English crown that it has been worn by so great a man;” and to this sentiment I cordially respond.’—Pref. pp. xiii. xiv.

The concluding paragraph is bold commendation of any one; nor can we readily concede that the heroic excellence of self-devotion is highly exemplified in the character of William III., whatever may be said in his behalf. We suspect, moreover, that the English as little liked their bargain when they had got him fairly among them, as the French liked the unfortunate prince to whom M. Grimblot compares him in original position. William III. we believe, acted an honest part in these treaties, and worked well with his minister, Lord Portland, but the English were ill satisfied to see foreigners managing their affairs, and to discover the king's affections entirely exhausted on his own countrymen. He never warmed towards the country of his adoption, and never was its king in heart. He trampled down many time-hallowed prejudices; he destroyed the paternal character of the English throne, and utterly failed to establish any other sympathy of feeling in its place. How then can we call William an ‘honour to the English crown,’ when he cared so little for us, and so little strove to gain an English heart?

William's own letters to the pensionary Heinsius, in Holland, betray how little sympathy he felt for England. He hates the English parliament, in common, indeed, with his predecessors, but every class was equally estranged from him, as Count Tallard did not fail to observe and communicate to his master the French king. For Holland he repines. He longs to be there when he can get away from the troubles of England. He was not as cold in disposition as many give him credit for, but towards England he was cold; and that is the point we have to deal with—

‘What care I how kind he be,
If he be not kind to me?’

The following expressions in a letter to Heinsius, though probably very true, sound like those of a stranger. The subject of discussion was, the supplies for the maintenance of a standing army.

‘Kensington, January 21—31, 1698. ’

‘I have already informed you by the last post, that affairs were going on badly in Parliament. There are men of a singular turn of mind, who

give the tone there. I shall be obliged to content myself with the sum voted by the House of Commons for the support of the troops during the current year. I shall get on with it as well as I can. It is fortunate, however, that they have resolved to give half-pay to all the officers who shall be disbanded. I estimate their number at 1,500, or nearly so; so that if we could afford it, we should have the means of forming again a considerable army; and many persons think that another Parliament will be more disposed to do so. What annoys me especially is, that they will not allow me to retain some of my regiments of Dutch guards in the pay of this country, while we shall be much embarrassed to find some means of getting them re-admitted into the service of the Republic. In this case, in order to meet the expense of their pay, without causing a new outlay to the States, it will be necessary to sacrifice the six Scotch regiments, and a few Swiss regiments besides.—Vol. i. pp. 150, 151.

Again—

‘It were to be wished that the example of the States of Holland were followed in this country; but the people here are now so foolishly engrossed with themselves, that they do not pay the least attention to what is going on in foreign countries. One would say, either that this island is the only thing on the face of the earth, or, that it has nothing to do with the rest of the world.’—Vol. i. p. 184.

So notorious was the want of confidence which the nation placed in William’s official nominees, that Louis XIV. in his instructions to Count Tallard, specially desired that minister to ascertain the general feeling with regard to the ambassador at Paris, lest the French should be entering into treaties with William that would excite the odium of the whole English people. The French king thus explains himself:—

‘This precaution is the more important at present, inasmuch as from what we learn, on very good authority, the English nobility were never more discontented than they are at present, with those who possess the entire confidence of the master whom they have set over them. They are all convinced that they have no share in his confidence. They see with indignation, the Dutch loaded with wealth and honours, especially the last favourite, who is a young man, of great insolence and dissipation. It is affirmed, that they already complain openly that the honour of the first solemn embassy was not given to an Englishman. In fact, but few noblemen have sent their sons with this embassy, though this is generally done. Every day we hear of divers new circumstances which confirm what we have before learnt, and the distrust which the Dutch favourites seem to have of the English is a certain proof of it. This being the case, it seems to be prudent to return the good understanding with these ministers, so as not to lose the confidence of the others, or that of the nation, which, sooner or later, will make some grand attack upon them. This appears to be the more necessary under the present circumstances, as the ambassadors who would have credit with those who have no share in public affairs, and who are discontented, or but little favourable to the government, would be much more powerful than those who had the entire confidence of the new king, and the favourites, to which in all probability they do not pretend.’—Vol. i. pp. 235—237.

In the same despatch the following passage also occurs; and Louis XIV. may be supposed to be no bad judge of the state

of England, with the experience that half a century in such times had given him as a near neighbour.

‘The king of England affirms on his side, that the state of his health, which is daily declining, makes him wish to live in repose; and that this reason combines with his desire to contribute to the preservation of general tranquillity.

‘When Count Tallard has lived some time in England, he will know, by his own observation, what we are to think of his real intentions. These he communicates to very few persons, and his confidence has hitherto been reserved for the Dutch alone, without admitting the English to share in it. The secretaries of state, with the exception of the Duke of Shrewsbury, have been, properly speaking, only clerks employed in writing the despatches, without having any thing to do with the secrets. The councils meet only for form’s sake, and important affairs are not discussed in them. Thus all centres in the King of England alone, and his favour seems to be shared only by the Earls of Portland and Albemarle, both of whom are Dutchmen.

‘The credit of the latter has considerably increased of late; he takes cognisance of all affairs: whereas formerly he did not interfere; but it seems, from the information which his majesty receives, that he is at present in very high favour, while that of the Earl of Portland is on the decline.

‘If Englishmen are employed, it is in such a manner that it is easy to see that the necessity of their services in the affairs committed to them is the sole cause of the confidence shown them by the King of England.’—Vol. i. pp. 249, 250.

According to his instructions, Count Tallard reports his view of the state of things:

‘London, May 9, 1698.

‘The King of England is very far from being master here; he is generally hated by all the great men and the whole of the nobility: I could not venture to say despised, for in truth that word cannot be applied to him, but it is the feeling which all those whom I have just mentioned entertain towards him. It is not the same with the people, who are very favourably inclined towards him, yet less so than at the beginning. The friendship which this prince shows to the Dutch, the intimacy in which he lives with them and with foreigners, the immense benefits which he confers on them, and the declared favour of the Earl of Albemarle, who is a very young man, have produced the effect which I have mentioned.

The nation is divided into two parties, under whose name all the others have rallied; one is called the Whigs, and the other the Tories. The first is composed of presbyterians, and of those who are opposed to arbitrary power and the royal authority. It is they who have placed the crown on the head of the present king. The second is composed of episcopalians, of those who are in favour of monarchy, and who consider the king at present on the throne as king only *de facto*, and not king *de jure*. These two parties divide all England between them. The king has of late passed several times from one party to the other, according to his wants, and has always abandoned, in order to succeed in his object, those who were in office, and who were opposed to the prevailing party. Hence arises the difficulty he has in finding persons whom he can place in office; nobody desires it, and in this respect every thing is in perpetual motion.

‘Nothing can equal the prodigality and disorder in the finances of England during the whole of the late war. Everything was done without regularity or system, and without economy; and I confess that nothing has given me

so much surprise, as the details which have come to my knowledge on this subject.

'No Englishman has any real share in public affairs, except the Lord Chancellor, a man of about thirty-seven or thirty-eight years of age, whom the king has placed in that office—much attached to that prince, very honest, and much esteemed by all parties. He is, however, employed solely on the home affairs of the kingdom.

'The Secretaries of State attend to nothing whatever, except the affairs of the provinces. All the rest passes through the hands either of the king himself, who writes a great deal, or the Earl of Albemarle. I am persuaded that when the Earl of Portland returns he will find a place, though in this country he is looked upon as ruined.

'The King is accused of being idle, at least of not being so laborious as he should be. He dines or sups three times a-week with the Earl of Albemarle, and a short time before setting out for Newmarket, he one day sat five hours at table.'—Vol. i. pp. 466—468.

Yet the Lord Chancellor mentioned as an exception, was not always consulted before he was called on to act officially; a neglect of that high office on the part of William, which has offended its noble biographer of our own times.

'It must be admitted that he (Lord Somers) acted most unconstitutionally in sending blank commissions under the great seal, by which any commissioners whose names William might please to insert in it, should be authorized to conclude the treaty on the terms proposed, or on any other terms which William might dictate. There can be no doubt that if his opinion upon a matter of such magnitude was disregarded, it was his duty to resign; and that at all events he ought not to have enabled the king to conclude an important treaty, by which England was to be bound, without the privity and advice of a responsible English minister. If the government was to be carried on by the sovereign's personal exercise of the prerogative, what had been gained by the revolution?'—Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. iv.—(*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 146.)

Many extracts might be brought forward, showing William's great reserve towards the English. For instance, in a memorandum written by the Abbé Renaudot.

'With regard to the King, his personal qualities are known, and, after what he has done, we may judge what reliance may be placed upon his word, and on all the engagements which may be made with him. His chief characteristic is great distrust, so that very few persons, even among those who are in office, are acquainted with his secrets. The Secretaries of State whom he has had, if we except the Duke of Shrewsbury, have been only a hired kind of clerks, who had only the despatch of the current affairs in the offices, and no share whatever in his secrets, which are in the hands of his Dutch favourites.'—Vol. ii. p. 191.

But the little sympathy he felt for England is best seen in the disgust he expresses of the English parliament, and the joy with which he looks forward to free himself from his cares in the air of Holland:—

'Hampton Court, April 12—23, 1700.

'At last, I prorogued parliament yesterday. It has been in truth the most dismal session I have ever had. The members have separated in great disorder, and after many extravagances. Unless one had been

present, he could have no notion of their intrigues; one cannot even describe them.'—Vol. ii. p. 398.

Again :—

'Kensington, July 5—15, 1698.

'At length, I have this day prorogued the parliament to the 2d of August, and intend to dissolve it by proclamation the day after to-morrow, and in a few days to call a new one. This has been an intolerably long session, very embarrassing and difficult, and it had taken an unfavourable turn at the beginning, but, God be thanked, it has ended better than I could have hoped. I can now be certain, with God's help, of setting out in a fortnight at latest.'—Vol. ii. p. 71.

In another letter to the Pensionary, he says :—

'What vexes me in particular is, that this affair retards my departure for Holland, for which I long more than ever. I shall become ill if I have to remain here longer. I have been indisposed for some days, but am now better.'—Vol. ii. p. 415.

His departure is thus noticed by the observant Tallard in writing to his master :—

'The King of England left London yesterday and embarked at Margate this morning. His countenance was expressive of the joy which he felt at going to Holland: he took no pains whatever to conceal it from the English, and, to say the truth, they speak very openly about it.'—Vol. ii. p. 91.

The annoyance which he felt at the proceedings of parliament even caused him to meditate leaving England altogether, and retiring to the more congenial Holland. In allusion to this he writes to Heinsius :—

'I am so chagrined at what passes in the Lower House with regard to the troops, that I can scarce turn my thoughts to any other matter. I foresee that I shall be obliged to come to resolutions of extremity, and that I shall see you in Holland sooner than I had thought. It is impossible for me to enter into particulars at present; and affairs are so changeable here, that one can rely with certainty upon nothing, till it is done.'—Vol. ii. p. 219, 220.

A speech which he proposed to deliver in parliament, declaring this intention, is preserved in the British Museum. The original, in his own handwriting, is in French. Its authenticity cannot be questioned :—

'My Lords and Gentlemen,—I came into this kingdom at its own desire, to save it from ruin, and to preserve your religion, your laws and liberties; and in order to do this, I have been obliged to sustain a long and burdensome war, which, through the grace of God and the bravery of this nation, is now terminated by a happy peace, in which you might live happily and in repose, if you would contribute to your safety in the manner I recommended to you at the opening of this session; but seeing, on the contrary, that you have so little regard for my advice, and that you do not take any care of your safety, and expose yourselves to evident ruin, depriving yourselves of the sole and only means which could secure your safety, it would not be just or reasonable that I should be witness of your loss, not being able to do anything on my part to avoid it, not being in a state to defend and protect you, which was the only view I had in coming into this country; therefore I must require you to choose and point out to me such persons as you shall judge capable, to whom I may leave the

administration of the government in my absence, assuring you that, although I may be obliged now to withdraw myself from the country, I shall always preserve the same desire for its advantage and prosperity; and when I judge that my presence here may be necessary for your defence, and I believe I can undertake it with success, I shall return hither and hazard my life for your safety, as I have done in times past; praying the good God to bless your counsels, and to inspire you with what is necessary for the good and safety of the kingdom.'—Vol. ii. p. 221.

William, no doubt, had just cause of complaint at the frequent stoppage of supplies from parliament. Here they had him fairly, and there was no escape; but his profuse liberality to Dutch favourites was not calculated to make the English desirous of placing more than what was necessary at his disposal. That he was lamentably poor, is everywhere apparent. To a proposal from Heinsius that he should borrow some money to have in reserve for emergencies, he replies:—'This would be, without question, a very useful and necessary precaution; but the state of affairs here is at present such, that not only is it impossible for me to make such a loan, but I do not even see how I shall be able to pay some debts this year, however urgent they may be.' Such a point would not escape the French ambassador, who, with characteristic but modest shrewdness, thus addresses his king:—

'It would be rashness in me to pretend to send your Majesty any correct news of the present state of this country after so short a sojourn here. There are, however, truths which are evident to all the world, and one of these is, that a state of financial embarrassment has succeeded the former opulence, and that the king is very far from being so much the master as is believed in France. Several Englishmen have already told me so without any reserve; and if the troops are not yet disbanded, it is because they do not know out of what fund to take the sums granted to pay the arrears. Meantime they are kept on, and the amount of the arrears increases. They see and they say so, and it is not yet decided, though the committee on this matter meets twice a-week; but it is difficult to get money.'—Vol. i. p. 323.

William's position with regard to the Church does not require much comment. That no love was lost between them, would be acknowledged on all sides. He was a Presbyterian, and looked on the Church as a body of whose existence he was cognisant only as something to be managed, but with which he had no feelings in common. We do not, however, enter on this subject further than to give one or two short extracts, showing how the French looked upon the state of religious parties in England. All notice of ecclesiastical matters must occur, of course, but by accident in these volumes, and we do not consider the French nation fair judges of our Church under any circumstances; but yet there is considerable penetration in Louis XIV.'s remarks to his minister:—

'There always will be a subject of division in the nation, arising from the opposition of the members of the Anglican Church and of the Presby-

terians. The latter, seeing a king of their own sect upon the throne, hoped, at first, soon to put down the Anglican Church. They afterwards sought for means to unite with it; but neither of these designs could succeed, and, though the King of England at first showed great respect for the Anglican Church, it appears, nevertheless, that those who are attached to it are persuaded that he wished to destroy it, and that he would do so still if he could succeed. The Duke of Leeds was one of the persons most attached to the King of England when he was Prince of Orange, and at the beginning of his reign. He had contributed more than any other person to his marriage. The Earls of Rochester and Clarendon were uncles to the Princess of Orange. These three noblemen are considered as the most zealous friends of the interests of the Anglican Church, and it is firmly believed that all those who entertain the same sentiments are but little attached to the present government.—Vol. i. pp. 255, 256.

Again, in the official memorandum before alluded to, written probably by the Abbé Renaudot, we meet the following passage:—

‘With respect to the Anglican Church, it may be supposed that this Parliament will not close without several affairs being brought forward which concern its interests. It is important to watch them closely, for they have always had important results in this country. The Presbyterians, having a king of their own sect, have become insolent; they believed at the beginning that they might authoritatively oppress the Anglican Church; but they have not been able to succeed. They have endeavoured to obtain their object by various plans of reunion, which have also been rejected. It is not amiss that these disputes exist, and they must not be considered as indifferent. The Duke of Leeds, the Earls of Rochester and Clarendon, and others, are the most zealous defenders of the Church, and have more credit in it than the bishops; who, for the most part, are Presbyterians at heart, and see nothing good in the Anglican Church but her dignities and her revenues. There is scarcely any one who deserves to be courted, and most of them have no very great credit. But among those who have been deposed for having declined to acknowledge the Prince of Orange, there are some of much merit; from whom good information might sometimes be received, and with whom it might be useful to make acquaintance through third persons. The principal of these is the Bishop of Bath and Wells.’—Vol. ii. pp. 198, 199.

An unpleasant feature in William’s character, that is perpetually discovering itself throughout his correspondence with the court of France, is the unceasing aversion he exhibited towards the unfortunate James, and the constant agitation he kept up to expel him from the hospitality of Louis. Louis, however, was firm; no persuasion could induce him to turn away the fugitive monarch, who had come to him in the hour of distress. Through all the conferences before signing the treaty of Ryswick, it was urged on the part of William, that France must not harbour James, if she desired to prove the sincerity of her good-will towards England. It was suggested that Avignon or Rome would be residences for the exiled king more to the English taste than Fontainebleau or Versailles. When this could not be made an express article of treaty, Lord Portland, William’s representative in the affair, tried hard to extract a

verbal understanding; and Marshal Boufflers, on one occasion, went so far as to advert to the place whither he might be sent, mentioning Avignon. Of this conversation much was afterwards made, as implying that James was to leave France; but Louis pointed to the words of the treaty, and declared, to his honour, that he never contemplated so great an act of unkindness, and never would require his kinsman and brother monarch to leave his dominions. It was stated by Lord Portland, that his master would naturally be fearful of cabals or conspiracies when James was so close, and that it was contrary to the spirit of a true national alliance, that a king of England should be acknowledged as such in the court of France, when he himself was treated with as the real occupier of the British throne. To this Louis replied, that he had solemnly engaged to put down all cabals to the best of his power, and that the residence of James at his own court enabled him to prevent such conspiracies more easily than if he was removed out of the sphere of his observation. In fine, Louis always states that James shall not go; and consequently James remains, hunting and amusing himself, and altogether passing a very pleasant life, much to the chagrin of the English ambassador, who was anxious to join the French hunting parties, and report to his master how sporting affairs were conducted in France, but dared not risk a personal encounter with the exiled king.

The conferences at Halle, previous to the treaty of Ryswick, are interesting in themselves, as specimens of the manner in which nations speak to each other amicably, when their respective armies are prepared close by to act a contrary part, if needs be; and, as the correspondence has much to do with the subject of James, we will give an extract of a letter from Louis to Marshal Boufflers, with part of the Marshal's answer, describing a conference with Lord Portland. A letter of William's will then complete a general notion of this treaty.

‘Marly, July 17, 1697.

‘My Cousin,—The courier whom you despatched has delivered to me the letter which you wrote on the 15th, giving me an account of your second interview with M. de Bentinck. I see with pleasure that you have punctually executed the orders which I had given you.

‘I was very glad to see that, on your saying to him, that I would in no wise consent to name the King of England in the treaty of peace in the manner I was requested, by making express mention of him, and that he ought to be satisfied with the engagement which I am ready to make, sincerely and in good faith, not to assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, without any exception, the Sieur de Bentinck became more pliant on this point than there was ground to expect, and told you positively that the Prince of Orange was very sensible of the pain which his request upon this point must give me; that he very willingly consented that the King of England should not be named, nor even designated, in the treaty, but that, as his tranquillity and safety were concerned, he desired

that, instead of naming the King of England, terms might be found which should give him entire security; that, for this purpose, he desired that I should promise and engage, by the treaty, not to favour or assist, directly or indirectly, without any exception or limitation, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, and likewise not to favour, in any way, the cabals, secret intrigues, factions and rebellions, which may arise in England, the Prince of Orange engaging and promising to give me, by the treaty, the same assurances for the interior of my kingdom.

‘My intention is, that you shall answer to this proposal that this equality of condition cannot take place, and that the submission of my subjects, and the tranquillity of my kingdom, give me no reason to fear either faction or rebellion.

‘I have ordered you not to agree to this reciprocal condition, but to promise that I will engage by the treaty not to assist, directly or indirectly, the enemies of the Prince of Orange, without any exception, engaging not to favour, in any manner whatsoever, the cabals, secret intrigues, factions, rebellions, &c. which may take place in England.

‘With regard to what the *Sieur de Bentinck* intimated to you, that the Prince of Orange hoped that, after peace was concluded, I would induce the King of England to resolve, of his own accord, to fix his residence out of my kingdom, if he does not speak again of this proposal in the conference which you are to have with him, do not touch upon it; but if he persists in questioning you about it, my intention is that you declare to him that the same reasons which have hindered me from listening to his proposals that I should speak positively of the King of England in the treaty, make me equally averse from entering into any engagements whatsoever upon this subject, either before or after the peace, and that it ought to be sufficient for the Prince of Orange that I give him all the assurances which he may otherwise require for his tranquillity.’—Vol. i. pp. 35—37.

The Marshal answered as follows:—

‘Camp of Sainte-Renelle, July 21, 1697.

‘Sire,—According to the letter which your Majesty was pleased to do me the honour to write to me on the 17th, I sent the *Sieur de Giey* to M. de Bentinck to tell him that, if he were disposed to be, on the following day, the 20th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, at our usual rendezvous, I would be there likewise. After the usual compliments, we alighted. M. de Bentinck began by telling me that he had not failed to give an account, as was his duty, to the Prince of Orange of the assurances which I had given him on the part of your Majesty, in our second interview, of your Majesty's esteem for the Prince of Orange, of your favourable disposition towards him, and, lastly, of your sincere intention to conclude peace, and inviolably to observe it when it should be concluded: that the Prince of Orange had commanded him to express to me on his part, that he had received the said assurances with all possible joy and sensibility, on account of the infinite value which he attached to the esteem and friendship of your Majesty, of his sincere desire to obtain them, and of his feelings for your Majesty's person, for whom it was impossible to entertain too high a veneration or respect, considering your Majesty not only as the greatest sovereign in the world, but personally as the greatest man, on account of your rare and exalted qualities; requesting me, on the part of the Prince of Orange, to be so good as to testify this to your Majesty, and to assure you of the same. These are the expressions of M. de Bentinck, to which I have added nothing whatever; he further requested me, from the Prince of Orange, to renew to your Majesty the assurance of the sincerity and the uprightness of his intentions respecting the peace, and the exact observance of it, once more

asserting that, after the peace was concluded, he should be as faithfully and constantly attached to the interests of your Majesty, as he had hitherto been opposed to them.

On this, I stated to M. de Bentinck that I should have the honour of giving an exact account to your Majesty of all that he had just told me on the part of the Prince of Orange, and that I was convinced that you would receive all these expressions of regard with pleasure and satisfaction; and that meantime, after the account which I have had the honour to give your Majesty of what he had said to me in our second interview from the Prince of Orange for your Majesty, you had commanded me to repeat the first assurances which I had already given him of your special regard for the Prince of Orange, and of the satisfaction with which your Majesty had received the said expressions of his regard.

M. de Bentinck having further added that he would not fail to make a faithful report to the Prince of Orange, told me by way of answer to what passed in our last conference, that, on the consent which the Prince of Orange had thought it reasonable to give, that King James should not be named or designated in the treaty, but that, instead of this, terms might be found which should give the Prince of Orange entire security that, in concluding the peace, he shall enjoy for himself, his successors, and his dominions, entire and perfect tranquillity, he had caused the annexed article to be drawn up, that he might have the said securities, without naming or designating the King of England; that if your Majesty wished to change any thing in it, you might do so, if you should think proper, but that, for the most part, it was conceived in terms which are common and usual in all treaties.—Vol. i. pp. 42, 44.

William's letter is addressed to the Pensionary:—

'Camp, near Brussels, July 19, 1697.

'I wrote to you yesterday, by the extraordinary courier, whom the Earl of Portland despatched to you, and to-day I received your letter of the 16th. I am quite of your opinion, that the engagement or promise to be made by France, not to assist any of my enemies, in the number of whom King James would be comprehended, should be reciprocal; but it will not be possible to bring the French so far, so that it will be above all things necessary to take care, in the wording of this article, that King James shall be comprehended in it, without being designated by name. Since it appears now that the French are seriously disposed to continue the negotiations, we must not lose an instant, but, as the proverb says, "Strike the iron while it is hot."—Vol. i. p. 39.

This subject, however, was not suffered to rest here. In the following year, Count Tallard describes an interview with William, when it was referred to with some warmth.

'As I was about to withdraw, the King said: "I must speak to you in my turn; it is, however, on a subject on which I prefer speaking through my ambassador to doing so myself; but I would continue to speak to you frankly. You know, without doubt, that Lord Portland has already spoken to his Most Christian Majesty respecting the removal of King James. I confess that I extremely desire this point, and that, so long as he shall be at St. Germain, I do not understand how I can contract so strict a union as I am disposed to do with the king your master." I answered, that I could not dissent from the reasons which he had for desiring the removal of King James, but at the same time I saw how impossible it was for your Majesty to accede to it; that this must be considered as a consequence of by-gone misunderstandings; that it must be left to expire of itself; and

that both parties must be contented with not entering into engagements that might clash with each other; that this article had been thoroughly discussed in the conferences between Marshal Boufflers and the Earl of Portland.

'He interrupted me by saying that he admitted this; that he asked nothing by virtue of the treaty of peace; but that he expected, from your Majesty's friendship, that you would find it expedient to make King James leave France; that Avignon, Modena, Rome, were all the same to him. I replied that I was convinced of the sentiments which your Majesty entertained for him, but that I left him to judge and to examine, if it was possible that your Majesty could make a king quit his dominions, who was his cousin-german, and who had come to ask him for an asylum at a time when your Majesty and himself had the most opposite interests. He replied, with some warmth, that expedients might be found for anything when there was an inclination to do it, and that King James desired to remain at St. Germain's only because it was nearer to England; and by his manner of speaking, he left me no room to doubt that the "nearer to England" alluded to the design of an attempt upon his person. When he saw that I did not seem to understand him, and that I did not enter into any discussion, he assumed a very serious air, and broke off abruptly.'—Vol. i. pp. 370, 371.

Again, after this, William 'cannot conceal his astonishment,' &c. at the title of king being allowed to James. Louis defends himself in the following words, addressed to Count Tallard:—

'As for the complaint which he makes of the title of King of England which King James retains, I do not see that any person can find fault with it. Ill-fortune cannot take the title or quality of king from a person who has once received it. It has always been retained till death, even by those who have voluntarily abdicated the crown. King Casimir, who retired to my kingdom, was called, and treated, as the King of Poland; Queen Christina always retained the title of Queen of Sweden; the Kings of Sweden and Poland, their successors, never complained that either of them retained the name belonging to the rank which they had once enjoyed; and they considered them as having a character which a change of fortune cannot obliterate. These examples are so rare that it would be difficult to quote many of them, but it may perhaps be added that the Palgrave, when deprived of his dominions, and of his electoral dignity, was treated as king of Bohemia by the States General, though he never had any valid title to that crown. You know that the court of King James, during his stay at Fontainebleau, is composed only of mine; that during the rest of the year he passes a very lonely life at St. Germain's; and it appears to me that some hunting parties, given him for twelve or fifteen days, ought not to be a subject of reproach.'—Vol. ii. pp. 187, 188.

William's constant uneasiness about James, together with what we have stated of his apparent coldness towards his English subjects, and also other considerations which strike one casually in reading these letters, would tend to convince us that the odium of his reign has its origin in his *position*, rather than his natural character. He did not feel easy on the throne of England, for he had no confidence, as indeed he did not deserve to have, in his right there. He had not the mental reward which filling a noble station with honour and ability would naturally give, because he was not secure of the foundation of his claim:

nor was he a reckless tyrant, indifferent to or hardened against, all moral feeling. His keen sensitiveness of this error in his position, was, we believe, the cause of that insurmountable difficulty he felt in associating generally with Englishmen, or in opening his heart to English counsellors. A sovereign as well able as William would be to understand and feel the true nature of his position, even without more haughtiness, cannot stoop down from an uncomfortable throne, to mingle heart and soul with his subjects. All his associations, moreover, were strange, and calculated to repel sympathy with his new countrymen. A certain restlessness of character was the consequence of this. Naturally of a weak constitution, his nerves were wrought up by the harassing events of his reign, and his life was by no means happy. He was much given to play, and was a desperate hunter, even when a disease of the leg required that he should be lifted from his horse at the end of a weary day. He craved excitement, as if to calm some mental gnawing within him. Yet, when engaged in business, he was calm, collected, and showed no small ability. He was honest and sincere in his diplomacy; and no one can doubt that in his foreign negotiations he acted to the best of his judgment for the honour of this country. Yet he was unfortunate, because his soul, the sympathetic part of our nature, did not help him on English ground.

In manner he was naturally courteous, and his general behaviour towards those whom he admitted into his confidence was much to his credit. The steadiness and warmth of his affection for Lord Portland reflects honour on both parties. This nobleman, the descendant of a good Dutch family, was, in his youth, a page of honour to the Prince of Orange. In 1675, William was dangerously ill of small-pox, and the young page's services were so unremitting, that for sixteen days and nights he answered every call, as though sleep never closed his eyes all that time. On William's recovery, his faithful attendant was able to hold up no longer, and fell ill of the same disease, from which he suffered severely.

M. Bentinck was a constant friend of William, and held the hand of the dying monarch. Some jealousies, indeed, existed, for the king had other favourites as well; but there is reason to believe that expressions such as occur in the following letter from William to Lord Portland were not insincere:—

‘Kensington, January 10—20, 1698.

‘I send you herewith the letter for the Dauphin. I am much vexed that the wind and weather are still contrary; God grant that they may change by the day after to-morrow, and that you may have a favourable passage. I assure you that I am more affected by your departure than you can conceive; and if you felt as much pain on leaving me, as I did on witnessing

your departure, I should be quite satisfied, and I might then hope that you would no longer doubt the solemn oath which I have pledged to you. 'This is unquestionably the truest word I ever uttered in my life, and death alone can make me change my feelings.'—Vol. i. p. 145.

In another letter allusion is made to the jealousy of the English people towards his Dutch favourite:—

'You will doubtless be annoyed that your name has again been mentioned in the House of Commons on occasion of the grants; but you need not be uneasy on that score, since the matter will either fall to the ground of itself, or will turn to your advantage. I have found an expression in one of your letters from Dover which has greatly hurt me. I entreat you not to decide according to your thoughts only, but to wait till I see you. The affairs of this world are subject to many changes. I cannot explain myself more clearly at present on this subject than by assuring you that I always entertain for you the same affection.'—Vol. i. pp. 149, 150.

The whole correspondence between these two shows confidence and warmth of affection; nor, judging William as a man, do we see that the English had any right to expect that the Prince of Orange would give up his old friends when he came to England; though of course it was a matter of further consideration how far these foreigners should be entrusted with English honours, or rewarded by English wealth. Lord Portland was a faithful servant to the king, and the king was faithful to his conceptions of the interest of this country, therefore he might say that there was no just cause of complaint. But as the general position of William was radically unsound, we cannot expect that the details of his government should be free from blame; nor, on the other hand, should we lay on the details the blame which is due to the first and great step of his coming to England.

Indeed, these letters are important as bringing out one feature in William's character for which he has hitherto received, as he seemed to deserve, no credit. His heart has been thought a complete blank; but certainly this correspondence displays a sort of amiableness which we had not found cause to anticipate. Still it must be borne in mind that this character is only exhibited towards his personal favourites. Selfishness is of the very essence of favouritism; and it is quite consistent that a man should be lavish and prodigal both of honours and sentiment towards those whom he finds necessary to his own gratification, and at the same time exhibit a very hard and unfeeling character in other and much more important relations in which he has been placed; for example, in his conduct as a husband towards his wife. Curious, therefore, as it is to detect this side of William's character as displayed in Mr. Grimblot's collection, it by no means lessens our previous estimate of his conduct towards his queen, or indeed any general conception of his moral side.

A few passages in the course of these letters contain personal notices of William which may not be uninteresting to our readers, especially when written in the graphic style of French correspondence. Count Caillieres, in a letter to the Marchioness D'Uxelles, thus describes an audience of the English king:—

‘He received us alone in his cabinet, where we three entered without any attendants, and were about half an hour in conversation with him. He saluted us very courteously, all three in succession, both as we entered and as we left, and spoke very politely to us individually. He speaks well, and to the point, and seems careful to choose the terms which he employs, so as to express neither too much nor too little. He speaks French well, and has no foreign accent. He speaks thick, and very slowly. He is thin, and appears to be of a weak constitution, notwithstanding the great fatigue which he daily undergoes in hunting, as he did yesterday, in this cold weather, from morning till evening.’—Vol. i. p. 136.

We have said he was fond of hunting. He brings the following paragraph into an official letter to Lord Portland, writing from Windsor:—

‘I am hunting the hare every day in the park with your dogs and mine, and have had some good sport. The rabbits are almost all killed, and the burrows will soon be stopped up. The day before yesterday I took a stag in the forest with the Prince of Denmark’s hounds, and had a pretty good run, as far as this villanous country permits.’—Vol. i. p. 327.

The transition from business to recreation is also curious, in the following neatly-written passage from a letter of the French ambassador to Louis:—

‘As I was retiring, he called out from the fireplace, “At least, Sir, I always reckon on Milan for the Archduke!” To which I replied, that I had no change to make in what I had said to him on that subject on the part of your Majesty.

‘On leaving the palace, he went to the Cockfight, whither I accompanied him. He made me sit beside him. M. d’Auverquerque procured horses for me and all my suite, with a gentleman to accompany me to the races, whither the King of England repaired; and when he afterwards went hare-hunting, he himself again offered me horses to follow him, and, on my declining with thanks, he ordered Count de Nassau to remain with me. When he retired, he sent the captain of his guards to invite me to come and sup with him. He even carried his politeness so far as to drink my health, and I can say with truth to your Majesty that nothing can exceed the courtesy with which he has treated me.

‘On rising from table, he took me aside into the chimney-corner, and asked me if, in either of these two alternatives, there was nothing but Milan for the Archduke.’—Vol. i. pp. 427, 428.

Count Tallard also writes a characteristic account of an interview with William, when his manner appears to have been more diffuse than usual, because it suited his purpose:—

‘This, Sire, was not said distinctly or without circumlocution, but this is the sense of it. The remainder of what he said to me, and of which I shall have the honour to give your Majesty an account, was equally enveloped

in prolix reasonings and digressions; and if I aimed at giving myself importance, rather than at sparing your Majesty a recital which, by its great length, might become tedious, I might enter into the details of all that was said over and over again, in a conversation of an hour and a half, in which I venture to flatter myself, that your Majesty would be contented both with the answers which I made, and with the care which I took to make the King of England speak out; but, as I have abundance of matter without this, I confine myself to what it is essential to bring to your Majesty's knowledge.'—Vol. i. p. 457.

As yet, we have confined our attention chiefly to England, for the letters thus published appear to have the illustration of English history as their principal object; but now we will cross the channel, (which, by the bye, was crossed by not a few couriers bearing these very letters,) and we will have a look at the French, and at Louis le Grand, as well as at the turbulent commons, discontented nobles, and ill-satisfied King of England, who, at the age of forty-eight, had begun to talk of being old and worn out. France was in a happy state of self-satisfaction that strangely contrasted with her neighbour. She had had the best of it in the war, and she also had enjoyed a firm and settled government under the Grand Monarch for half a century. France, indeed, was then at her height, and was basking at the top of fortune's waves, while England was still struggling in the hollow. Such advantages could not fail to raise an excitable people like the French to a very favourable estimation of themselves. At no time are they backward to think well of their own country; but in prosperity there is a peculiar tone of assumed perfection in their character which can nowhere be equalled. The French have certain exterior qualifications,—such as a courteous manner, neatness in expressing their thoughts, and many other accomplishments, much calculated to excite vanity wherever they are found. Their turn of mind is for exactness of theory, and they have a great power of forgetting the irregularity and disorder to which flesh is heir, till most forcibly reminded of them. We owe to Laplace, their great philosopher, the full development of Newton's principles in their astounding exactness of detail; and, in more recent days, we owe to their social theorists hardly less wonderful, though far less real, ideas of the moral condition of the human race. Where perfect exactness of theory is required, or is admissible, the French excel; but in the adaptation of theory to the rough elements of life (which we believe to be the true national philosophy of England), they are sadly deficient. They will not remember that the earth is under a curse, and are ever grasping at paradise; nor are they without a slight bubble of success in these attempts. Paris, when in prosperity, is unequalled for a certain joyous lightheartedness, and the general diffusion of the refinement of physical life; while London, though much greater,

is far more clumsy, and more the acknowledged child of human nature as it is. Paris slips along, as it were, over the smooth ice, and occasionally becomes submerged entirely; while London treads on the dull but steady pathways of mother earth.

This self-confident spirit is not, of course, absent from the letters of Louis, those on the partition treaties especially; but still the general impression produced by the whole correspondence is that of a milder and less arrogant tone on the part of France than might have been expected. Louis heartily desired peace, and offered everything reasonable to prolong its blessings.

We cannot enter into the merits of the conditions demanded on the part of the nations of Europe, but still it is due to Louis XIV. to say, that in prospect he gave up for the Dauphin his son, what an ambitious man, as he was, must have found a great sacrifice. In default of children to Charles II., the Dauphin, as son of Philip IV.'s eldest daughter, was the legitimate heir; yet, to preserve the peace of Europe, which would be jealous of the union of France and Spain under one monarch, he offered to accept of but a small portion of the Spanish dominions, and give up all claim to the rest. His general tone of argument will, however, be seen in a letter or two, which we will extract presently; it will not, therefore, be necessary for us to say more than just to offer one word of explanation for the breach of faith of which he was guilty when Charles II. died, and by his will left the whole Spanish empire to the Duke of Anjou, the Dauphin's son. This was a sad perplexity. Austria had not consented to the treaty, and would, therefore, rejoice in seeing the Archduke King of Spain, if Louis kept to the partition treaty, and persisted in refusing the throne for his grandchildren. The desired object of peace would be lost, and nothing gained to France. The temptation was too great, and he yielded to persuasion. This is no apology for him, and our only reason for now alluding to it is, to state our conviction that Louis' breach of faith was the result of this temptation, and was not premeditated. His previous intentions we believe to have been sincere; and as we are not defending Louis' character generally, but wish only to show him before our readers as an able conductor of political correspondence, it is only essential to establish the fact that he was sincere at the time, though his principle did not make him adhere to his literal promise in spite of all difficulties and temptations. M. Grimblot in the preface, though not an admirer of Louis, expresses this opinion. 'There is reason to think,' he says, 'that when he proposed to King William the plan of a partition, he was sincere, and meant to avoid a war in the decline of his life; but the offer of so brilliant a succession to a grand-son was too severe a trial for his good faith; and perhaps no

'ambitious prince would have been able to resist the temptation.' The whole affair, indeed, was in confusion from Austria's refusal to join in the treaty; and, although it had been arranged that her consent was not essential, still the original grounds on which the treaty had been conducted were changed by the additional claim given to Austria in Charles's will if France found not a successor to him. As it is not our province, however, to settle such difficulties, we pass the subject by, and proceed to extract some few notices of the French Court, and some specimens of Louis' epistolary style.

Lord Portland, when he visited Paris as Ambassador-Extraordinary, was the cause of some curious instances of dispute as to etiquette on the occasion of his grand *entrée*. One disputed point will be sufficiently explained by the following communication which Lord Portland found it necessary to give utterance to.

'His lordship then declared in a very decided tone, that, as he should not invite the Duchess de Verneuil, he hoped that she would not send her carriage to his *entrée*; but that if she did so without invitation, he should order his servants forcibly to hinder the carriage of this lady from preceding him; but that if it were made to pass before his, and either by force or stratagem got into the line during the procession, his Excellency would be instantly informed by some persons on horseback, whom he should desire to be on the watch, upon which he would at once alight from the king's carriage, and step into his own; and that he would neither make his *entrée*, nor have a public audience. But, however, as it would be best to avoid such an *éclat*, should the Court of France persist in the pretension which it set up, his Excellency desired to be informed of it on the following day, Saturday, because in that case he would not make his *entrée* on Sunday, but would write to the king his master for instruction.'—Vol. i. p. 208.

Some ludicrous scenes are described by the ambassador himself.

'Paris, March 13, 1698.

'After the second letter which I had the honour of writing to your Majesty on the 8th, I made my *entrée* on the following day. Mr. Prior will send you an account of the ceremonial, for the use of the ambassadors who may succeed me. The whole passed without any difficulty or dispute, till I had been conducted to the hotel of the ambassadors. The King had sent the Duke d'Aumont, his first gentleman of the bedchamber, to compliment me. After this, the Duchess of Burgundy sent the Marquis de Villacerf. They then began to make new pretensions, requiring me to go and receive him half way down the steps, as I had done the former nobleman; and I refused to receive him except at the door of the ante-chamber, which is at the top of the stair. This gave rise to a lengthened dispute, during which he was standing half-way up the steps, and I at the top, while messengers passed backwards and forwards between us. At length I sent him word that I would descend some steps to meet him, and, that if this did not content him, it would be the best for each of us to go our own way without my having the honour of seeing him, for that undoubtedly I should do no more; upon which he came up. On going out I had another difficulty: in conducting him back to the carriage, I did not see him depart, on which the conductor of ambassadors made great complaints to me. A moment afterwards the

Marquis de Sassenage came, the same differences arose: the conductor of Ambassadors behaved impertinently in public, which obliged me to treat him as became a person who has the honour to represent your Majesty; upon which the dispute ended for the time, and I received the latter as I had done the former; but the conductor of ambassadors was confounded and irritated.

'After this, the Marquis de la Rongère came from MADAME; but the conductor of ambassadors came to inquire whether I would receive him as he desired. I replied, that I should receive him as I had received the gentleman who came from MONSIEUR. He said, that I ought at least to see him depart after having conducted him down the steps, and that otherwise he would not get out of his carriage. I replied, then he might remain in it, for I should not receive the gentleman whom MADAME sent to me otherwise than I had received the gentleman who came from MONSIEUR; that it was contrary to all that had ever been done, and contrary to the memoranda which my instructions bound me to follow; upon which he retired abruptly, though he was to have staid and supped with me.'—Vol. i. pp. 220, 221.

The French king was always most gracious in his manner to Lord Portland, as might be expected from him who is said never to have met his own housemaids without touching his hat. The public audience on his arrival is thus mentioned:—

'At my public audience I was received in the most gracious manner; the throng and press were so great that I was a long time in the room before I could reach the King, whom I saw, and by whom I was seen, without being able to get near him. When, at length, I approached him, he spoke first, and said that he much regretted the trouble which I had had in entering, but that he rejoiced to see so many English and French mingled together. After I had spoken, the King replied in a speech fully as long as mine, and in terms as strong and favourable to your Majesty as it was possible to use; and reiterated the assurances of his desire to cultivate your Majesty's friendship. He said a few things extremely flattering to myself personally, and dismissed me, as he had spoken, with a gracious smile upon his countenance.'—Vol. i. pp. 224, 225.

On his departure, the same courtesy was exhibited in private.

'His Majesty replied in the most obliging manner, that your Majesty could never send him a person in whom he had more confidence, or who could be more agreeable to him; that he wished I could stop longer; and that there had never been an ambassador for whom he had a greater personal esteem; and many other obliging expressions which I cannot venture to repeat. In the whole conversation, which lasted above half an hour, he did me the honour to speak to me as a private individual, with an obliging freedom and familiarity, often laughing, and quite throwing aside the gravity which is usual on such occasions. He concluded by saying that matters being in such a train, he would not wish the service of your Majesty should suffer by my prolonged absence, nor that I should prejudice my private affairs; that, therefore, I might ask your Majesty's permission to return, if I thought it necessary, as it was his wish that I should be fully persuaded of his sentiments towards me, which he again repeated in terms more obliging than even before.'—Vol. i. pp. 396, 397.

The letters of Louis XIV. to Count Tallard when in England, are, we consider, the principal feature of the collection, and

cannot but raise his talents in the estimation of those who look on him but as an empty and profligate court sovereign, or pompous exhibitor of military display. The French excel in letter-writing, and their Grand Monarch was not behind his people in this accomplishment. There is not, indeed, that lightness of style and readiness of wit apparent in these official communications, which distinguish Madame de Sevigné and others. This would have been out of character, even if natural to Louis under any circumstances, which was probably not the case, as originality of mind and terseness of expression were not his characteristics generally. The peculiar excellence of his letters is the methodical and exact manner in which he states his case. They are thoroughly business-like, and form a most correct model for official letters. Moreover, they show that the writer was full of interest in the subject, and had taken pains to be well informed. Great care is observable at the commencement of each letter that his correspondent and himself shall start fair, with a clear understanding of the existing state of the case, before any farther progress is made in the negotiation. He then warms to considerable fluency in an argumentative and reasonable tone; but is always absolutely distinct, and his meaning not to be mistaken. He is fond of dividing his subject, and when stating a variety of alternatives, he allows of no confusion, but finishes the whole of his instructions that depend on one, before he touches upon the other. The kingly dignity, of course, is not forgotten, and though argument is used, it is not suggested that there can be difference of opinion between himself and his minister. The arguments are for the use of the minister when in conference with the other party. The manner of writing, however, is not arrogant, but always singularly respectful: exact in giving instructions, as far as circumstances admit of his doing so; but full of confidence that his minister will act with judgment and discretion in all those particulars of his duty which necessarily depend upon himself. In Louis' letters there is also less demonstration of personal vanity or political ambition than might be expected. There is an agreeable tone of moderation and of paternal care for his country, that gives a favourable impression of the writer. For instance, in expressing his great desire for peace, he says:—

'It is certain that the disposition of the people of Spain, the state of my army, and the measures which I have taken, would give me well-founded hopes of success in this war. But though we know when it begins, we do not know the end. Nothing is more certain than the miseries which it brings with it, and the sufferings of the people; and after having sacrificed such great advantages to restore peace to my subjects, no interest appears to me more urgent than that of preserving for them the tranquillity which they enjoy.'—Vol. ii. p. 66.

Again, on the subject of the Dauphin's claim to the throne of Spain:—

‘I had particularly endeavoured to render the alternatives which you have proposed to the King of England equal. I left it to him to prefer that which he should himself think best calculated to preserve the general tranquillity. I had therefore reason to believe, that he would not propose a new one so disadvantageous to the legitimate heir of the whole Spanish monarchy.

‘But as the restoration of the health of the Catholic King will probably afford all the time which is necessary to treat, you will make a new proposal to the King of England. You will tell him that, considering my son as the sole and true heir of the Spanish crown, I was right in requiring that, when he renounces the greater part of his rights with a view to the good of all Europe, his portion should at least be more considerable than that of the princes to whom he is willing to abandon the other states of that monarchy; that, however, I had made the alternatives so equal, when it was contemplated to form them, that I am ready at present to take for the portion of my son what I offered to give to the Archduke; that I therefore leave to the choice of the King of England, either to treat on the footing of one of these alternatives which I have proposed, or to agree that my son shall have for his portion the states which I consented to give to the Archduke, viz. the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Milan; that, in this case, I would also leave to his choice the partition of the other states of the Spanish monarchy between the Archduke and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and that he might take, with one or the other, all the securities which he should think proper for the commerce of the West Indies and the Mediterranean.’—Vol. ii. pp. 40, 41.

In his instruction to Count Tallard on first coming to England, we have already seen how well acquainted he was with the condition of this country; and throughout his letters great shrewdness is displayed in the knowledge of all the arguments which will be adduced in answer to his propositions. We do not, in thus discussing his correspondence, at all enter upon the general question of the right which Louis and William had to be portioning out Europe by the map, according to their own fancies; both were equally reprehensible for what blame there was, or, rather, it should fall more heavily on William, for Louis had a personal interest in the succession of Spain, that might appear to be some justification. We are only calling attention to the natural habit of Louis' mind, and the style of his letters. The following is an instance of respectful remonstrance from the master to the servant, when the latter had committed what seems a little blunder in policy. It will be enough to explain that Count Tallard has received a communication from some wild assassin offering to kill William:—

‘Marly, April 23, 1698.

‘I have received your letter of the 16th of this month, and I have minutely examined the line of conduct which you had to following the conjunction of which you inform me.

‘It is certain that you ought to act in such a manner that the King of England might be persuaded that I desire to keep up a perfect understanding with him; that the least exertion which he can expect is, that you

should inform him of a plot against his person, when you have knowledge of it. I am, therefore, very far from disapproving, in the main, of what you have done; but I could have wished that the manner in which you gave the information had been different. There appears to me to have been too great eagerness on your part, in writing yourself to the King of England on an affair so very obscure. It should not be supposed that, even in time of war, any one has dared to make proposals to me which excite so much horror. I cannot imagine that any person will believe it; and yet it is not impossible that the step which you have taken may be considered affected, and with a view to persuade the King of England of the sincerity of my intentions.'—Vol. i. pp. 408, 409.

As an example of the methodical style of the French king, we suggest the following letter. For the sake of illustration, we prefer giving one rather than extracts from several; and even this one we must curtail of more than half its length, though the general outline will be preserved.

Versailles, April 17, 1698.

'Sir,—I have received your letter of the 11th of this month. You could not make a better beginning towards the execution of my orders than by inducing the King of England to enter into explanations with you so freely as he has done respecting what he believes may ensure the peace of Europe, in the event of the death of the King of Spain. His answer is, indeed, very far from the project which I sent to you, but it is not impossible to find a medium between my sentiments and those of that prince, and to form, on that foundation, a certain plan of what should be done, in case of such an event to preserve the peace.

'He has considered what you said to him as a first proposal, and I look upon his answer to you in the same light. We must therefore examine whether expedients cannot be found to reconcile the difference of my sentiments and those of the King of England.

'You will inform the King of England that you have communicated these two proposals to me; that he may see from the overtures which I have made to him, that I sincerely desire to preserve peace, and that it had seemed to me that no more certain means could be proposed than to abandon, as I offered to do, all the pretensions which my son had a right to make to the Spanish succession; that one of the princes, his sons, educated by Spaniards alone, and at an age susceptible of all the maxims which they chose to instil into him, ought not to give any umbrage to the rest of Europe; that the Spanish government would not be changed, and that, in doing justice to the legitimate heir, that monarchy would always be guided by the same interest and the same maxims which it has hitherto followed.

* * * * *

'The first part of this alternative would be to cede to the Electoral Prince, Spain, the Indies, the Low Countries, the islands of Majorca and Minorca, Sardinia, the Philippines, and the other countries and places at present dependent on that monarchy, with the exception of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and the duchy of Luxemburg, which my son would retain as a compensation for the rights which belong to him; and, since the King of England would wish, as it appears, that the Emperor should also have some share in this succession, it might be agreed to give the duchy of Milan to the Archduke.

'The second part of the alternative would be, to give to one of my grandsons all that now belongs to the Spanish monarchy, which is not comprehended in the following exceptions—viz. for the Electoral Prince, the Low Countries, as they are now possessed by his Catholic Majesty; for the

Archduke, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the places on the coast of Tuscany; lastly, Milan for the Duke of Savoy.

'According to the second part of the alternative, the Spanish monarchy would be divided among the legitimate heirs and those who are called to the succession by the will of Philip IV.

'It is easy to foresee the principal objection which the King of England may make to this project. He will say to the first part of the alternative that the Dutch, who already complain that their barrier is too weak in the Netherlands, would be still more alarmed if the duchy of Luxemburg were united to my crown; that the interest of that republic being one of the rules which he must follow, he cannot agree to a project which he believes to be so opposed to it.

'You may reply to this objection, that the Netherlands * * *

'With respect to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the King of England will object * * *

'According to what that prince said to you, one of the principal difficulties will be on the extension of the barrier to the Netherlands, which he demands. I cannot accede to it in any way whatsoever. * *

'In fine, I repeat to you that I cannot listen to any proposal in regard to this article.

'The second demand, of which the King of England has already spoken, is that respecting the security of the commerce in the Mediterranean, and does not mention that of the Indies, for he touched so slightly upon it, as you state in your letter that it is better not to refer to it. * *

'It is not my intention to insist strongly on what I have placed in the second part of the alternative, respecting the cession of Milan to the Duke of Savoy. * * *

'Lastly, if that prince requires that I should assure him that in no case whatever the Spanish monarchy shall ever be united to my crown, you will tell him that I have not given you any positive instructions on this subject; that, nevertheless, you are persuaded that I shall readily give this assurance, provided the Emperor gives a similar one that the states of Italy, which will be given to the Archduke, shall never be united to the Imperial crown.

'The King of England has communicated to Lord Portland everything that passed in your audience, and that ambassador has asked an audience of me, to know my intention respecting the proposals of the King his master. I shall give it him to-morrow, and shall speak conformably to what I write to you on the alternative. * * *

'I approve of the reply you made regarding the uneasiness which the King of England expressed to you on the subject of King James's residence at St. Germain. Even supposing that prince to have designs, which he has not, it is much more easy for me to counteract them when he is near me, than if he were at a distance. Should the King of England again speak with you upon this subject, you will answer him as you have already done, and will inform me of what he has said to you.'—Vol. i. pp. 384—393.

We now take leave of the subject with M. Grimblot's remarks in the preface, on the style and composition of the letters of Louis XIV.

'In reading these lengthened despatches, with their flowing periods, elaborate expositions, and inexhaustible meaning, we are involuntarily reminded of Bossuet. It must not be thought that these State Papers were the composition of a secretary. Written by Torcy from notes taken in council, and carefully corrected by Louis XIV. as they were read to him, they bear the mark of his singular genius for grandeur and éclat. To be convinced that to him alone is the merit of their production to be attributed, it will be sufficient to compare them with the despatches written by Torcy in his own name, or even with his *Memoirs*.'—Pref. p. xi.

ART. VI.—*First Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State and Operation of the Law of Marriage, as relating to the Prohibited Degrees of Affinity, and to Marriages solemnized abroad, or in the British Colonies; with Minutes of Evidence, &c. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty.* London: Clowes & Co. 1848.

PERHAPS some of our readers will remember, that so far back as in the year 1842, in our Number for May, (Christian Remembrancer, New Series, vol. iii. p. 542,) while adverting to the 'Proposed Changes in the Marriage Laws,' we attempted not only to place upon record our own views of this question, but we gave some indications of the reasons which seemed to have instigated the promoters of a change, and of the *modus operandi* by which it was sought to induce the legislature to accede to it. We are desirous on this occasion in the main to view the matter in its popular aspect, as a remarkable instance of what may be done by combined and systematic agitation; and how easily the expenditure of time and money, backed by a real earnestness in a personal cause, will tell upon the popular, or even legislative mind; and what an imposing show may be made by the adroit management of slender materials, skilfully combined and artistically varied. The conductors of the movement have profited by a hint contained in one of the Waverley Novels, in which a town beau exhibits himself in an apparently daily change of attire, only by a judicious permutation of watch-ribbons and waistcoats. Ambitious mediocrity has seldom tricked itself out with greater success, or at smaller intrinsic outlay. One value the Blue Book, of which the title is recited in our heading, unquestionably possesses: it may be denominated with great safety, 'The Guide to Parliamentary Economy, or How to work a Royal Commission without a Cause.'

For that the people of England, as a people, are interested in this matter—that, measuring the matter at present only by that graduated and indeed self-adjusting scale, popular requirement, anything like common consent has made any sufficient appeal for the legislature to sanction a man's marriage with his deceased wife's sister, or that of a woman with her deceased wife's brother,—the Blue Book decidedly fails to show. It proves the existence of a vast amount of machinery—of general and unscrupulous agitation—of paid agents, and, as we suspect, of paid pamphleteering. It reveals many distressing things: but it does not witness to a general display of feeling on the question.

If it be said, neither has the Church or people of England

either displayed any vivid interest in maintaining the present law, this is palpably *not* the question. The common maxim, *Quieta ne movere*, still applies.

On Thursday, May 13, 1847, Mr. Stuart Wortley moved for, and carried in the House of Commons, an address to Her Majesty, praying for a commission 'to inquire into the state and operation of the Law of Marriage, as relating to the prohibited degrees of affinity, and to marriages solemnized abroad, or in the British Colonies.'

On June 28, the Commission was nominated, consisting of the Bishop of Lichfield, Mr. Stuart Wortley, Dr. Lushington, A. R. Blake, Esq. as representing Ireland, Sir Edw. V. Williams, Judge in the Common Pleas, A. Rutherford, Esq. the Lord Advocate for Scotland, with Mr. Herman Merivale, subsequently exchanged for Dr. Haggard, as Secretary to the Commission. During the last session of Parliament, the first Report of this Commission, which had been engaged during the winter in taking evidence, was presented to both Houses by royal command, and published in the somewhat manageable form of one hundred and sixty-eight folio pages.

The constitution of this Commission, like that of many Parliamentary Committees, is exactly of that remarkable character, which, while it seems to defy misconstruction, at the same time is eminently suited to a case. England, Scotland, and Ireland, alike find their representatives. And of religious bodies, the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, and the Presbyterian communities, sit in a very general, though not quite an ecclesiastical, council. Westminster Hall and Doctors' Commons attend on behalf of the Law, Common and Civil; neither the lords, at least the spiritual lords, nor the commonalty, are absent; and it would be perhaps difficult to find six names representing so many functions and distinguished places of judgment, and which, from the official position attached to each, seemed in so many ways qualified to command, or to represent, the state of public feeling.

And yet it is curious to observe how predominantly the legal mind is represented in these commissions. With the exception of the Bishop, all the members of the present Commission are lawyers. Dr. Lushington, to be sure, is a civilian: but a civilian, as is well known, of that class which is very loth to trouble the canon law when any question can be brought within the province of what is called a manageable English statute. Neither is it any disparagement to Dr. Lushington to state the very obvious fact, that he has a distaste to ecclesiastical enactment: if not a Dissenter, yet a vigorous and consistent friend of Dissent, it were impossible that Dr. Lushington should meet a question of ecclesiastical discipline, which this is, with other than a bias

against it. So too of the whole class of lawyers—as lawyers. There is an ancient jealousy between canon law and statute law, which only a very high view of the Church's divine office can heal or assuage. The accurate, sharp, defined province of the modern courts contrasts, in a lawyer's eyes, very favourably with what he considers the untechnical, vast, obscure, unsystematic range of the law and courts Christian: the Common lawyer loves an Act of Parliament; he views with mingled contempt and pity a reference to a Council or a Canon. It is perhaps of his professional nature that he should do so. Now, the question being in fact, whether the High Court of Parliament should supersede an ecclesiastical law by a civil enactment of its own, on grounds moral, political, social, economical, on grounds of taste, or convenience, or policy, or simply for the sake of reducing things to the standard of uniformity or common sense—directly that one or all of these motives so palpable, level and manageable can be brought into conflict with anything, to the mere lawyer, so hazy as ancient tradition, or the consent of Christendom, or mystical reasons founded at first in the Church's dogmatic teaching, and perhaps flowing from abstract doctrine alone, it is easy to see on which side the legal mind, simply as the modern legal mind, would be likely to oscillate.

We are not, we suggest, judging the Commission with prejudice, while we state our belief that, however well intended, its nearly unanimous *legal* constitution formed its antecedent or rather inherent vice. There was not one member of it but who entered its examination room *professionally* biassed: the lawyers contending against the Church's law; the prelate, of course, for the Church's law. And yet, the Bishop's position on the Commission was so hampered, that we can quite understand how his Lordship felt that he had no alternative but to sign the Commissioners' report. Having once accepted his Sovereign's nomination to sit on the Commission, the Bishop of Lichfield probably thought, that, being so decidedly pledged as he is, from his sacred office as Bishop, to maintain the Church's law, and seeing that the question was not, as it is not, whether the Church shall alter the law, or whether the State or Parliament of England *can* alter the Church's law,—which as she never received from the Parliament, so she never *can* change at the will of Parliament,—he should best discharge his spiritual and episcopal obligations by forbearing to allow, not the unavoidable prejudices of his order, but, the unalterable law of the Church, from interfering with his judgment on a very different question—viz. whether under present circumstances, and under altered relations, it would be well for the State to dispense, for civil purposes, with the continuance of the Church's irreversible law from

remaining, in a certain particular, as an integral and incorporated element in the national law. And this distinction between what a Bishop holds and is bound to maintain as a Bishop, and what as a peer of Parliament he can entertain the discussion of, supersedes the exact applicability of much which has been said in the way of regret that the name of Dr. Lonsdale should be appended to such a report as that which is before us. We can quite understand that on a secular question, an ecclesiastic might hesitate about introducing purely ecclesiastical scruples, or even to hint anything of his complete disqualification for entertaining at all the question, were it such, whether the Church's law should be altered or not. To suppose a Bishop of the Church of England sitting on a Commission of mixed religionists, to decide whether the Church's law should or should not be changed, since it was not the Bishop of Lichfield's position on the Commission, is a view which we are not called upon to examine. Still, making this distinction, which, as it is refined, so perhaps has not generally addressed itself to the popular apprehension, we will own to some share in the general disappointment and perplexity which has arisen, merely from the fact of a Bishop accrediting, even in this distant way, the notion, that under any circumstances, in any nation or for any people calling itself Christian, of whatever denomination, that disastrous union ought to be sanctioned, which the Church in all ages has branded by the very intelligible term of INCEST.

Passing then from the constitution to the acts of the Commission, we propose to instruct our readers—perhaps they may find some little amusement in the pursuit—in an analysis of the evidence which it took. This evidence may be variously classified. The number of witnesses examined by the Commission being forty-one, they divide themselves into

Class I. Persons who have violated the Law—or who earnestly desire to violate the Law—or who appear as near relations and representatives of those who have violated the Law.	15
II. Paid Agents and Lawyers, 'employed to get evidence.'	10
III. Representatives of the state of the question in Scotland, Ireland, and (parts of Protestant) Germany.	3
IV. Clergy against relaxing the present prohibition.	5
V. Clergy for relaxing the present prohibition.	5
VI. Dissenting preachers, do.	2
VII. 'Rt. Rev. Dr. Wiseman, R. C. Bp. of Melipotamus'	1

I. What we have to say about the real plaintiffs in this case, the parties who have violated the law in their own persons, may well be prefaced by the grave observation of a judicial person, Dr. Nicholl, who in the debate on Mr. Stuart Wortley's motion is reported to have declared: 'It does not appear reasonable, that,

‘because certain persons thought proper to evade the operation of the law, that circumstance should be made the subject of inquiry by a Commission.’ And if this were thought ‘not reasonable,’ how still more unreasonable was the belief, that the views of these very persons should in any case be considered of weight to alter the law itself! The popular song of last century has told us what different laws we should have, if the candidates for Tyburn were consulted in making them; but this is perhaps the first occasion in which the actual culprits were summoned before members of a high court, the highest court, of judicature in the kingdom, not to answer for their offences, but to justify them; not to plead as criminals, but, as advocates of their own infringement of the law, to get the law itself altered. We have only to view the thin sophistry of this very audacious argument. Because—we take the evidence of Mr. Campbell Foster, the ‘*Times* Commissioner’ in Ireland, and the commissioner-general for procuring evidence in England—one thousand six hundred instances of marriage within the prohibited degrees have, or are said to have, occurred in England within the last eight years, therefore the law which recognises the prohibited degrees must be altered; Because the laws against murder, larceny, and forgery, are set at nought, therefore let us declare that they are not crimes.

‘There is another case of a reverend gentleman, a Wesleyan minister, whose marriage with his deceased wife’s sister was prevented by law, and who stated that he lived in considerable unhappiness for some time in consequence.’—*Evidence of Mr. T. C. Foster.* Answer viii. p. 3. f.

We sincerely trust that the ‘reverend gentleman’s’ unhappiness has been abated; but *actum est de republica*, if the statute law of England is to be altered upon such a ground, or for the exceedingly consequential reason given in a preceding case: viz.

‘In Norfolk, where the first wife on her death-bed wished her husband to marry her sister, for the sake of the children, the husband could not afford to keep two establishments, AND SO he married her. That was the reason which the man gave.’—*Ibid.*

Because a man does *not* marry his wife’s sister, he is obliged to keep two establishments: upon which East Anglian specimen of why-and-because, we are to alter the law. But under this head it will be well to advert to some other logical specimens of reasons for the proposed change.

We must alter the law; *because* 1,600 people, not regarding its prohibitions, boldly fly in its face. (Foster, Answer 8. p. 3.) Again, we must alter the law; *because* Mr. James Brotherton (Answer 81. p. 9. c.) has ‘met with several cases where the parties were anxious to marry, but were deterred by the existing state of the law.’ That is to say, that whichever horn of the dilemma we accept,—whether we believe the law to be effective, or ineffective,—it must be altered.

So under another view: Lord Marcus Hill (Answer 300—307. p. 28.) and E. R. Rice, Esq. M. P. (Answer 275—279. pp. 26, 27.) assure us that the Downshire family generally, and they themselves in particular, very much approved of Lord George Hill's successive marriages with two sisters—that they have not lost caste by the marriage—that 'every one, high and 'low, have (*sic*) been to see the second Lady George, and many 'have expressed their strong approbation of their union; such as 'Lady Bangor... Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Kingsmill... Mr. Batt, and 'many others.... (Answer 305. p. 28.) Or, as it is described in another, and that a well-known, case: 'In proof of the openness 'with which many of such unions in the upper ranks of life 'have been carried through, I may cite the case of the late 'Lord ——. He married his brother's widow. They went over 'to Germany; a party of friends, as the bride and bridegroom's 'suite, openly accompanied, for the express purpose.' (Thornburne's Evidence, Answer 123. p. 14. *a*.) As though—we may observe parenthetically—it were so great a difficulty for a lord marrying a richly jointured widow, to get up a train of 'friends' for a German trip: or as though in fact this particular case—and it happens to be an especially revolting one—did *not* excite very considerable indignation, not only among the higher, but in all well-principled, classes of society. So again: 'Anon. Esq.'—(by the way, however creditable to their individual feeling, how comes it that, parallel with all this evidence of no 'inconvenient consequences arising in a social point of view, with regard to the world's estimate of these' incestuous 'marriages,' the fact remains, that nine out of the fifteen witnesses in the class with which we are at present engaged, choose only to figure as 'Anon. Esq.?' all harping on the same string, all parading the same grievance,')—a stockbroker, tries, with ingenuity more fitted to the city than to the place in which his evidence was given, to make out that the Bishop of London,—although his Lordship's speech in the House of Lords was very strongly, as the witness himself admits, against any relaxation of the law—whatever he may think of the law, does not view 'Anon. Esq.' with disfavour, *because*—never was the illation more useful!—

'The Bishop of London is known to me, for it so happened, that while I was resident in — Square, a new Church was contemplated, and, being in office in the parish, I gave a breakfast to him and other judges.'—(*Evidence of Anon. Esq.* Answer 267. *a*. p. 25.)

Now 'Anon. Esq.' married in October, 1844, 'his wife's sister, four years after his wife's death in 1840.' (Answers 261, 264.) He consults his rector about the second marriage in 1841.

1 "Anon, anon, Sir." "That ever this fellow should have fewer words than 'a parrot, and yet the son of a woman!'"

This rector of a London parish, 'who is now a bishop'—('Anon. Esq.' indicates the Bishop of S. Asaph so plainly, that we have no hesitation about supplying that *lacuna*)—when told what had been done, said, 'I shall go and call upon him, for I do not object to such a marriage.' (Answer 267, p. 25.) So because Bishop Short does not object, and because he, 'Anon. Esq.' once, whether before or after the second marriage, in 1844, we are not told, gave the present Bishop of London a breakfast, and has 'seen him subsequently, and he knows me perfectly well'—thinks that he has established quite an Episcopal catena in favour of the marriages in question, backed as this decisive evidence is by the assurance, that 'Mr. —, the clergyman of —, my present parish, has dined with me, and I was at 'an evening party at his house last week.' (Answer 271, p. 26.)

Such being the London estimate of these marriages, we turn to their rural aspect. The stockbroker finds his *pendant* in 'Thomas Franklyn, Esq. Mayor of Maidstone,' who since 'his second marriage,' of the class which we are considering, has 'held the office of mayor twice: a magistrate of the borough, 'and an alderman,' who has actually 'been made a magistrate 'since his marriage with his present wife'—a substantial man, 'a wine-merchant in large business,'—a prosperous tradesman too, who 'has two children, and can give them — apiece, therefore his circumstances are,' like himself, 'easy; 'and who 'feels,' as he speaks, 'strongly upon this question,'—Mr. Franklyn, we say, assures us, that he has been met, since his second marriage, 'with the same degree of respect and cordiality as before.' The position is impregnable. We cannot gainsay the facts, because, not knowing the exact amount of respect with which the Whittington Mayor of Maidstone was received during the lifetime of the first Mrs. Franklyn, we cannot count off its value in terms of respect afforded at present to himself and the second Mayoress. Maidstone, however, is particularly happy, and the precise value of the cordial town's respect, as applied to this class of marriages, may be understood from Mr. Franklyn, the 'wine-merchant in large business,' assuring us that 'Mr. Cooper, who keeps the Turk's Head, at Maidstone,'—the tapster properly following the vintner's example,—says, with more decision than grammar: 'What 'have I to do with the law? My wife was dead, and I could 'not be so well suited in my house as to marry her sister; 'therefore, I do not recognise any law that says I shall not 'marry her sister.' (Answer, 927—942. Franklyn's Evidence, pp. 81, 82.) The landlord of the Turk's Head pithily compresses the whole Blue Book argument into this one emphatic sentence: 'It suits me to break the law: *therefore*, I do not recognise it.'

So also 'Anonymous A.' (Answer 880—908, p. 80,) who

'thinks that his own clergyman did not see that there was any objection to it;' and 'who never had the least slight from any individual, that he knows of.' This case the present writer happened to be acquainted with, and he knows that the exact reverse of these statements would only have expressed the truth.

On the other hand, 'Anonymous B.' (Answer 926, p. 81.) has been deterred from a contemplated marriage of this kind, by 'the doubt which hangs about the social position of any issue of the marriage.' One case detailed by Mr. Brotherton, (Answer 81, C. p. 9,) has been 'attended with the utter blight' of the gentleman's social position. Previously to his second marriage, he moved in the best society that the neighbourhood afforded; but subsequently his friends, with the clergyman of his parish at their head, have abandoned him.' Now, surely, Mr. Foster and Mr. Crowder are not quite fair with us. They must make their choice: either they must ask for a relaxation of the law, *because* it is so radically disregarded, and so virtually a dead letter, that its infringement entails no social losses: or, *because* it is so severe in aspect, that its prohibitions involve a vast amount of misery and distress on individuals. It cannot be at once in the position of the laws of Draco, and of the canon about clerical attire. Repeal the law either because it is too severe, or too lax: either because it is regarded, or disregarded: either because its violation blackballs a man for life, or because society cares nothing about it. The existing law cannot be bad on both accounts. We have at least a right to ask its opponents to make their election upon what grounds they choose to risk their opposition: for that opposition which depends upon opposite and contradictory postulates only opposes itself.

But, admitting, for argument's sake, that the general estimate of these marriages is not unfavourable, and that the parties who contract them do not suffer loss of social estimate or position, does this admission tell for much? We are living in a relaxed and undisciplined state of society: all sorts of reasons can well be imagined, which will prevent a *charivari* or mobbing occurring in individual cases. It often suits families, as the saying is, to make the best of what, having taken place, cannot be undone: it is not the habit of the age, or of any class of society, to mark very distinctly or pointedly breaches of moral obligation in such matters. Instances could be quoted of noble adulteresses presiding over influential saloons of at least high literary society, and of being received, as they presented themselves, without a blush. Because such particular sins do not as a fact disqualify, in a certain way, or in certain quarters, those who commit them, is the Divine law, which forbids them, to be erased from our national code upon that avowed account?

Again, in the lower ranks of English life, and in many rural districts, antenuptial fornication has become of late years a thing of ordinary occurrence; and because a girl whose condition unites in one month the offices of Marriage and Churching is here and there thought 'none the worse of' for this offence against the first laws of morality and religion, is any legislative enactment to be sought to justify this sin? Or because as a fact, in too many cases, neither fornication, nor adultery itself, casts a social shadow upon the male sinner, are we to have a Royal Commission admitting the plausible reasons which might be urged in favour of these sins,—reasons at least which arise from the absence of any loud or general condemnation of them? Or because parties of high and uncontrollable passions determine to take society as it were by assault, and to brave and compel the world's judgment, is such a bold, unshrinking front to meet with encouragement? The first principles of justice and morality are at stake when, under any circumstances, the fact of a person 'not recognising' the justice of a law should be for a moment entertained as his justification for refusing to obey it, or as a motive for abandoning the prohibition.

Indeed, that her Majesty's Commissioners did not meet with a distinct stigma of reprobation the whole of this line of argument, is, to our minds, perhaps the most painful feature in their Report. They assume, in the following sentence, what certainly it suits the purpose of the promoters of the relaxation to suggest, but which can be abundantly accounted for, as we shall see, on other grounds. 'The laws of nearly all Europe have permitted them (the class of marriages under consideration); and *necessarily* so; *because* all prohibitory laws against them have failed.' (Report, p. x. f.) The fact being, that the prohibition throughout much of continental Europe has been relaxed, not upon any consideration whatever arising from its success or failure, but, in the Churches of the Roman obedience, because dispensations were easy; in the Protestant countries, because the whole strictness of the matrimonial bond has been, upon avowedly religious and not political grounds, relaxed, and not this particular prohibition alone; in France, because the civil contract has nationally superseded the religious element in all marriages. There is not a particle of evidence to show that in any country whatever any statistical account of marriages, so called, in spite of the existing prohibition, has been taken, and that upon such returns the prohibition was taken off: indeed, in the case of Prussia, M. Bunsen expressly asserts the contrary. (Appendix, No. 26, p. 147.) This Report, then, must have the credit of being the first to adopt the flagitious suggestion, that to get rid of a law, you have only to get up a large conspiracy to

break it. The State has not yet been induced to adopt it in the case of the customs; though we will admit that the existence of smuggling has been urged against the continuance of searchers and a coast-guard. By this time, however, the policy of a strict prohibition in that direction is generally admitted. And—merely as an argument *ad hominem*—we think that Dr. Lushington is hardly prepared to apply the principle, which the Report assumes, to the discontinuance of the African squadron, because in spite of it barracoons exist and the middle passage is occasionally effected.

But it would be scarcely fair to the interests of truth, however painful the survey is to our own feelings, to pass over some of the extraordinary cases which are produced by way of argument for the relaxation. Mr. Campbell Foster (Answer 8, a. p. 2.) produces the instance of ‘a farmer in Essex, whose wife’s sister took care of his house. She was pregnant by him, and afterwards he married her.’ We happen to be acquainted with a case, where both the wife and the wife’s sister were at the same time pregnant by the same man: we might anticipate what inference might be established from this case, were it put into Mr. Foster’s hands ‘professionally,’ in favour of bigamy. Again; the Commissioners seem to think, that, with respect to the lower classes, ‘the constant and familiar intercourse, the want of separate accommodation, and the entire privacy, give rise to feelings ‘which, in the ordinary state of things, naturally will produce ‘the consequences which we have stated.’ (Report, pp. xi. xii.) Or, as Mr. Foster words it, ‘There are but, perhaps, two rooms ‘in the house: they live together with great familiarity, &c. . . . ‘In almost all these cases, when parties in that station of life ‘have been prevented from being married, they have afterwards ‘lived together in open cohabitation.’ (Answer 8, d. p. 2.) We all know to what fearful sins the existing state of cottages does lead: horrible instances of incest between father and daughter, between brother and sister, may be traced to the ‘two rooms in the house;’ but while this remains a very good reason for improving the labourer’s sleeping accommodation, we can understand the fact being urged, quite as forcibly, for the permission of brothers and sisters to marry, because occasionally they commit incest, as in the present case.

Another very disgusting case is produced by Mr. Thorburne, (Answer 123, b. p. 14,) of ‘a man of wealth, who keeps his ‘carriage, and lives avowedly in fact with his deceased wife’s ‘sister . . . in open concubinage . . . his neighbours sympathizing with him . . . who, instead of marrying, nevertheless ‘lives with her in this state of concubinage, because of family ‘circumstances.’ By way of parallel, we need only suggest the

very strong appeal which was made out by one Elector Philip of Hesse, 'a man of wealth, who,' probably, 'kept his carriage,' and would gladly have kept two wives at once, and who had no decided aversion to concubinage, avowed or concealed, and who found somebody of greater name than 'his neighbours' to 'sympathize with him.'

Nor, indeed, are we likely to stop with marrying a wife's sister. Mr. Charles Newton has been fortunate enough to hit upon the instance which looks most nearly like the Jewish levirage, and most available for argument to reduce a Christian people to the old dispensation. (Answer 150, p. 15.) 'I saw 'one woman, who was the third sister the man had married: and 'her expression to me was, "that if she died, she believed her 'husband would have the fourth."'

The following case, perhaps, bears the palm of insolence; and the witness who had the moral, or immoral, courage to produce it before an assembly of Bishops and Judges, we may admire as much for his 'professional,' as for his personal coolness. 'A 'farmer, a respectable man, upon the clergyman, who knew the 'position in which he stood with reference to his intended wife, 'his deceased wife's sister, refusing to marry them, thereupon 'informed the clergyman that he intended to live with his wife's 'sister, . . . and intimated that he threw the responsibility of the 'refusal upon the clergyman:' which is probably the ground which Mr. Rush took with Mr. Jermy, intimating, that in case of refusal to accede to his views, Mr. Jermy must 'take the responsibility' of his own murder.

'Anon. Esq.' (Answers 584—615, pp. 64—66,) draws the picture of his domestic grievances with the hand of an artist. His character is 'domestic and literary:' the exact combination which is wanted to bring out the full pathos of the case: his statement reads like a novel. His wife died in 1845, leaving him with six children. His wife's sister had previously lived with them for eleven years. After his wife's death, the sister still remains, under the stipulation of her mother, that another female of suitable age should at the same time enter the widower's family. But this arrangement is about to be broken up: the *chaperone* being on the point to leave, the wife's sister, 'Anon. Esq.' feels, must quit also: he now feels 'a blankness and forlornness, and would gladly reconstruct his family happiness to 'the best of his power, though he feels that he is condemned to 'a life of celibacy, for he cannot go out into the world, which 'would be most repugnant to his feelings, to form new associations and new feelings. To displace his sister-in-law would be 'an act of cruelty and pain to her. . . . He feels grievance and 'privation, because one who has known the happiness and solace

'of marriage, feels that it is most imperfectly supplied by any restricted communion of this kind, for, *of course*, there is a perpetual check: you are afraid of indulging your own feelings: the position is an embarrassing one to him at all times. He is afraid of the object [object? what object? object of what? there is no antecedent to object] becoming, or being thought, too dear to him,' &c. Now, from the evidence we gather these facts: that this witness is himself on the other side of forty—that his wife's sister is very nearly of the same standing—that he has a daughter of sixteen, which daughter already 'does not quite look upon' her aunt 'in the position of a mother—a feeling which is not unlikely to increase.' (Answer 604, 605, p. 66.) May we suggest to him a remedy? If, as he owns, honest man! he does not like to live under 'a perpetual check,' and wishes to be so situated as not to be 'afraid of indulging his own feelings,' let him get rid of his fair perplexity, the sister-in-law of forty, and see what solace he can find in the care and affection of the daughter of sixteen.

Although the evidence, generally speaking, is arranged *ad misericordiam captandam*, and though the woe-begone widowers¹ only sacrifice themselves for the good of their children, and

¹ But the climax of folly and maudlin sentimentality is exhibited in the following letter, actually addressed to the Chairman of the Commission, the party bias of which is painfully displayed when it could submit to such a publication.

'Wellington, Salop, 10th December 1847.

'SIR,—Having read a paragraph in the 'Times,' with your name attached thereto, referring to the subject of marriages of individuals with the sisters of their deceased wives, I beg leave very respectfully to state that I am one of those individuals interested in the result of your arduous undertaking; having two children now living by my deceased wife, and six by her sister May I be allowed the liberty, while engaged upon this subject, to urge the propriety of a man being legally sanctioned to marry such a relative; as who so likely to attend to the little wants and cares of a parent-bereaved infant, as the affectionate sister of its deceased mother? Pardon my introducing a scene by way of argument.

'A female, having several young children, lies suffering upon her death-bed; her parental anxiety for the welfare of her offspring, adds no little weight to the weight of care upon her agitated mind and enfeebled body. Her end is drawing near; she wishes to devote her last moments in making peace with her Maker; but alas! the overwhelming thoughts of "Who will take charge of my darling children?" are ever suggesting themselves in her dying hours; and in agony she feels the poignancy of that law which prohibits the affectionate sister (who has smoothed her pillow in affliction, and nursed her little ones during the hours of indisposition) from ever acting in the endearing and solacing capacity of mother to her orphan babes.

'Apologizing for my thus troubling you, and earnestly soliciting your continued kind exertions in order to legalize the births of my six innocent children,

'I am, &c.

'J— M—.

'The Right Hon. J. S. Wortley, M.P.'

Surely a case must be *in extremis* which resorts to such a desperate expedient as the publication, in all the dignity of Appendix, No. 22, p. 144, of a document like this.

bend to the stern necessity of a second marriage rather to find their families a mother than to furnish themselves with a wife, yet occasionally some other motive (we do not find much prominence given to it in the Report or Evidence) peeps out; and as it is not named, we are not called upon to specify or characterize it. 'Philip Barnes Broad, Esq.' (Answers 740, 776, pp. 71, 72.) however, comes into court; he has not the least romance or sentimentality about him; he states of himself, that 'he married 'twenty years ago, and that his wife died three or four years ago—never had any children—has no particular circumstance which 'he wishes to state,' except the very pertinent facts that 'his 'property consists of coal mines, and that his ancestors never 'worked for the last three or four hundred years,' which interesting assurances, *faute de mieux*, we are glad to accept as a sufficient account for his intention, 'having made up his mind, 'if he can get the lady in the same way of thinking as himself, 'if the law is not altered, to get married somewhere abroad to 'his wife's sister—her younger sister.' Mr. Broad does credit to his name: there is no affectation or nonsense in his bearings or feelings.

'James Low, Esq. resident in the City of London, and of the Baptist denomination,' (Answers 943—958, pp. 82, 83,) presents a parallel case: 'twenty-five years after his first marriage, he then having daughters, aged respectively twenty-three, twenty-one, and eighteen, marries his wife's sister in Scotland.'

But the most racy specimen of this class is 'William —, an 'architect and civil engineer of Bristol—who in the matter of 'religion,' and other things, 'is an Independent—who has had 'the honour of being superintendent of the Sabbath-school 'upwards of thirty-five years,—whose wife, with whom he had 'lived nearly thirty-six years, dies in August, 1836, leaving him 'with six daughters'—the youngest of whom, therefore, at the very lowest, must be eighteen, and may be forty,—'views the 'prohibition as unjust, his conscience bearing him witness. He 'sees no law, neither in morals nor in religion, that imposes 'such a prohibition, and in this he is borne out by . . . the 'minister, with which [*sic*] it is his happiness to be connected: 'and so the statute being an iniquitous statute, unless its 'obstacle is speedily removed, we shall be induced to adopt some 'mode to evade the obstacle, or to seek redress in a foreign 'country.' For the sake of this burning pair of lovers the obstacle must be *speedily* removed: for the fact is, that the swain states, with that haziness which perhaps goes for truth among Independents, that he and his intended—or rather his threatened—are 'both above sixty years of age, and may not, therefore, be charged with the frivolities of youth.' Above sixty!

Sixty-nine at the very lowest. In 1836 the man lost his wife, to whom he had been married thirty-six years; therefore, he married in 1800: giving him the questionable chance of having married at twenty-one, his birth took place in 1779: $1848 - 1779 = 69$. Mr. Crowder was quite right to relegate *this* case to the delicate obscurity of Appendix. (No. 17. p. 143.)

Here, again, we have to ask the promoters of the relaxation to make their election, and to tell us plainly what parties they propose to 'relieve.' We cannot see the consistency of advancing as arguments, equally entitled to consideration, the perplexities of a man of thirty left with a young motherless family—and the unhealthy and unnatural cravings for matrimony in a septuagenarian widower and a septuagenarian maid.

II. The second division of the Evidence comprises that of the paid agents; the solicitors, counsel, and professional people, barristers and students-of-law, who were employed in taking evidence: technically, those who 'got up the case.' And here it is as obvious as needful to remark, that it is the getting up of a case. 'George Augustus Crowder, Esq.' (Answers 194—219, pp. 18—22), the solicitor to the whole matter, 'has been employed in investigating the subject of marriages within the prohibited degrees of affinity . . . from the year 1840.' 'At the end of 1846, he instructs T. Campbell Foster, Esq.' (Answer 3; p. 1,) who employs Mr. Aspinall, (Answers 28—51,) Mr. Sleigh, (Answers 52—64,) Mr. Brotherton, (Answers 65—85,) Mr. Paterson, (Answers 86—103,) Mr. Thorburne, (Answers 104—124,) Mr. C. Newton, (Answers 125—150,) Mr. Macdonald, (Answers 151—182,) Mr. Dearsley (Answers 183—193). Of the solicitor 'employed,' and the barrister 'consulted,'—*employed* is not etiquette—and of the assistant staff, we have only to say, that it is very important to bear in mind throughout, that the whole investigation is to these gentlemen a matter of professional business: it is their business to get up as good a case as possible for their unknown, or at least unmentioned, client. We do not think that they have, as a fact, made much of a case, or have even conducted their agency with remarkable tact: their inquiries, perhaps from the nature of the case, were conducted in a loose, inartificial way. The sole machinery set to work by the eight assistant barristers was, for each to take a district. One took Liverpool and Manchester; another, Wakefield, Huddersfield, &c. Mr. Paterson is appointed to Norfolk and Suffolk; somebody else selects Plymouth, &c.; and they go about 'making inquiries,' 'receiving information from what were judged credible sources,' 'taking eighty cases in a week,' (Answer 94, p. 11,) 'obtaining evidence of notoriety,' (Answer 57, p. 6;) and then jotting down all these

diversified and variously authenticated scraps of village gossip and town talk, in the random way in which they were elicited, and sending them up to Mr. Campbell Foster, whose business it was to select and arrange—which, judging from the hasty and heterogeneous appearance of the Report, was a task upon which he either spent little time, or powers of classification;—as, for example, when he has the honesty or indiscretion to permit Mr. Sleigh (Answer 54, *c.* p. 7,) to admit the perilous fact of ‘a Dissenting Minister in Cheshire, a magistrate in Cheshire, and another person in Yorkshire, who have been living with their wives’ sisters—not in an improper manner, but they have kept the widowers’ houses—that according to public report they are most amiable and exemplary people, but of whom it is said to be notorious that they are respectively desirous to contract marriages of this description.’ But let all this pass: we are not desirous to criticise too severely the professional doings of professional people. They work for fees: it is their vocation to do their best for their client. The whole case at present is nothing more than a one-sided *ex parte* array of evidence, carefully culled, picked, arranged and dressed up according to order. In favour of relaxing the restriction, there is plenty of money, *from some source*, a stout staff of ten astute lawyers, well-fed and well-instructed, a case which has been eight years in preparation, which has had the advantage of canvassing, pamphleteering, advertising for information, (Appendix No. 22, p. 144,) unlimited opportunities for bringing all their choice witnesses before the Commissioners—while on the other side remains only the discretion of the Commissioners to call what few witnesses they thought proper, and who were known, by their published opinions or otherwise, to have carefully considered the subject. (Report p. vii.) A single word, then, will furnish the present aspect of the matter: the Evidence and Report taken together are exactly equivalent to a case and opinion got up between a solicitor and barrister. Under such circumstances there is always a certain value given to counsel’s opinion; but that not the highest.

III. Next in order may be taken the evidence of ‘Adolphus Bach, Esq.’ (Answers 959—992,) ‘George Mathews, Esq.’ (Answers 1091—1140,) and ‘Mr. Rutherford, the Lord Advocate of Scotland,’ (Answers 1141—1154.) Mr. Bach, a ‘German jurisconsult,’ *i.e.* an attorney, practising in this country, merely states that in the German Protestant states these marriages are allowed—as, under dispensation, are those of uncles and nieces—and that the former are not considered *contra bonos mores*. Mr. Mathews, a ruling elder of a Presbyterian congregation in Dublin, states, that the Irish Presbyterians in Ireland have adopted the English table of prohibited degrees, but that recently

he believes thirty or forty of the leading ministers in the Presbyterian General Assembly of Ulster have come to the conclusion, that the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus does not verbally forbid these marriages—an observation which proves that neither Mr. Mathews nor the General Assembly has as yet attained even to a glimmering of the question connected with that chapter. The Lord Advocate's evidence is among the most valuable pieces in the volume: he bears distinct and intelligible testimony to the stern moral tone which has always so honourably distinguished the Scottish Presbyterians from their kindred Protestant communities of Continental Europe—that these marriages are looked upon in Scotland as incestuous and abominable—that the feeling of the people is against them, and would remain against them even though told on high authority—Dr. Chalmers' not excluded—that the ordinary construction of Leviticus xviii. was wrong. We say that the existence of such a feeling, both among the general population and in the legal faculty, is highly creditable, and advantageously perhaps to be contrasted with that loose ignorance which prevails among ourselves. To what extent among the most educated classes the silent authority which is in Scotland so remarkably retained by the old Imperial law influences this sort of feeling, might be worth an inquiry.

IV. A more important class of evidence is that of the clergy of the Church of England, who have in various ways expressed themselves in favour of the continuance of the existing prohibitions: they were, Mr. Arthur Perceval, Dr. Pusey, Mr. Tyler, Archdeacons Hale and Sinclair. Mr. Perceval, if we are permitted to class them, might be supposed to represent the country clergy, Dr. Pusey the Universities, and the other gentlemen the Right Reverend Bench in general, and, from their immediate connexion with its Bishop, the see of London in particular; in which quarter it is known that a very distinct and decided feeling exists against any tampering with the prohibited degrees. Valuable as every portion of this evidence is, it is eminently characteristic of each witness. Mr. Perceval is the most decided and emphatic, and must have made a very marked impression upon the Commissioners, who were probably unacquainted with him. Dr. Pusey's evidence is remarkable even for him: his prodigious learning and careful research—his unwearied honesty and affectionate undercurrent of feeling and sympathy—his mind bathed and suffused in the spirit of antiquity—these qualities, of which such as know him are too well aware to need our commendation, could not but have told, and we trust favourably, upon such members of the Commission as had only heard his name coupled with words of unkindness or suspicion. We believe that this evidence—a valuable contribution to theo-

logical literature—is about to appear in a revised and separate shape. Neither would it be fair to withhold from Archdeacon Hale's evidence great credit for the painstaking, and honest, earnest, sensible tone which pervades it. Mr. Tyler slightly falters, but recovers himself, though not without a ruffled and anxious air: and Archdeacon Sinclair does not appear to have paid much attention to the subject. From Archdeacon Hale's evidence we cannot but quote a vigorous reply, (Answer 1325, p. 118,) which exactly states what we have argued.

‘I think that parties are thoroughly to be condemned, who set a public example of openly breaking a law which there is no real obligation upon them to break: and that, whatever may be said as to their general conduct in other respects being exemplary, I think the example they set is most pernicious; and it is astonishing to me that men do not see that their example is destructive of all law whatever. If persons, following their own private opinions and feelings, are first to combine to break the law, and then, because they have combined to break it, are to come to the legislature and say, “Now you ought to do away with the law, lest we should by our conduct familiarize others with breaking the law,” there is an end of all obligation and force of law in society. There is no law that can withstand such conduct.’

V. The *Isomachy*, however, was perfect: Clan Chattan and Clan Quhele sent their picked warriors to the conflict. If the High Churchman was represented as we have seen, the clergy of a different school had its heroes ready,

*ἀντὶρὲτας ἐχθροῖσι τὸν μέγαν τρόπον,
εἰς πεντατεῖχαις ἐξόδοις*

Mr. Perceval was confronted with Mr. Hatchard of Plymouth; Dr. Pusey wrote a letter against the repeal of the existing laws; Mr. Denham, of the Strand, a pamphlet on the other side—Mr. Jenkins, of Turnham Green, is matched against Mr. Tyler—and if Mr. Garbett of Birmingham, and Mr. Owen of Bilston, are less known than the brother Archdeacons, they bear to them about the same relation that, in certain trades, articles known respectively as Birmingham and Town-made maintain.

Mr. Denham's evidence (Answers 366—417, pp. 31—36,) is offensive in proportion to its ambitiousness. His view, however, of the social aspect of the case has at least the advantage of originality. Premising Mr. Denham's own description of his impartiality, curiously grounded as it is, (Answer 417,) ‘I am not a married man, and never was married, and have no present intention of marrying,’ we certainly think his judgment odd, and we shall be scrupulous not to misstate it. He thinks ‘that ‘bachelors, who have females in the house, not absolutely related ‘to them by consanguinity, are always liable to suspicions from ‘ill-natured people. He does not think that, generally speaking, ‘this case of sisters-in-law living with widowers would be more ‘liable to it than any other case of that sort.’ (Answer 393.)

'The fact of the woman being the sister of a man's deceased wife, would tend to prevent reflections being made when another person would be exposed to them. People would not consider a man capable of so atrocious a feeling as to wish to seduce her. From which the inference would seem natural, that the improbability of such reflections being made would be rather increased where it is known that such parties could not marry. Oh no! precisely the reverse. Let them have the possibility of marriage; and the sister-in-law would 'be in no degree more liable to it than any bachelor or any other woman who is not related to him—a friend living with him to manage his house. If they were about the same age, I think that ill-natured people everywhere would probably suggest that they were upon terms of 'cohabitation.' (Answer 394, p. 34.) In which belief we quite concur with Mr. Denham: only asking him seriously whether it is the custom—for clergymen, say, not themselves married or likely to marry—to have female 'friends' of 'about the same age' 'living with them to manage their houses?' and whether this is the exact relation to which he would wish to reduce the sisters-in-law of widowers? whether this is the analogy of circumstances which he thinks most likely to obviate scandal? or whether such scandal would in such a case be confined to the malevolent and low-bred? Surely such an argument as this convicts itself of trifling, to speak of it in the most measured phrase of censure.

One instance will be enough by which to test Mr. Denham's sobriety of judgment, and the accuracy with which he has investigated facts. Speaking, and with truth, of the loose way in which matrimony is too often estimated, he states that many 'are contented only with putting up the banns;' that they so disregard the marriage rite, that they think the mere being asked in church is sufficient ceremony, and then he goes on to estimate, that 'out of fifty who put up the banns, there are as many as thirty,—as many as two thirds,—who go no further.' (Answer 410. *a.* p. 35.) Being in a position to investigate this most startling piece of statistics, we find that in very few of the largest London parishes does the proportion of those who, putting up the banns, do not proceed to marriage, reach to one sixth, and in most cases, seldom to a seventh, or an eighth of the whole, *i. e.* six or seven, not thirty, out of fifty.

Mr. Denham expands Lord Hardwick's *dictum* about the Canons: he thinks that the prohibitory tables 'are, after all, really not obligatory upon the laity, whatever they may be even upon the clergy.' (Answer 415, p. 36.) Had Mr. Denham been at the trouble of arguing out this view, he might have saved us all a world of trouble: and the Royal Commission,

and Mr. Denham's evidence, might alike have been dispensed with.

The evidence of Mr. Hatchard of Plymouth (Answers 501, 556, pp. 59—63) is hardly worth analyzing: he does not think 'that there is any *consanguinity* between a wife's sister and the husband,' (Answer 553, p. 63;) which observation, whether it proves that Mr. Hatchard does not know the difference between consanguinity and affinity, or whether it shows that he is against any prohibition on the ground of affinity, is important to consider. If the latter is his view, it is decidedly, on this ground, opposed to Mr. Denham's, who does recognise some cases of affinity as requiring prohibition.

The evidence of Messrs. Owen, of Bilston, and Garbett, of Birmingham, may also be passed over rapidly. We notice that the last gentleman states, with an amusing and summary decision, that 'commentators seem agreed, that the prohibition in Leviticus does not relate to marrying a sister after the other sister is dead,' (Answer 1063, p. 95;) which at any rate is an evidence of the range of Mr. Garbett's reading.

The Rev. R. C. Jenkins, of Christ Church, Turnham Green, (Answer 1002—1052, pp. 90—95,) is however the clerical *cheval de bataille* on this side. It seems that Dr. Lushington personally introduced him to the Commission. (Answer 1007.) His evidence is much fairer, and exhibits more research and a better spirit, than those clergymen with whom he was associated. Of Mr. Jenkins, therefore—and his evidence will show why we put the question to him—we may ask the broad question: whether, judging the two dispensations as wholes, and characterized as each is by a distinctly recognisable character and mind, he thinks it at all probable, or according to the analogy and general bearing of the Law and the Gospel upon the government of the flesh, and especially keeping in mind the evangelical sanctity of marriage,—marriage which in the dispensation of the Saviour first recovered the dignity which it possessed in paradise, and became a Christian mystery,—that the Gospel would give greater licence to Christians, than the Law gave to Jews? because, in a carefully weighed paper on the passage in Leviticus, Mr. Jenkins alleges, that 'the traditional law of the Jews did exclude the marriage of two sisters in succession.' (Answer 1052, a. p. 94.)

VI. The clergy of this school may be aptly followed by the two dissenting teachers—the binary star of metropolitan non-conformity, Dr. Cox, Baptist, and Mr. Thos. Binney, Independent; and this seems the more convenient place for asking attention to the fact, how very completely this whole movement bears upon it the impress and note of a dissenting encroachment. It may, under the altered relations of Church and State, be a

natural result of past policy, to erase from the Statute Book anything which, however remotely, recognises the ecclesiastical law. That question may be well waived in this place: but we are bound to bring forward explicitly the way in which Dissent has thoroughly adopted this agitation for the repeal of the prohibited degrees. Several, if not most, of the evidence-compelling barristers and students are dissenters. Mr. Sleight gets up a petition 'signed by between thirty and forty dissenting ministers,' (Answer 64, c. p. 7,) and another from 'the dissenting ministers of Halifax,' &c. Mr. Paterson would 'say that the Dissenters . . . as a body, are more strongly against the present law than any other class . . . accordingly they act in defiance of it.' (Answer 103, c. p. 12.) 'All classes of dissenting clergymen, to a man, are in favour of a relaxation of the law.'—Mr. Macdonald, (Answers 167, 168, p. 16.) 'A reverend gentleman, Mr. Coxhead, a dissenting minister of the Baptist denomination'—so the examining commissioner speaks of him,—whose judgment on this question, of course, is irrefragable, since it is stated of him as a complete clincher of his qualifications, that 'he had used to preach at the place where John Howard had used to attend when in London,' (we preserve the delicate idiom of Manchester,) (Answer 633, p. 67.) 'felt so strongly on the matter, that he went from Hampshire to Scotland to attend a marriage of this character.' Mr. Binney (Answer 997, p. 89,) 'does not know one minister, and but one layman, who objects to the marriage itself.' In the analysis of the contents of the petition, (Appendix, No. 15, p. 141,) we find that those of the 'Dissenting Clergy' form a very large proportion of the signatures. 'Count Bunsen,' too, 'the Prussian Ambassador,' not only 'fully approves the act of marrying a wife's sister,' (Mr. Crowder's Evidence, Answer 210, p. 21,) but, with that parental care which he is always so ready to dispense in our concerns ecclesiastical and civil, has been at a good deal of trouble in procuring and translating documents for those who are agitating the question. (Appendix, No. 26, p. 147.) The bias, indeed, of the parties is unmistakable.

But to return to the 'Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D. LL.D.' He presents himself in an imposing attitude: Professor of three faculties at once—*Doctor Theologiae et utriusque juris*—this triple representative of Divinity, Canon Law, and Civil Law, has a claim

¹ It may not be superfluous to mention that the General Petitions of 1847, presented in favour of the relaxation, (after all the district agitation of the staff of inquiring Barristers,) were 50 in number, with less than 5,000 signatures; the number of signatures to each petition varying from 9 and 10 to nearly 700, (in Manchester.)

to be heard. As far as rich academical distinctions—toilsomely won, we make no doubt, and gracefully worn—the ‘reverend’ Doctor far surpasses all the witnesses brought before the commission. His LL.D. literature he exemplifies by saying, ‘What are all the precise prohibited degrees, I do not know.’ (Answer 845, p. 77.) And by way of sample of his divinity, he argueth thus learnedly and profoundly: The Levitical law cannot prohibit marriage with the deceased wife’s sister, ‘because in Deut. xxv. 5, it is enjoined,’ *i.e.* by the law of levirage. That is to say, that a special and peculiar dispensation or permission, in an extreme case of necessity, proves that the general prohibitory law never existed; which is equivalent to saying, that because Saul was enjoined to kill Agag, therefore the seventh commandment could not mean ‘Thou shalt do no murder.’ Which is, perhaps, enough to observe of Dr. Cox; only begging him to observe, that he and all his friends argue for the propriety of these marriages, *because* in most cases the first sister has left children; the Jewish permission, cited by him as a parallel, as though to show that the opposition must be contradictory on every point, being that of the first brother who has left no children.¹

The Dissenters themselves admit that this relaxation, if yielded, is a concession to their principles. But it is one of which, as we in charity conceive, even they hardly feel the force. Either they must admit, that in matters which are of a double and mixed nature, into which both ecclesiastical and civil elements enter, no state regulation at all is justifiable; or they must allow the necessity of *some* restriction. Now, marriage clearly has, in the minds of at least dissenters, who profess a religious character, this twofold aspect: it is religious as well as civil. Either, then, England, as a people of different religions, must have Marriage Laws differing according to the views of each denomination; or the state must agree to eliminate the religious element of marriage altogether from its cognisance; or it must frame such a marriage law—so comprehensive, or rather so little encumbered with restrictions, as that it shall offend no prejudices, or rather admit all wandering and irregular wills. Our legislation, hitherto, has been quite a stranger to the principles of giving different laws to different communions: a statesman, therefore, is bound to look with grave suspicion at the first instalment of what must be contrary to the spirit of all our past legislation. There are few Dissenters who would seek to

¹ Several cases prevented the completion of the law of levirage: such as age, confirmed disease, or even if the deceased brother had taken a son by adoption, and this so vaguely as *nuncupative*. (So Selden).

compel the state to give up any restrictions which shall have a religious aspect: because some religious (so-called) people will always be found, to take even religious objections to the very principle of any restriction in the case of sexual relations. It was the religion of the Mormons, and of certain ancient sects, and of the St. Simonians, and of the Prussian *Muckers*, to have a community of women. If the State is to give separate marriage laws to each denomination, or to enforce no restriction with respect to marriage, it may be called upon, either to tolerate, or even to recognise, these abominations as the religion of one or other body of British subjects. We will not insult Dissenters in general, by asking them whether they are prepared for this very legitimate result of their principles.

But is it impossible to frame a law which, retaining the more natural restrictions, shall only abandon those which seem questionable? To put this question, really assumes the whole difficulty. What restriction, short of the present tables, can be lawfully and safely maintained? Prussia, and the Protestant foreign communities, and occasionally the United States, are quoted; but parallel with the repeal of the prohibited degrees, came in—what? The right of divorce by mutual consent, and the permission, in Protestant Germany, for uncles and nieces to marry. Nay, we are by no means certain that polygamy can by any just exclusion be forbidden; for aught we know, it may soon be claimed. It is a very remarkable fact, that Protestantism—we speak of its continental phase—has from the days of Luther exhibited a growing tendency towards polygamy. Luther justified it, of course *sub conditione*: Madan, the English Calvinist, justified it *sine conditione*: Mr. Binney, we think, goes further, and establishes for it a scriptural precept, and the authority of the primitive Church.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is not forbidden to the Christian, because there is no direct scriptural prohibition of it in the New Testament. So *uno ore* argue the divines, or those professing to be religious people, on one side. The Levitical laws do not prohibit this marriage:¹ or, if they do, these laws do not bind the Christian: the Gospel does not continue the

¹ It becomes a serious question to all those clergymen who so openly declare that this particular marriage is not forbidden in Scripture, to think whether they are not actually liable to ecclesiastical censure in court for, by such a declaration, impugning the Book of Common Prayer, and the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, which by Canon 99, has adopted the 'Table set forth by authority,' which is entitled a 'Table of kindred or affinity, wherein whosoever are related, *are forbidden in Scripture*, and our laws, to marry together.' We are inclined to suspect that the words, 'I say calmly and advisedly that these marriages are not prohibited in Holy Writ' (Mr. Hatchard's evidence. Answer 515, p. 60), is an ecclesiastical offence, and punishable accordingly.

restriction. It would be tedious to multiply quotations to this effect from the Blue Book; every page contains this statement, scarcely varied in words. The argument, then, is easily constructed: Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is permissible to the Christian, because it is not forbidden in Holy Scripture; or, if forbidden in the Levitical, it is not forbidden in the Evangelical, law. The Gospel is a law of liberty; the carnal restrictions which were put upon the Jews are repealed. Polygamy was allowed to the Jews. The Gospel has not restricted the Jewish law of matrimony; rather, it has expanded it. If then polygamy were allowed to the Jews, and if there is no New-Testament precept against it, why should the Christian—not so much avail himself of his higher freedom from the temporary restriction of the carnal law of ordinances, (which is all that is claimed in this question,) as—tie himself down to harder legal slavery than was enjoined upon the Jews? If the Jew might avail himself of the permission of polygamy, such may be a precept to the Christian.

Mr. Binney is at the same time instructive and inconsistent on this point. To be sure, he speaks (Answer 995, c. p. 87,) of 'polygamy as practised by the patriarchs, permitted by Moses, but condemned by Christ together with the facility of divorce.' But though Mr. Binney says, 'condemned by Christ,' Martin Luther, and Melancthon, and Mr. Madan, could not find this condemnation in Scripture. Mr. Binney proceeds:—

'..... perhaps bigamy, in a private Christian, tolerated at first under the circumstances of the times. Paul says, 'A bishop must be the husband of one wife.' That, I think, means, that if a person had two wives, he was not required to put one away, or dissolve the marriage; but he was not to be an officer of the Church,—not to be a Bishop. I do not think it means that a man is only to have a wife once.' (Question 995, c. p. 8.)

Mr. Binney lays himself open. 'Tolerated at first.' Then a time came when something 'tolerated at first' came under a restriction: in other words, the Church did, and lawfully, enforce a prohibition which neither Scripture enjoined, nor the earliest Christians yielded to. A remarkable concession from such a quarter. But further: if, in the earliest and purest ages of the Gospel, bigamy, at least, was permitted to laymen, why should not, say, Mr. Binney's own congregation—we ask pardon—the laymen of 'my Church in Fish-street Hill, London' (Answer 998, p. 89) claim the same privilege?

Next: we observe the noticeable fact, which did not escape even the observation of one of the witnesses—though he quite misses the value of his induction. Mr. Macdonald says—

'For instance: the Evangelical party, particularly those who have large parishes, and who find a difficulty in knowing exactly the parties who come before them to be married, were generally in favour of a relaxation

of the law. And again: the High Church party, for instance, were less inclined to favour an alteration.' (Answer 165, p. 16.)

But neither the remarkable specialty pointed out by Mr. Macdonald, 'particularly those who have large parishes,' will account for the drift and current of Low Church feeling in one direction; nor, again, will merely the feeling that 'it is a question which they should leave to their superiors' (Mr. Pater-son, Answer 102, p. 11) be an adequate reason for the prejudice entertained by an opposite school to any change. The question is in itself a very remarkable illustration of the peculiar character and tone of the Church of England. As a Church-of-England distinction it is, that we maintain the prohibitions: as bringing us into closer symbolizing with a more advanced and full Protestantism, that others desire the relaxation. The later English Church has its own distinct theory and bias on this question—a peculiar and somewhat self-evolved law. It goes upon a broad, intelligible, perfectly apprehensible ground: it assumes the Levitical prohibitions, as interpreted and practised by Catholic antiquity. As in other things, so in this, such is her claim. She maintains it with positiveness and rigour. As Dr. Pusey observes, 'The practice of the Church has varied: in the 'first ages it prohibited the Levitical degrees only; then gradually extended its prohibitions to the seventh degree; and 'then among ourselves has returned to the primitive 'rule.' (Answer 486, p. 50.) It is a manageable and intelligible rule. Be it called what it will, it is illustrative of our Anglican temper. Whether it fails or not, it makes the right sort of appeal, and challenges obedience on uncontrovertible grounds. The Church of Rome leaves a margin, and permits a tolerably extensive field between incestuous and entirely lawful marriages. She has a debateable ground, which she manages by dispensations, and by applying a somewhat Lesbian rule to particular cases. The Oriental churches, again, have a fixed and precise standard; they admit of no relaxations; and their table of prohibited degrees is long, and severely prohibitory in the more remote cases of affinity. Be it, then, a compromise, or a mixed rule, or an instance of the *via media*, or part of our isolated and insular character—call it which we will, look at it as boast or brand,—still unquestionably it is our rule: it is a rule, a perfectly legitimate rule, a rule consistent with our character and with other features of our Church, which it would be unsafe to disturb or tamper with, and which, on the whole, has worked well. Indeed, there are few parts of our ecclesiastical discipline of which an Englishman has less cause to be ashamed, than the actual practical working of the marriage laws. And if the English tables are to be violated, let us beware that the

peculiar reverence and general estimate of the marriage union is not perilled with it. Anyhow, our present law, with whichever side, Rome or Prussia, we contrast it, has not worked amiss. If the present law is injurious to domestic comfort, or to matrimonial morals, we have been a long time finding out our grievance; these are the very points of which we have rather boasted. The fact is, that the present complaint, such as it is, is a recent discovery; it is a case *got up*—got up by a few interested people in the higher classes, who, having committed the sin and violated the law, want to take refuge under the plea of conscience and duty: a case thus got up, and maintained by a few lawyers, who are paid for this as for any other case—a case thus got up and thus maintained, has been adroitly taken advantage of by Dissenters, and helped by certain Clergymen, who, some incautiously, and many with a perverse leaning to German religionism, are always ready to surrender the true principles of the Church of England. But, resolved into its original elements, it has not even the dignity of a party measure; it is merely the very bold effort of a few interested families to recover lost respectability.

VII. The last division of the subject brings us both to Dr. Wiseman's evidence and the question of dispensations; for the last is the sole point which the former elucidates. It seems the most natural view of it to a modern Roman Catholic divine, though we are bound to observe that Dr. Pusey's evidence really does give a broader and more faithful view of the *de facto* Roman system than the bishop of that communion does. Dr. Wiseman seems to walk warily, and to tell no more than he is obliged. He talks much about the dispensing theory; but we fail to extract from his answers any precise or definite view of its working: he confines himself a good deal to generalities, or rather,—may we say it?—platitudes. Dr. Wiseman's first answer has an unworthy look. (Question and Answer 1156, p. 104.)

'Are you of opinion that marriages of this description are in *any way* prohibited by, or contrary to Holy Writ? Confine the question at present to marriages between a man and the sister or niece of his deceased wife.

'I should not consider that they are contrary to the new law on the ground that whatever is said in the old law is binding in the new. Such marriages are disapproved of in the Mosaic law, but not on that account contrary to the Christian law.'

Of course not; but the question was, Does 'Scripture in *any way*'—by its silence, by comparison, by inference, by analogy, &c. do so and so? *Answer*: 'I do not think it does on the ground' which was not asked, and which none but the wildest Judaizing fanatic would take. But the commissioners, perhaps,

did not perceive the force of their own question, or the wary adroitness by which it was eluded? Had Dr. Wiseman said that Scripture *did* prohibit such unions, he would have been forced into an admission, which he would not like making, that the See of Rome claims and exercises the power to dispense with the Divine law: on the other hand, had he avowed that the particular union specified was not included or implied in the chapter of Leviticus, he knew that he should be running contrary to the universal consent of the Church. So Dr. Wiseman very prudently parried the question by making an observation, not in any respect by giving an answer.

Again, when asked point-blank, (Question, 1158, *ibid.*)

'Do you construe that passage in Leviticus merely as saying that a man should not take two wives together, at the same time, being so related?

'Certainly it appears to have that meaning, that two sisters should not be living together in the same house, as wives of the same person. I do not know that I would strain that passage further. The only difficulty is, &c.'

Now, obviously, this again is mere fencing. To the question, 'Do *you* think so?' is it any reply to say, This or that appears, So and so may be? &c. In the same answer, and in the same spirit, as wishing that a certain impression might be gathered, though he used words which contained no distinct assertion or opinion at all, he proceeds, with a meditative air,

'It is remarkable, with reference to Leviticus xx. 21, that whereas there is a penalty attached in all the other cases of marriages with kin, in this one there is *no* penalty, but simply a declaration that from such a marriage there shall be no issue.'

Is it, then, that Dr. Wiseman seriously argues that to be childless under the old law was 'no penalty?' or must we remind Dr. Wiseman of a certain passage, which, in deference to him, we will quote in an unexceptionable version, 'Terra, terra, terra, audi sermonem Domini: Hæc dicit Dominus: Scribe virum istum sterilem, virum qui in diebus suis non prosperabitur: nec enim erit de semine ejus vir, qui sedeat super solium David.' The great Roman Catholic controversialist of the day tells us that 'to be childless' 'is no penalty.' Surely this was a dangerous experiment upon the patience, or ignorance, of the commissioners.

It may be worth while to add, that Dr. Wiseman 'does not remember whether S. Basil contends that these marriages are antiscritptural' (Answer 1197, p. 107); and proceeds to say that 'S. Basil was one of the founders of the Greek Church.' (Answer 1198, *ibid.*) The rest of his evidence turns principally on the management of dispensations, of which we fail to ascertain

very accurately either the conditions or the facility with which they are to be procured.

Another aspect of the question remains,—one of considerable delicacy: it relates to the part which several clergymen have taken in promoting or assisting the agitation on this subject. On the whole, the clerical body has very properly abstained from it: it is time that they should do so no longer. The few unknown names from Essex and Norfolk who have been induced to come forward, are made the most of: the lawyer, Mr. Crowder, because the bishops who did or did not acknowledge certain circulars and pamphlets which have been most busily disseminated, did not think proper to discuss the question with him, ‘deems that he has a right to assume that such of their lordships as had objected to the measure upon other than scriptural grounds. . . . had no objections upon scriptural grounds.’—(Answer 205, *d.* p. 19.)

The Irish clergy, we learn from the Appendix to the Report, have come forward pretty generally, and with very fair unanimity, through their bishops, to deprecate a change: the silence of the English Church may be, and is, misconstrued by opponents as unscrupulous as active. The measure will, without question, be mooted in the coming session of parliament. Let the bishops be supported: we do not hear of more than the Bishop of Llandaff who takes anything like an active part in promoting the repeal. It may not, so Archdeacon Hale thinks, be desirable to get up a meeting of the clergy of his own archdeaconry: we cannot judge. But certainly, as a rule, we do suggest that at once the clergy should, if they like that course, address parliament, or that they should adopt what seems the more regular course—viz. to lay before their bishops a declaration protesting against any change in the existing law of marriage. This general line will, in most cases, save very unprofitable discussions, which are sure to come up from persons very unqualified to enter into them, as to the force of the Levitical prohibitions, the extent of our own tables, &c. At present it will be enough merely to stand on the defensive, and simply to deprecate any change. Let the Church unions, decanal meetings, even the ordinary clerical reunions, move at once.

When we said just now that none of the bishops had taken an active part in assisting this movement, we had not forgotten the Archbishop of Dublin. But really his Grace must pardon us, if, somehow or other, we get into the habit of looking at his particular proceedings as such as to entitle him always to have a branch of classification entirely to himself: he is an intractable species; he cannot be reduced into any division. Standing, as his Grace does, so entirely apart from the clerical body—owning

no sympathy with ecclesiastical persons, either in their ways or works, their thoughts or sayings—it is not at all surprising that the very notion that this matter can by any human being be thought a serious religious question, is treated by Dr. Whately as ‘a chimera.’ It would be doing our own cause great service if we had space to reprint the Archbishop of Dublin’s two letters on the subject. (Appendix No. 5. pp. 126, 127.) We are restricted to a single sentence:—

‘As for the allegations from the Levitical law, *if any one brings them forward in sincerity*, he should be prepared to advocate adherence to it in all points alike,—among others, the compulsory marriage of a brother with his deceased brother’s widow.’—*Ibid.*

ART. VII.—1. *Morals on the Book of Job.* By S. GREGORY THE GREAT. *Translated with Notes and Indices.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

2. *A New Version of the Book of Job, with Expository Notes, and an Introduction on the Spirit, Composition, and Author of the book.* By D. FRIEDERICH WILHELM CARL UMBREIT, *Professor of Theology in Heidelberg.* *Translated from the German, by the* REV. JOHN HAMILTON GRAY, M.A. *of Magdalen College, Oxford, Vicar of Bolsover.* Edinburgh: Clark.

WE notice elsewhere the scholastic part of Dr. Umbreit's book. Of the introductory essay, we need only say that it is a specimen of modified German thought, and gives a somewhat German colouring to the character and reflections of Job; and that, while it does not appear to us to grasp the argument of the book sufficiently clearly to afford any great help to the theological student, it yet creates a general idea of the deep and interesting nature of it, which has its preliminary use.

There is one important difficulty which readers of the Book of Job at first feel with respect to it; the difficulty, viz. how that holy man acquired his proverbial reputation for the virtue connected with his name. The patriarch Job is held up in the Bible as the great example of patience,—‘Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord.’ We therefore not unnaturally come to the Book of Job with the expectation of finding there an uninterrupted expression of acquiescence in the justice and propriety of the providential visitation under which he is suffering. But it is unnecessary to say that these expectations are not fulfilled. One or two remarkable expressions of resignation meet us at the opening: ‘The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away:’ ‘Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?’ But those mute seven days and seven nights produce a change, and in the very reverse direction to what we should have expected. As he dwells upon his adversity, he sees more and more reason to be dissatisfied with it: meditation, instead of its ordinary result of suppressing anger, disorders tranquillity; and from the womb of that awful silence issues such vehement emotion, such a flood of poetic wrath, mingling with the beauty and the tenderness of grief, that we seem to be introduced to the feelings rather of an ancient epic or dramatic hero, than of an Old Testament saint.

Warburton saw this difficulty, and took advantage of it for

the support of that extraordinary theory of the Book of Job, which appears in the 'Divine Legation.' Warburton formally professed to adopt as the ruling aim of his theological labours, discovery; misapplying, for his motto, the words of Pascal,—*'Ceux qui sont capables de inventer sont rares.'* He asserted the Book of Job to be an allegory, written after the return from the Captivity, and representing the feelings of the Jewish nation upon entering that stage of their history, at which a special providence ceased, and, from a dispensation of temporal rewards and punishments, they found themselves thrown back upon the ordinary inequalities of this present state of things. Job represents the Jewish people: his three friends, Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite, who vexed him in his adversity, stand for Sanballat the Hōronite, Tobiah the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, who vexed and hindered the Jews at the rebuilding of the temple. For this allegorizing theory of the Book of Job, he prepares the way by noticing the difficulties which attach to the ordinary view taken of the book, as an account of the real person of that name. 'As the person Job,' he says, 'was so greatly famed for his exemplary patience that his case became proverbial, we can never on common principles account for his behaviour when we find him breaking out ever and anon into such excesses of impatience as border nearly upon blasphemy. . . . The writing and the tradition being so glaringly inconsistent, we must needs conclude, 1. That the fame of so great a patience arose not from the book: and, 2dly, that some other character, shadowed under that of Job, was the real cause of the author's deviation from the general tradition.' There is no occasion to comment on a view which, not content with separating the real Job from the scripturally portrayed one, positively contrasts the two; which supposes the author of the book to impose a character on the Patriarch exactly contradictory to his real one; and from which it would follow that when S. James alluded to the patience of Job, he made no allusion to, but drew attention from, the Book of Job. But the fact of such a view having been taken is worth notice, as showing that there is some apparent contradiction in the Book of Job, to the character of Job, which has excited attention, and given rise to explanations.

Such perplexities and obscurities, though they may only lie upon the surface, are enough to suggest the advantage of some inquiry into the general argument and design of this book:—an inquiry, we may add, which may be conducted without any particular reference to chronological or philological questions connected with the book, or to the various and numerous types

contained in it, of the Christian dispensation or Church. To those who would pursue the latter line of research, great facilities have been recently afforded by a new and translated edition of S. Gregory's '*Magna Moralia*,' or Commentary on Job. But such advanced researches may legitimately be preceded by the more domestic consideration of the substance of the book itself; its argument, apparent design, and lesson.

All commentators agree, and it is abundantly clear upon the surface, that one particular argument forms the substance of the Book of Job, the argument, viz. as to the justice of this present visible dispensation,—the order of things established in this world in which we live. In this argument Job's friends take the side favourable to, and Job himself the side unfavourable to, this visible system. Such being, in brief, the argument of the book, before going any further, a question arises upon its very statement, which must be considered, in order to understand fairly the object and the position of the arguers. For it is to be observed that the argument relates solely and exclusively to the justice of the order of things established in this world; and it is natural immediately to ask, why this should be made so important a question? The religious argument is only really concerned with the justice of God's administration upon the whole and eternally; and therefore, why discuss so intently (whether the result be a favourable or unfavourable judgment) the justice of that particular portion of it which is exhibited here? As disciples of the new dispensation, it would never occur to us to make the justice of this visible order of things so critical a point in the religious argument. What is the difference, then, between us and the disciples of the elder dispensation, which would make this difference in arguing on this subject? The difference must certainly lie in the view respectively entertained by each of a future state. The Christian does not think the question of the justice of this present order of things an important one, because he has a definite belief in the existence of a future world, in which all the injustice of the present, if there be any, will be rectified. If the disciple of the patriarchal or Mosaic dispensation, then, made that question an important one, it can only have been in consequence of some uncertainty, or some indefiniteness of belief, on that point. We are thus obliged, on the very opening of the argument in the Book of Job, to devote some words to the old and much-discussed question of the belief in a future state, as held by the faithful under the old dispensation.

The opinions of the Warburtonian school on this subject are well known. Warburton secured, as he thought, from the supposition of the absence of the belief in a future state under

the Mosaic dispensation, great additional strength and completeness for the proof of the Divine authority of that dispensation. The licentiousness of human nature, he argued, indulges freely in the crime, for which it apprehends no punishment; and the only conviction which has been able to restrain it and keep society together, has been a belief in a future state of rewards and punishments. But one nation is an exception. In the creed of one nation there was no reference whatever to a future state, and yet social order was for hundreds of years preserved in it. That nation was the Jewish—that creed the law of Moses. The Mosaic dispensation was therefore against the order of nature, or miraculous. With this argumentative object, the author of the Divine Legation boldly asserted the entire absence of belief in a future state amongst the Jews, insisting, for his proof, first on the negative ground that such a state was not alluded to in the Mosaic law, and, secondly, on the force of a number of texts in the Old Testament which appeared positively to exclude it.

On this subject, then, we think a middle ground may fairly be taken, and the belief of the ancient Jew vindicated from carnality, without denying its imperfection. It is true, indeed, and a remarkable circumstance it is, that no allusion is made to a future state in the Mosaic law. And the ancient Jew showed remarkably, in the attitude of his mind on this subject, the absence of that allusion. He had no definite image or delineation of a future world before his mental eye. He shows to disadvantage, indeed, even by the side of the Pagan, in this respect; and the faith of the peculiar people of God appears curter and more barren than that of the idolater. The idolater was, indeed, far from being badly off here; he had even a luxuriant imagery on the subject of a future world. He saw Tartarus and Elysium, a burning gulf and shady groves; the great tyrants, murderers, and blasphemers of history, were punished with curious and horrible tortures; the righteous souls wandered up and down their pleasant retreat, and enjoyed immortal leisure. This place had been visited by living men, and the dead had been seen and conversed with, in appearance and voice the same as they had been when they were alive. This was a definite picture of a future state. The Jew had no *picture*. He looked out of this visible world upon a void; the surface of futurity reflected no scene, and offered no invitation. But, in drawing the conclusion which he did from these omissions of the old law, Warburton took no account of that kind of belief in a future state which is compatible with having no definite image of it in the mind. Strictly speaking, a true believer in a God does *ipso facto* believe in his own immortality; as our Lord himself signifies in those words,

'As touching the dead, that they rise: have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living,' 'for all live unto Him.' From the moment of our belief in a God, we must connect ourselves inseparably with Him; and the idea of this connexion must have the effect of prolonging, to our minds, our own duration. For it will immediately follow from it that the merest thought of Him will raise as its natural correlative the thought of ourselves as existing through Him. Through all the worlds unknown to which our thoughts introduce us, our being goes safe, because that Being is there. The Eternal Source ensures the continual derivation of life; and because He lives, we live. This sense of security as regards the continuance of life, which the true belief in a God imparts, is very perceptible in men in the case of loss of friends, and nothing is more striking than the distinction between the temper in which religious and the temper in which earthly love takes the removal of one who has been precious to it. Who can express the insupportable load of utter deprivation under which that love, which rested exclusively in the earthly object, sinks when that object is snatched away? Before the absolute unqualified idea of death Nature bows down and cannot lift up her head again; she feels herself irremediably desolate and forsaken: 'the silver cord loosed,' 'the golden bowl broken,' 'the dust returned to the earth as it was,' a departure and a vanishing away of one that delighted her are all she sees, and no solace can meet the final farewell and the eternal void. All this hopelessness is felt, because affection never advanced beyond its earthly object, and, therefore, in losing it, lost all. But religious love, which loves the creature in the Creator, has that on which to fall back when its earthly object is removed. It reposes in the consciousness of One in whom all live and none die. Within the bosom of the Eternal Being no soul is lost. All are in that part, visible or invisible, of His universe in which He places them. When they leave one part, they are transferred to another: they stay where they are while He permits them; they go when He summons them; but whether they stay, or whether they go, they are somewhere in Him. A marvellous security as to the departed and unseen, as if we had the possession of some secret pledge, is thus the result of the one idea of a God; and the believer in Him, like a swimmer at home in the water, feels all around him safe.

This true belief, then, in a God, the Jew had; and with it he had that practical belief in a future state which is contained in it. A disputant may demand definite texts from the Old

Testament, proving his belief in the continuance of his existence after death; but it ought rather to be asked, how he could possibly believe in its termination? Put before you a religious Jew, of the character of those holy men, actors in the Old Testament history, of whom we are told that they lived in constant communion of thought and prayer with God, referring to Him every purpose and act, and owning Him every moment as their source of life; and suppose him, with this deep belief, going to die,—it is evident that, as he had never referred to this material system in the smallest degree the cause of his being, he could not think that being endangered by his separation from it. Had he supposed the one, he would have supposed the other; but, in the midst of all the influences and operations of the visible world, his recognised source of life had been an Eternal, Incomprehensible, Immutable Essence, who was neither seen, nor heard, nor felt; a Self-existent Substance absolutely distinct from all created ones; that is to say, something as totally distinct from this world as thought can conceive. Thus, habitually locating himself out of this world, he could not consistently think that he could perish by going out of it at death; having based his existence on the invisible all along, he had the same invisible to depend on then. Without entering, then, into the consideration of any incidental direct allusions to the existence of the soul after death, the great fundamental doctrine of the Jew's creed furnishes legitimate proof of such a belief. In the dogma of One Eternal and Supreme God, he had, however naked and unillustrated, a far truer and more practical doctrine of a future state, than the Pagan with his definite and local imagery. Every act of adoration to that one God was an acknowledgment by the soul of another and spiritual world, to which it really belonged in life and in death. Different portions of Scripture contain direct allusions to another life in different degrees of frequency and clearness, but all teach it equally, in so far as all proclaim Him. That unceasing praise, that joy, that love, that whole peculiar feeling toward the Supreme Being which pervades the Bible, and which no other book but the Bible and those which it has formed show, is really a belief in eternity.

But, besides the omission of the doctrine of a future state in the Mosaic law, attention is drawn to a number of texts in the Old Testament, which seem, as far as language goes, positively to exclude it. Thus we read in Job: 'As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away; so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more.'—'Man lieth down and riseth not; till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep;' in the Psalms: 'For in death no man

‘remembereth thee; and who will give thee thanks in the pit?’—‘Shall the dust give thanks unto thee, or shall it declare thy truth?’—‘Dost thou show wonders among the dead, or shall the dead rise up again, and praise thee? Shall thy loving kindness be showed in the grave, or thy faithfulness in destruction? Shall thy wondrous works be known in the dark, or thy righteousness in the land where all things are forgotten?’—‘The dead praise not thee, O Lord, neither all they that go down into silence:’ in Ecclesiastes: ‘The dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward;’ in Hezekiah’s hymn: ‘The grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee, they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.’ But it is evident, upon a slight consideration, that these texts, and other similar ones, only describe after all the phenomenon of death, as it presents itself to our eyes, and do not enter into the question of the reality which takes place under it. All the results which these texts attribute to death are, as phenomena, perfectly true and undeniable. The dead, who lie before us, cannot praise God; for the departure of the rational soul has left a simply material form of clay before our eyes, which cannot feel, or understand, or speak; and therefore cannot praise. It is equally true that the dead, in the visible order of nature, do not rise up again, but are dead for ever. It is further true that the dead are in darkness and silence; for we see nothing of them, and we hear nothing of them. The whole phenomenon of death is undoubtedly gloomy, and man is, as far as our eyes are concerned, indisputably a loser by dying. He goes for ever from the light of the sun and the freshness of the air, the earth and sky, life, action and society, and enters a state of apparent negation. Thus, in various innocent forms of speech, even Christians express their pity for the dead, and feel towards them, as toward those who have suffered some irrecoverable loss, and deserve special tenderness. And thus men forgive their enemies who have died, as if it were ungenerous to pursue them with their hatred beyond the threshold of that deep calamity and grief. Before the image of departed being, human nature, in her sternest forms, gives way; that last appeal of a suffering state of being prevails, and from their hard spring, tears, which would have answered to no other form of evil, appear. But all this is concerned with the phenomenon of death simply. In enlarging upon this aspect of death, the writers of the Old Testament are not stating the real condition of the soul after death, but only its apparent one, as deprived of this life which we are now enjoying, and, so far as that one aspect goes, in a miserable and pitiable case.

Indeed, we cannot but observe, upon reflection, with what religious humility the minds of holy men, under the elder dispen-

sation, seem to have fitted themselves to that exact amount of revelation, on this subject, which they had. Two revelations, so to speak, appealed to them, as they appeal to us; one upon the surface of things, and addressing the senses; another underneath the surface and addressing faith. The order of nature is a melancholy revelation on the subject of death, placing one sepulchral picture before our eyes, of generation after generation of men entirely disappearing, and being heard of and seen no more. On the other hand, Scripture is a consolatory revelation, telling us that we are spiritual beings, with a spiritual basis of life, independent of this material system. Now, in the case of the Jew, the appeal of nature was as strong as it is now, the opposing one of Scripture much weaker. The consequence was, that the order of nature—an order intended to affect the mind in a particular way, under all dispensations; for God does not make even appearances for nothing, but intends that joyful ones should duly gladden, and mournful ones duly depress us—affected the Jew more strongly than it does the Christian. As such was his lot, he bowed meekly to it, and received the whole of that melancholy impress upon his passive soul. He did not relieve himself, as the Pagan did, by raising a fabulous imagery, and inventing a definite future of his own, but confined himself to that consolation which his revelation gave him, that assurance of immortality which he had in the doctrine of one supreme God. Fixed upon that spiritual basis of life as upon a rock, he felt himself secure, come what might; amid all the changes and decay of nature, constant and enduring, he placed his future in Almighty love, and reposed, with a serene content, upon an indefinite eternity. Amid all the superior brightness of a more perfect hope, we can still allow its own peculiar beauty to the faith of the Jewish saint, believing with an obedient and resigned vagueness, and prepared in God to go he knew not and asked not whither.

So much on the side of a belief in a future state under the Mosaic dispensation. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged, that the absence of that definiteness which the later dispensation gave to the belief in a future world was a great want; and that it is not said without meaning, that immortality was brought to light by the Gospel. The Gospel first gave to a future world clearness and distinctness, shape and outline; the Gospel first made it a positive district and region on which the spiritual eye reposes, and which stretches out on the other side the grave with the same solidity and extension with which the present world does on this side of it. A future life was not an image before the Gospel: the Gospel made it an image. It brought it out of its implicit form, and from its lower residence

within the bosom of the great fundamental doctrine of true religion, into a separate and conspicuous position as a truth. This was a bringing to light, and a species of birth, compared with which the previous state of the doctrine was a hidden and an embryo state.

A balance of arguments thus issuing in the existence of a true but indefinite doctrine of a future state, under the old dispensation, it is obvious how this indefiniteness would affect the minds of those who lived under that dispensation, with regard to the question of the justice or injustice of this present state of things. We Christians feel no particular anxiety about establishing the justice of the order of things in this world, because we have quite definitely before our eyes another. The distinct image of a world beyond the grave reduces this world into a mere fragment of a large system, the most extensive portion of which is wholly invisible to us; in which case, whether it presents us with justice, or presents us with injustice, is not of the slightest consequence as affecting the character of God's moral government as a whole, because the larger portion may rectify what is defective in the smaller. But the ancient Jew had no distinct image of another world, and therefore the fragmentary character of this world was not clearly brought out to his eye. To persons standing on a large plain, the distant parts, though in reality many miles in extent, appear nothing, and the few fields which immediately surround them seem the whole of this landscape. The absence of any positive extension beyond this world necessarily gave this world a sort of completeness to the eye of the ancient Jew. It was not that he positively thought this world the whole of the universe—positively thought there was no world beyond it; but this world was, the other was not, formally placed before him. The consequence was, that he felt a general disposition to expect whatever characteristics the Divine government possessed, to exhibit themselves in this world. In the absence of a definite invisible, the visible was great in his eyes. This world was a positive place, standing forth from amidst the unknown and unconceived all around it as the one formed universe, God's one creation. In the midst of darkness and vacuity here was substance and here was light, here was a perfect circumference, wherein were beasts of the field, and fowls of the air, and fishes of the sea; sun, moon, and stars; and man the ruler or end of all. A sort of religious affection for this earth, a general disposition to regard it as a favoured place, and the intended scene for the display of God's great attributes, his fundamental one of justice especially, thus arose, and gained hold of his mind; joined to an apprehension, that unless it was found to present such a display, the justice of the whole Divine

government must suffer, inasmuch as no definite room existed in his idea beyond this world, wherein any injustice in its administration could be rectified: a conclusion very unsatisfactory and very melancholy to a religious mind.

In this state of the case, then, the argument in the Book of Job opens. The friends of Job appear to represent that line of thought which has here been described—that too fond and exclusive regard to this world which the elder dispensation tended to produce in a class of minds, not the highest ones, by which it was too literally understood and interpreted; they belong to a school who are anxious to maintain that this world is a scene of satisfactory Divine justice.

The case of Job himself is what occasions and elicits their defence of this favourite doctrine, presenting, as it does, a most striking contradiction to it. Job had been, to all appearance, a righteous man; he had been conspicuously and pre-eminently devout, holy, and charitable, all his life, and yet he had been singled out for the greatest combination of misfortunes which could befall any human being. Strong in their favourite truth, the friends are ready with an explanation of this fact, and proceed to reconcile it with their system. They suppose some secret iniquity in Job, which has been cherished amidst all the goodness of his outward life, and they refer his misfortunes to it. They exhort him to repent, and promise him, if he does, a return of prosperity, at the hands of a just overruling Providence. Bildad the Shuhite speaks:—‘Doth God pervert judgment? or doth the Almighty pervert justice? If thou wouldst seek unto God betimes, and make thy supplication to the Almighty; if thou wert pure and upright, surely now he would awake for thee, and make the habitation of thy righteousness prosperous. Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end should greatly increase.’ Zophar the Naamathite speaks:—‘Oh that God would speak, and open his lips against thee. He knoweth vain men: he seeth wickedness also; will he not then consider it? If thou prepare thine heart, and stretch out thine hands towards him; if iniquity be in thine hand, put it far away, and let not wickedness dwell in thy tabernacles. For then shalt thou lift up thy face without spot; yea, thou shalt be stedfast, and shalt not fear: because thou shalt forget thy misery, and remember it as waters that pass away.’ It would seem at first, indeed, almost incredible, that, a pre-eminently good and holy man having fallen into extreme misfortunes, under the pressure of which he was sitting on the ground in deep sorrow and affliction of heart, his three most intimate friends, having travelled from a great distance, and at great trouble and inconvenience, for the pro-

fessed purpose of consoling him, should, immediately on their arrival, begin to reproach him with his iniquity, and successively inform him that they considered his calamities, however heavy, to be fully deserved. But it is evident from the first, that an argument is carried on in the book, and that Job is not reproached upon any personal ground, but because a great general truth is concerned in the question of his guilt. It is necessary that he should be guilty, if this present visible system of things is to be just; and it is quite necessary, in the eyes of Job's friends, that this visible system should be just, if they are to feel sure of the justice of the whole Divine government of things. Under such a conviction, it becomes not a cruelty, but a charity, to tell any one who has met with affliction, that he deserves it. To let him know that he deserves it, is to give him the first step toward obtaining relief for it. For the same just system which awarded evil to him upon ill desert, will, upon his amendment, change its line towards him, and reward him with a return of prosperity.

Such is the argument on the side of Job's friends; and it is at first difficult to see how such an argument could be seriously maintained: how, in the face of such obvious facts as the course of this world presents, men could be bold enough to assert, that this visible system was just, rewarding and punishing all the moral agents in it in exact accordance with their desert. It is true, indeed, that there is a course of justice to be seen in its working. The system, on the principle of self-preservation, rewards those virtues, and punishes those vices, which tend respectively to its own maintenance or dissolution. Thus nature rewards sobriety with health, and punishes intemperance with disease. And thus the social system rewards the prudential virtues, because they are necessary for its administration; courage, because it is necessary for its protection; and even, to a certain degree, honesty; because honesty is necessary, as the foundation of credit, without which the system cannot go on. Nor can we fail to see much that is grave and imposing in this judicial side of the system of the world. There is, however, great irregularity to be seen, even on this side; for though honesty, to take one instance, is declared by the proverb the best policy, dishonesty has unquestionably often amassed fortunes, founded families, established dynasties, and the results shown no want of substance or stability. Nor, were there ever so much regularity, would the success of one particular class of virtues—and that class not all involving perfection of character—show really, or show what Job's friends meant by, a system of justice here; for they mean, and mean properly, by such a system, one which rewards true moral and religious goodness—

the whole character of the righteous man—according to its deserts. It is ridiculous to assert that the world is under such a system as this latter; for the whole state of things shows the contrary. And though, as the author of the *Analogy* shows, we have enough before us to serve as a sample of such a system, and so bear out our belief in a true moral government of the world, the sample of the system is not the system itself.

It is argued, indeed, by Warburton and his school, that there really was such a system in operation under the old law, supplying the place of that belief in a future state, of which he supposes that law to have been entirely devoid,—a system, to the positive fact of which at one period Job's friends could appeal: that, while the rest of the world was in its natural state of disorder, a special Providence did, in the one land of Judea, for the space of time between the promulgation of the law on Mount Sinai and its beginning of decay on the return from the Captivity, maintain a visible rule of distributive justice, did visibly reward all people according to their deserts. But not to argue about the chimerical and puerile character of such a conception in itself, the fact is untrue; for in no one part of the Bible history does such a state of things appear. We see the righteous under the old law suffering just the same trials and persecutions, that they have done since, and as far from their reward in this world as they are now. 'They were tortured, not accepting deliverance; and had trials of cruel mockings, and scourgings, of bonds and imprisonments. They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented, (of whom the world was not worthy). They wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.' Did the days in which this was the lot of God's holiest servants exhibit that rule and dispensation just mentioned? Yet such is the power of a bold and positive author, in pushing his idea, that a considerable body of theologians have, since Warburton's time, insisted greatly on this alleged peculiar feature of the Mosaic dispensation, that it ruled those under it by the distribution of temporal rewards and punishments. If, indeed, they mean only to say, that the Jews had national prosperity and national adversity sent them, according as, in their national capacity, they obeyed or disobeyed God, the assertion would be more or less true. But how little way does it go toward proving a system of temporal rewards and punishments! Men are really rewarded and really punished, not when their nation is, but when they themselves are; and the individual Jew was obviously not rewarded and punished by this rule. Indeed, Warburton confesses, that from the first there

were exceptions to it; which exceptions increased as time went on, and the Gospel era approached: which is very like an admission that his fact, upon examination, evaporates.

The truth is, men who have to maintain an hypothesis are bold staters of facts. It was a matter of religion with Job's friends to maintain that this visible system was just. They wanted the fact: they therefore made it. This is not an uncommon form of proceeding with schools of thinkers. Much of ancient philosophy, for example, was devoted to supposing certain facts: that is, imagining them as true, when they had really no place in nature. The Stoic felt a difficulty in that disorder in the system of the world which brought pains and miseries, bodily and mental, upon the wise and good: and he answered it by supposing that the wise and good did not care about pains and miseries, bodily or mental. He invented and described a particular personage, called the wise man, who was wholly indifferent to, nay, completely happy under, the loss of friends, reputation, property, or limbs. Were such a personage indeed real, he would have solved the difficulty, and have proved the union of virtue and happiness beyond dispute; but the defect was, that no such personage existed. Or, to go nearer home, a particular school maintains the moral and religious progress of society, a continual advancement of it toward some ultimate point of perfection. Such a theory has necessarily to suppose a whole state of fact, which does not really exist, for its support. The events of the real world show, every day, exactly the same vices and passions in mankind that there always have been. Revolutions and political commotions are stained by the same criminal excesses. But these being the real facts, the maintainers of moral progress suppose the contrary of them. They colour the state of the world to suit their theory, and overlooking what contradicts them, exaggerating what favours them, create a state of fact for themselves. In the same way the friends of Job suppose a perfectly just visible order of things. Zophar the Naamathite, addressing the righteous man, says:—'Thine age shall be clearer than the noonday; thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning. And thou shalt be secure, because there is hope; yea, thou shalt dig about thee, and thou shalt take thy rest in safety. Also thou shalt lie down, and none shall make thee afraid; yea, many shall make suit unto thee. But the eyes of the wicked shall fail, and they shall not escape, and their hope shall be as the giving up of the ghost.' Eliphaz the Temanite assures the righteous man:—'He shall deliver thee in six troubles: yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee. In famine he shall redeem thee from death: and in war from the power of the sword. Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue: neither shalt thou be afraid of destruc-

'tion when it cometh. At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh: neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth. For thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field: and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee. And thou shalt know also that thy seed shall be great, and thine offspring as the grass of the earth. Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season. Lo this, we have searched it, so it is; hear it, and know thou it for thy good.' Putting aside the typical sense, with which we are not concerned at present, here is a beautiful picture drawn of a just visible Providence, an administration awarding in regular course good to the righteous, evil to the wicked. But the defect is, that the picture has no warrant in fact. It is not true that every righteous man lives in peace and dies in full age, like a shock of corn in his season: some do; others do not. It would be equally untrue to say that all wicked men led troublesome lives, and met with early deaths: some do; others do not. It is not perhaps easy for us Christians to realize what a desideratum on the religious side, where there was no distinct revelation of a future state, a just, present, visible providence would be: and what a stumbling-block an irregular and confused world would be, on the other hand; what power it would have as a standing memorial against the truth of religion, and suggestor of melancholy doubts and fears. Such, however, is the argumentative fault of Job's friends. They suppose a state of fact, to suit what they think the necessities of religion, and make themselves mentally comfortable at the expense of truth.

On the other hand, Job maintains that this visible system is irregular and unjust. Standing up for facts, and demanding their recognition, whatever difficulties may ensue, he asserts this to be the fact—seen with his own eyes, in the whole state of the world around him, and brought specially home to him by his own adversity. He adheres resolutely to it, and will not allow truth to be tampered with and disguised. To this are owing all those justifications of himself, and assertions of his own righteousness, in which the book abounds, in answer to his friends, who try to persuade him that his calamities are judgments upon his sins. He makes these assertions, not on his own account simply, though firmly conscious of their truth, but for the sake of that argument which those assertions were the necessary medium of maintaining. Had he yielded to the persuasions of his friends, and confessed himself an offender, he would have allowed the conclusion they wanted; for his friends had simply inferred his guilt from his suffering, on the notion of the justice of this visible system. He therefore asserted his own righteousness; and from that fact, combined with that of his affliction, drew the very opposite conclusion to the favourite one which they maintained.

Such is the process by which the Book of Job opens at length upon that great question which has grieved, perplexed, and embittered men from the beginning of the world. We find ourselves upon popular ground, and listening to an old familiar line of thought. The sentiment against the course of things here is no strange one to human minds: it is, in fact, so popular, that it may be called hackneyed. It is one that has vented itself largely in poetry, in proverbs, in philosophy, in satire; and, in connexion with this book of Scripture, it demands some consideration.

It is obvious, then, that the human soul is created with a desire for justice:—a desire not entertained upon a mere sense of duty, but a real love of it. The popularity of courts of justice as places of resort, the whole construction of a large part of popular literature, the policy of governments, the history of revolutions, show this. The crowds that fill the law courts enjoy the scene because it is judicial; they see the representative of Justice on the bench, and feel happy in his presence: they vibrate with each turn of the evidence or the argument, with the pleasing confidence of a perfect adjustment to come in the shape of the sentence; and they repose in that conclusion when it comes, as in something good and pleasant for its own sake. The romantic, and much of the historical, part of literature give pleasure on the same principle; they excite the longing for retribution by pictures of wrong: which longing they gratify either directly by the fact of punishment, or indirectly by leaving on the mind an indefinable expectation of that event; a strong desire which seems to prophesy its own fulfilment, and converts even the backwardness of justice into an argument that it must be working more surely and deeply. The Roman and English empires are both instances of a government policy using the same principle. The court of law has been in both of them the successful atonement for the most unscrupulous conquest; and in the enjoyment of civil and domestic justice, the tributary has forgot his dependence, and been tranquil and contented. The Roman law quieted the world; and the English has just the same effect now upon the native Hindoo, who sees his own or neighbour's wrongs repaired, and goes away satisfied. The great empires of the world have imitated, in earthly fashion, and for their own purposes, the government of the Most High, 'who shall judge the world in righteousness, and minister true judgment unto the people;' and are thus witnesses, in their department, to the supremacy of the sense of justice in our nature. Revolutions do the same. The stimulus to them has ordinarily been that of indignation; the sense of injustice at being deprived of certain advantages, rather than the desire for those advantages

themselves. Governments go on neglecting the interests of the people for long periods: their temper becomes more and more selfish and contracted: court statesmen hand down a traditional policy to one another: officials play into one another's hands; and established power breeds security and insolence. Large classes thus feel themselves defrauded of what is their due, and that idea torments and agitates them, till they appease it by rebellion. Working in undisciplined minds, that feeling then produces dreadful and enormous acts, as in the French revolution, and unregenerate nature's appetite for justice becomes more hateful than the injustice which excited it. Still the wild feeling is only a perversion of the true moral one; and even the worst revolutionary excesses witness, in their own miserable way, to the supremacy of the idea of justice in our nature.

How largely, again, does the idea of justice mingle with many other feelings not at first sight connected with it. An integral part, for example, of the love of praise, is the pleasure of being appreciated, of having justice done us. There is a mercantile element in the feeling; as if we had received the full worth for some article of property, and had not been defrauded. There is the same element in the pleasures of ambition. The mere gratification of vanity would be a hollow pleasure, were there not something of the idea of desert with it. The bread which is earned is sweet. Men throw themselves therefore into situations in which they do great services for others, and have a right to expect their acknowledgment of them. Leaders of parties go through long years of toil and anxiety for a cause; and that they are henceforth looked up to as leaders, and live upon an eminence, is their delight, because it is their due and proper compensation. The man has worked, and he is rewarded; and the marks of honour, and voices of friends and followers, bring the evenness of the balance sensibly home to him. In this way all the affections accompanying the different relations of man to man, are connected with the idea of justice. The fidelity of soldiers is their justice to a commander; so is the enthusiasm of clans to their heads, the love of children to their parents, the gratitude of clients to their benefactors, and the respect of tenants to their landlords. And men like the positions of leader, parent, benefactor, and the like, for the sake of this return. They make debtors in order that they may have the pleasure of being repaid; contrive the void, that it may be filled again; and deserve of others, that others may be just to them.

Indeed, it is evident that the sense of justice, apt as we are to contrast it with the warm instincts of our nature in this respect, is not a merely rational quality, which we cultivate upon

principle, but one which moves and excites the mind, as a feeling and an affection does. It stretches forward towards its object with longing and devotion, uneasy in the absence of it, and resting in it when attained with delight. It expresses the fundamental idea of right and wrong in our nature, and it has that depth and power which such a function demands. Shall it be called the love of order, harmony, fitness in moral things, which are perfected when good and evil get exactly their due, and violated when they fail of getting it,—a constant longing to see the balance struck, and things made straight? Certainly we do attain, in absolute justice, a kind of *acme* of content, as if all our wishes met there, and nature found its centre and was settled. And to the idea of justice there attaches a distinct beauty, as there does to that of love—the beauty of perfect measure and proportion—which captivates us, and excites emotion, as other beauty does. So that we rejoice in every, even the smallest manifestation of justice in the world, as necessarily as the ear likes music or the eye form, and bodies like warmth and nutriment. And as in the case of love the end is absorption and rapture, in the case of justice it is satisfaction; satisfaction, as at the attainment of perfect correctness; the feeling of marksmen, who hit from a long distance the exact point they aim at. Such is that passion for justice, which, sometimes lofty, sometimes trivial in its subject matter; sometimes fretful and vehement, sometimes patient and meek, according to individual character; lives on in the minds of men, expecting some day its final rest and fulfilment, and ever pressing toward it. Scripture appeals to it throughout, and represents the world, with that whole course of events which forms its history, and all the exhibition of character which has taken place in it, as tending, like some drama, or some trial, to a great judicial issue at the day of judgment. A universal gathering then is seen of all that have lived beneath the sun; the books are open, and the whole human race, high and low, rich and poor, as the sand which is on the sea shore innumerable, appear before the Throne and Him that sitteth thereon, to hear their final sentence. And to man himself is promised an active part in this decision; for it is said that ‘the saints shall judge the world.’

Such being the fundamental love of justice in our nature, next follows the fact of what this world is; and thence a certain feeling toward that world, in human minds true to their own nature and constitution. For whereas it is their nature to desire justice, and therefore their first wish to live under a system in which such justice is administered, they have no sooner attained to faculties of discernment and reflection, than

they discover that this world is no such system. Ancient philosophy made a distinction between a state or polity in which law, and one in which will governed, and ruled it to be a violation of our nature not to live under law. Looking simply to the state of facts, apart from the religious theory which explains them, the system of the world is that 'lawless' polity which they condemned, and results in the same scandal to the moral nature of those who live under it. An antagonistic feeling toward the 'world,' as it is called, has accordingly been always strong in the poetry, philosophy, and popular maxims of mankind, and a number of common phrases and forms of speech, such as 'the way of the world,'—'always is so,'—'must be so,' and the like, have pointed to some established order of things, out of which injustice is supposed to be always proceeding, in one shape or another. The world in its collective capacity has never, indeed, come into contact with any body; nor is it an agent, nor is it a real thing at all. Everything which is done in it is done by individuals in it. But the same may be said of country, or cause, or party, or any other of that class of abstract objects, which occupy so conspicuous a place in our sphere of thought. The mind does plainly take cognisance of abstractions, and has a power of entertaining feelings towards them.

To turn to the department of poetry. In this department a considerable number of minds seem to have specially devoted themselves to the expression of this sentiment against the world, or this visible order of things. It is indeed a lamentable fact that all have not spoken as they should do. There is a strong line of distinction observable; and while some have used their poetical powers on this subject wisely and religiously, others have abused them, and gone into wild excess and profaneness. Of the religious class, two poems of a philosophical type occupy a prominent place. We refer to the *Hamlet* of Shakspeare, and the *Prometheus Vincetus* of Æschylus.

Of *Hamlet* first. It is evident, to begin with, that *Hamlet* is a person disgusted with a particular state of things which has risen up in his own family and the Danish court. It is a peculiar source of offence when that which is a matter of intense grief to us is viewed with indifference by others, who, we think, ought to sympathize with us in it. And this source of offence is greater in proportion as the indifference is grosser, and contrasts more inexcusably with the whole circumstances of the case. This is *Hamlet's* grievance. A father whom he loved, a splendid and majestic prince, has just died, suddenly, and in the flower of life. The event is a shock to him. But from that most trying, because sudden void, which it has produced within

his own heart, he looks upon the court of Denmark, and sees all going on as if nothing had happened. A whole new state of things—his mother married again, and married to his father's brother, and that father's brother seated on the throne—has immediately supplanted the old; and a round of courtly business and festivity, continued without a break, has simply ignored the event. Dante could, under the sensation of recent loss, even of the necessary indifference of unconscious passers by, write—

'Pilgrims and strangers, here who thoughtful stray,
With mind intent, perhaps, on other care,
Come ye, indeed, from climes remote so far
As this, your semblance and your haste would say?
You do not weep while passing on your way
Among our streets, but, hurrying onward, fare
As those who know not and who nothing share
Our city's grief, in this her sorrowing day.'

But in Hamlet's case this indifference was a wrong, because those were indifferent who ought not to have been, and he feels disgust.

'That it should come to this!
But two months dead?—nay, not so much, not two:
So excellent a king; that was to this,
Hyperion to a satyr: so loving to my mother,
That he might not let e'en the winds of heaven
Visit her face too roughly. . . .

And yet, within a month—
Let me not think on't. . . .
A little month; or ere those shoes were old
With which she followed my poor father's body,
Like Niobe all tears; why she, even she—
O heaven! a beast that wants discourse of reason
Would have mourn'd longer,—married with my uncle,
My father's brother.'

In this state of mind he receives from his father himself, who appears from the dead, the real explanation of that sudden fate which had carried him off. The cold indifference of his mother and uncle is now turned into atrocious guilt, and the feeling of disgust, with which he had hitherto stopped short, changes into that of stern religious vengeance, which will be satisfied with nothing else but the blood of the murderer.

'O all you host of heaven! O earth! What else?
And shall I couple hell?—O fye!—Hold, hold, my heart;
And you, my sinews, grow not instant old,
But bear me stily up!—Remember thee?
Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
In this distracted globe. Remember thee?
Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past,

That youth and observation copied there ;
 And thy commandment all alone shall live
 Within the book and volume of my brain,
 Unmixed with baser matter.'

So far Hamlet's character is only the simple one of an avenger ; he has a vivid sense of a particular wrong which has been committed, and he vows, as a religious task, its punishment. But now comes in the philosophical element in him. It occurs to him that, after all, this dreadful act, carried out with such successful artifice and self-possession, is but a sample of a vast system of wrong and injustice in this visible state of things. The king and queen represent to his mind a great evil power, or tyranny, resident in the system. The court of Denmark, the scene of their crime and prosperity, is the world ; its business and festivity, in which his father's fate is forgotten, the world's stir and bustle burying thought, and covering up wrong as soon as done ; its courtiers, the idle and careless mass of mankind who look on as spectators of injustice, and do not concern themselves about it. Now all things expand to his mind's eye, and no one wrong deed retains him ; he rises from the single to the generic, and from the concrete to the abstract ; and he thinks of system, and a wholesale scheme of things beneath the sun. He can think of nothing, but he instantly thinks of the whole world. Denmark is a prison, and the world is a prison. If the world is grown honest, then is doomsday near.

'The time is out of joint ;—O cursed spite
 That ever I was born to set it right !'

In all his soliloquies he deals in generals, and harps upon the discords and burdens in the order of things here as a whole. Upon this generalizing vein, an unsettlement of will with respect to his task of vengeance immediately follows : For, after all, (he seems to say,) what is the good of it, when it is done ? This deed of violence is only one out of a thousand. You may adjust a particular case, but the wrong system goes on : it is out of your reach : do what you can, you cannot touch it ; and true evil, impalpable and ubiquitous, still mocks you like the air. To set one case right is only to commit yourself to do the same with respect to others, *ad infinitum*, and to enter upon an impossible task. Thus the work of vengeance lags ; he takes it up and lays it down again according to his humour ; he plays with it, and, when he might easily execute it, puts it off for an absurd reason, which, had he been practically earnest, would not have weighed a feather with him. Upon the basis of the philosopher he erects the child again : an assumed volatility, waywardness, and indifference, express the hopelessness which a large survey of things has produced in him. The lofty ruminator within exhibits himself as

a jester and an oddity without; and, not content with levity, he assumes madness, as if to enable himself to enjoy a fantastic isolation from the world and human society altogether, and to live alone within himself. And when at last he does execute his work, he seems to do it by chance, and from the humour of the moment, more than from any constancy of original purpose.

Such appears the explanation of Hamlet's weakness and irresoluteness. So true is it that a mind may easily be too large for effectiveness, and energy suffer from an expansion of the field of view. The first effect of the mind's expansion, in ascending from the individual to the class, is an indifference produced by the perception of the law of similarity and uniformity in nature to which that expansion introduces us. The same form of mind or body which arrested us in a single object, makes less impression upon us in a series—when we see that it is only a cast from some common mould. The effect of an enlargement of acquaintance is often the same; and for the same reason, viz. that one circle of acquaintance is very like another, and that the social world goes on repeating itself. The same disadvantageous effect upon our spirit and interest in things is produced, again, by largeness simply acting as largeness upon us, and throwing insignificance upon all particular or smaller compartments of the field. The first inference which childhood draws from an enlargement of its ideas upon education, is an idle one—Since its object is so large, it cannot signify my doing this particular thing. And, in maturer life, the vastness of the whole field of action and science, which larger intellects realize, has a great tendency often to depress them in their efforts; for, do what they can, they know they can do so little. Too deeply embraced, the idea damps not only the ambition, but the energies of nature, its intrinsic love of self-exertion and self-development; and produces that low opinion of itself which Aristotle calls *μικροψυχία*, and rightly; inasmuch as what it practically amounts to is often little short of indolence and cowardice, an indisposition to all undertakings, and a shrinking from all venture. For success in action a certain narrowness and confinement of mind is indeed almost requisite. If a man is to do any work well, he must be possessed with the idea of that work's importance. He has this idea of necessity strongly, so long as the particular scene in which he is, is the whole world to him; and, therefore, while he thinks this, he is effective; but, once enlarge his vision, and show him that his field of labour is only the same with a thousand others, and that he himself is one of a class containing thousands; make him, that is to say, realize this world and its vastness, and he ceases to be absorbed in his task, and is tempted

to unconcern and disrelish for it. And thus the class of what are called able men, in the departments of public business or trade, may be observed as a whole to have the idea of the immense importance of their several departments even to excess: and advantageously so; a wise providence securing by the exclusive pretensions of each department of the world's business a most effective pledge for the safe and careful administration of the whole, and converting the ignorance and narrowness of mankind individually to their great benefit as a body.

The stimulus of narrowness, then, being requisite for vigour in action, Hamlet wants vigour, because he is without it. His want of vigour does not proceed in him from a want of passion, for he has plenty of that, but from a disproportionate largeness of intellect. He has not too little feeling, but too much thought. He is never satisfied with, never rests in feeling, however strong, but carries it up immediately into the intellectual sphere. The quickest impulse, by some twist in his mind, takes immediately the expansive form of some general contemplation. He is always thinking of the whole of things, and any one work seems nothing. As the air we breathe is not all air, and true courage has an ingredient of fear in it, the intellect should part with something of its own nature, to qualify itself as proper human intellect. It should yoke itself contentedly with a wholesome narrowness, in a compound practical and intellectual being. Its largeness tends, without such check, to feebleness. The mind of Hamlet lies all abroad, like the sea—an universal reflector, but wanting the self-moving principle. Musing, reflection, and irony upon all the world, supersede action, and a task evaporates in philosophy.

It is, however, by the very imperfections of such a character that the great poet who draws it succeeds in his object, and impresses upon us the more strongly a deep view of his own, as to the character of this visible system or the world. For, as has been justly said, one of the strongest and most successful modes of describing any powerful object, of any kind, is to describe it in its effects. When the spectator's eye is dazzled and he shades it, we form the idea of a splendid object; when his face turns pale, of a horrible one; from his quick wonder and admiration we form the idea of great beauty; from his silent awe, of great majesty. Of a temper originally not high and noble only, which it never could cease to be, but vigorous, energetic, and practical, 'the courtier's, soldier's, scholar's, eye, tongue, form,' Hamlet is made, by the force of circumstances conspiring with his own acuteness and intensity of thought, to realize very vividly what this visible order of things is: and upon this, an instantaneous and a palpable change comes over him. He goes about dizzied, as if from the effect of some blow; unnerved and unstrung;

from a strong man, weak; and from a complete whole, loose and wandering; and we see that the fabric of his mind has suffered. The Psalmist informs us of an effect nearly produced upon himself, upon his realizing in some such strong way the facts of this system: viz. that 'his feet had almost gone, his treadings had well nigh slipped:' alluding evidently to some injurious power, of whatever kind, which such a disclosure was apt to have. Nature, by various symptoms, shows when she has seen too much, and had some revelation made her to which she is unequal; as the stories of persons who have never got over the sight of an apparition, and the old fables of the basilisk's eye and the Medusa's head, teach. By these effects, then, which follow Hamlet's keen realising of this world's system, the poet makes us feel what the system is; for we argue what that must be, the contact with which could distort and paralyze such a person; that utter opposition to the type of justice within his mind, which could create such a jar.

The situation of the hero in the Prometheus Vincitus is an extreme one, of a sufferer under injustice; and it is described with much revolting detail and circumstance, and strong pictorial effect. The scene is a Scythian desert, a vast and dreadful solitude; the ground which the dramatis personæ occupy, just under one of the precipitous rocks of Mount Caucasus. Two demons, who, under the names of Might and Force, impersonate brute power, and whose horrible appearance upon the stage is alluded to in the dialogue,

ὁμοια μορφῇ γλώσσά σου γηρέται,

lead in Prometheus. Vulcan, with chains and irons, screw, and hammer, attends as executioner. The process of fastening him to the rock then commences, which is given step by step. First one arm is chained to its post, then the other; then one foot, then another; and a nail, driven through his breast, makes him finally secure. The speech of the two demons all the while is appropriate to their nature, and doubtless the poet took care that it should possess all the physical asperity, also, which stage artifice could supply. It consists of savage admonitions to Vulcan, at each stage of the process, to do his work well:—such as, 'Hammer again,' 'Strike harder,' 'Drive it in,' repeated till an absolutely final tightness has been achieved. And with this stringent watch over the executioner, there mingles insolence to the victim: the chain is riveted with the remark—'That will teach you discretion:' and the whole process over, the two demons take their leave with loud scoffing. The reader will perceive, amid the undoubted grandeur of the scene, not a little grotesqueness. With his constant allusions to a deep philosophy

which none but the few could appreciate, Æschylus mixes appeals to the many; and the opening scene in the Prometheus seems to have been constructed with the view of fixing a strong and palpable image of unjust power upon a popular audience.

Meantime, we discover, as the real author of all these wrongs,—the superior at whose bidding they are done, and of whom these demons are the mere ministers and agents,—a much higher personage. Jove is the malignant and implacable inflicter of these tortures upon Prometheus; and he inflicts them not only undeservedly, for acts of mercy and benevolence on Prometheus' part to the human race, but in the highest degree ungratefully, after Prometheus has done him the most important services in fixing him on his throne, endangered by the formidable conspiracy of the Titans. Jove is represented as full of jealousy of the human race, and desirous of keeping them in a miserable and degraded state; and Prometheus has offended by his zeal in elevating and improving them: he is also a newly seated monarch, and he has the instinct of persons newly risen to power, to suspect and dislike those who have been instrumental in raising them. By these well-known traits—familiar especially to a Greek audience—Æschylus fixes upon Jove the character of a tyrant, and exhibits his government as a tyranny—

νέος γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἐν θεοῖς . . .

"Ἄπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ.

The question then follows, who this personage is, who is called Jove, and to whom this tyranny is attributed. As far as the name goes, he is the Supreme Governor of the universe; for Jove, or Zeus, was the name of the Supreme Being in Greek worship. But though the vituperation with which Æschylus assails one who, at least, bears that name, is sufficiently bold, and has an appearance even of that spirit which modern infidel poetry has shown, the religious temper of the poet, in the first place, and the very description which he gives of this personage in the second, precludes us from supposing that this name carries with it here that high meaning. For, as we have seen, he describes Jove particularly as a 'new' monarch. And just as he assigns him a beginning, he proceeds to assign him also an end of his government:—a liberty which the jumble of ancient mythology allowed him; for the poet is only following a portion of ancient fable here.

- ΠΡ. νῦν δ' οὐδέν ἐστι τέρμα μοι προκείμενον
μόχθων, πρὶν ἂν Ζεὺς ἐκπέσῃ τυραννίδος,
ΙΩ. ἢ γὰρ ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐκπεσεῖν ἀρχῆς Δία;
ΠΡ. ἦδοι' ἂν, οἶμαι, τήνδ' ἰδοῦσα συμφορὰν
ΙΩ. πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν, ἥτις ἐκ Διὸς πάσχω κακῶς;
ΠΡ. ὥς τοίνον ὄντων τῶνδ' εἰ μάθειν πάρα,
ΙΩ. πρὸς τοῦ τύραννα σκῆπτρα συληθήσεται;
ΠΡ. αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ κενόφρονων βουλευμάτων.

A power like this, which has a beginning and has an end, cannot be really Supreme; for that is necessarily without beginning and without end. Of such a power, however, not supreme really, inasmuch as it is not eternal, but supreme *de facto* and at present, and governing the world, one explanation remains. There is a sense in which power simply stands for and impersonates facts. We use it in this sense when we gather all the phenomena of the physical world together under one head or power, which we call Nature. And by a poetical licence, we use it in the same way also to impersonate the facts of the social world. We talk of the genius of a party, a nation, a school, meaning by it some power which we suppose to form and direct them. And, to take the largest instance, and the one which concerns us at present, we talk of a power working in this whole state of things, and making it to be what it is; moulding society and producing events:—a power or system of things, moreover, which is practically supreme while it lasts, inasmuch as nothing interferes with it or stops its course. Such appears to be the power which Æschylus refers to, and which he dresses in this mythological shape. And Jove is, to his mind, the god or genius of this present order of things; and his temporary supremacy impersonates the world.

Such is the medium by which the poet succeeds in expressing a great idea in his mind of this world, as a system of things irregular and unjust. A tyranny had the conventional meaning among the Greeks, of a government which ruled by individual caprice and self-will, instead of law; and was consequently the great type of an unjust system to Greek minds. Any one who wanted to impress a Greek with the idea of any administration as unjust, would exhibit it under that form to him; and, therefore, by exhibiting the whole present system of things to him under that form, Æschylus exhibits it under the strongest aspect of injustice which he could give it.

Under the severe pressure, then, of this unjust power, Prometheus is portrayed with deep sensibility and tremendous determination. He feels acutely—the wrong rather than the pain—the fact, that, having devoted himself to deeds of mercy to the human race, he is punished like a criminal; and having conferred the greatest benefits on Jove himself, he is oppressed like an enemy; and invokes the compassion of all created things:—

Ἰδεσθέ μ' οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θείος.
δέρχθηθ', οἷαις αἰκίαισιν
διακναιόμενος τὸν μυριετῆ
χρόνον ἀθλεύσω. Τοιόνδ' ὃ νέος
ταγὸς μακάρων ἐξεῦρ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ
δεσμὸν αἰετῇ.

ὁράτε δεσμώτην με, δύσποτμον θεὸν
τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν
διὰ τὴν λίαν φιλότητα βροτῶν. . . .

μή τοι χλιδῇ δοκείτε μῆδ' αὐθαδία
σιγᾶν με· συννοία δὲ δάπτομαι κέαρ
ὄρων ἐμαντὸν ὧδε προνσελούμενον.
καί τοι θεοῖσι τοῖς νέοις τούτοις γέρα
τίς ἄλλος ἢ ἔγω παντελῶς διώρισεν;
ἀλλ' αὐτὰ σιγῶ. . . .

The proud inflexibility of a being more than human follows, as his friends and counsellors, the chorus of Oceanides, with the best intentions, acting the part of Job's comforters, try to persuade him to bow to this present power which is oppressing him, to confess himself in error, and ask for a remission of his sentence. Æschylus now seems to compress his lips, as he condenses the powers of language into absolute solidity, to describe a stubbornness like that of the round world itself, a perfection of just pride, an unbending moral will. Sustained by an unerring foresight, which resides like reason in his nature, Prometheus sees far too clearly the day when Jove shall bend to him, to think of any other course than simply waiting where he is, and living out the time. He fulfils the transcendental type of Oriental rather than the natural one of Greek legend, and is, ideal man, independent of circumstances, true to himself, and unconquerable.

πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ριπτέσθω μὲν
πυρὸς ἀμφήκης βόστρυχος, αἰθὴρ δ'
ἐρεθιζέσθω βρόντη, σφακέλω τ'
ἀγρίων ἀνέμων· χθόνα δ' ἐκ πυθμένων
αὐταῖς ρίζαις πνεῦμα κραδαίνοι,
κῦμα δὲ πόντου τραχεῖ ροθίῳ
ἐσυχώσειεν· τῶν τ' οὐρανίων
ἄστρον διόδους, ἔστε κελαιὸν
Τάρταρον ἄρδην ρίψει δέμας
τοῦτον, ἀνάγκης στερῆραῖς δίναις·
πάντως ἐμέγ' οὐ θανατώσει.

This invincible strength of character is made to come out the more boldly by the introduction upon the scene of Io, who stands in such striking contrast to it. Io and Prometheus are the perfect types in juxtaposition of the two great kinds of grief, the magnanimous and the plaintive. The grief of Io is wonderfully beautiful of its kind; simple, transparent, and confiding; feminine, and full of utterance; most pathetic and appealing; but not without an element of selfishness. She comes suddenly upon the stage, flying from a malignant phantom with 'a crafty eye,' who is ever behind her, and pursues her over the face of the globe, wearied, but afraid to stop; she enters

with plaintive voice, and quick touching exclamations, like some tremulous and shrill but sweet music, and catches all at once the sight of Prometheus, suffering under a different, but quite as severe an infliction as her own; whom she immediately asks to befriend her, and help her to some way of extricating herself from her troubles; apparently forgetful, that if he were a selfish person, he had enough to think of in his own.

πῇ μ' ἄγουσι τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάνοι
τί ποτέ μ', ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ, τί ποτε
τί ποτε ταῖσδ' ἐνέτευξας εὐρων
ἁμαρτοῦσαν ἐν πημοναΐσιν; ἔε . . .
ἄδην με πολὺπλαγκτοι πλάσαι
γεγυμνάκασιν.

ἀλλὰ μοι τορῶς τέκμηρον
ὅ, τι μ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν.
τί μῆχαρ, τί φάρμακον νόσου,
δείξον, εἴπερ οἶσθα, θρόει,
φράζε τᾷ δυσπλάνῳ παρθένῳ.

One or two brief inquiries about the unhappy situation of Prometheus are only a preface to further solicitations about herself.

καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις, τέρμα τῆς ἐμῆς πλάνης
δείξον τίς ἔσται τῇ ταλαιπώρῳ χρόνος.

- ΠΡ. το μὴ μαθεῖν σοι κρίεσσον ἢ μαθεῖν τάδε.
ΙΩ. μήτοι με κρίνῃς τοῦθ' ὅπερ μέλλω παθεῖν.
ΠΡ. ἀλλ' οὐ μεγαίρω τοῦδε σοι δωρήματος.
ΙΩ. τί δῆτα μέλλεις μὴ οὐ γεγωνίσκειν τὸ πᾶν.

The grief of wandering Io, flying and lamenting, lamenting and flying, eagerly catching at any chance of relief, and full of her own misfortunes, even in the presence of greater ones; and that of the fixture of the rock, stubborn and self-controlling—

ἄρμοι πέπναιμι τοὺς ἐμοὺς θρηγῶν πόνοιν.

and able with majestic pity to soothe another's pain from the depths of his own, show respectively the poor mortal and the godlike sufferer, and produce just that difference in our feeling which there is between the simple kind of pity and that with which awe mingles—the pity of an equal, and the pity of a superior being.

In comparing the Hamlet and the Prometheus, we see the difference between the mythological, or, so to call it, theological mind of Æschylus, and the human sympathies of Shakspeare. Æschylus is above the clouds, in the region of supernatural characters and intelligences, and he describes the position of such a character and intelligence toward unjust power. Shak-

speare is on this earth, and he describes the effect of injustice and disorder upon one of earthly mould mingling loftiness with frailty. He describes, in contrast with the *Æschylean* type of strength and determination, a musing moralizing large-minded perplexity, a mixture of depth and weakness; seeming to sympathize genially with it, too, as he portrays it. Hamlet is a man, Prometheus is a god. The one is a critic, and the other a combatant. Hamlet gazes on present difficulties, and Prometheus penetrates them.

The stimulus, then, which has produced both of these great philosophical poems is obvious; but, besides her philosophical and direct teaching on this subject, Poetry has had her indirect. A very marked department of it has taken in hand the subject of ingratitude; and such stories as that of 'King Lear' and of 'Coriolanus' have been highly popular as subjects of dramas. We may almost include the *Iliad* in this class, so much of the interest in it has relation to this subject. Achilles is the ablest warrior and chieftain of the Greek army; he has worked hardest in the cause, and has been always victorious; the expedition owes its success to him: and Agamemnon, as the leader of it, is under special obligation to him. But Agamemnon, so far from acknowledging the obligation, quarrels with him on some trivial matter, treats him with the greatest indignity before the whole council, reminds him contemptuously of the immeasurable interval between the rank of a petty chieftain of the Myrmidons and that of the Lord Paramount of Greece; refuses to allow that he has been of any use to the cause, telling him he may go as soon as he likes, as he can dispense with his services; and, finally, actually sends his officers to his tent, and forcibly seizes and appropriates some of the inferior chieftain's hard-earned spoil. Achilles, in inexpressible indignation, retires from the council and the field, and shuts himself up in his own quarters. The battle with the enemy meanwhile goes on as usual, for Agamemnon is determined to show that he can do without Achilles; and various heroes perform various achievements. The reader, however, never forgets the injured hero; and the poem is so constructed, that, while the tug of war is going on, the chariots rushing, the trumpets sounding, the bows clanging, the spears whizzing, on the field of battle, the image of Achilles is ever seen in the background sitting in his tent, or wandering listlessly on the sea-shore brooding over his wrong; consoling himself with his lyre, or praying to his mother Thetis to come to help him. The contrast of the melancholy chieftain with the activities of the battle-field acts insensibly on the reader throughout, and he is ever borne to the position of Achilles as that which makes the poem what it is, and provides the interest.

The great master, however, of this subject is our own dramatic poet. In the whole department of sensations, connected with the sense of ingratitude, Shakspeare is quite supreme and without a rival. His words pierce like swords, and the popular legend he has chosen at random out of the general heap, and developed into the scenes of 'King Lear,' is the great model and exponent of this portion of the feelings of the human race.

Such poetry then, though only concerned immediately with individual cases, has a strong indirect bearing upon the system of things here, and glides by a natural and easy process into that general sentiment of which we have been speaking. Ingratitude is not only a species of injustice, but the highest species, and, as it were, the model and exemplar of it. For the obligation of giver to receiver results immediately from the very first relation in the constitution of things, that of cause and effect: the giver being the cause of that enjoyment or that advantage which the receiver has in the gift; and therefore ingratitude is the violation of the primeval relation in the constitution of things, and, in it, of the whole scheme and law of justice. So fundamental and normal a species of injustice is naturally suggestive of the whole genus; and the poet, in drawing out dramatically the personal wrong, is insensibly reminded of the system, and slides into general hints and reflections. In 'King Lear,' for example, it is worth observing how soon the ill-used old king begins to implicate the world in the ingratitude of his two daughters:—

'And thou, all-shaking thunder,
Strike flat the thick rotundity o' the world !
Crack Nature's moulds, all germens spill at once,
That make ungrateful man !'

And by-and-by, as his madness becomes milder, trains of thought something like Hamlet's appear, and his wandering head runs on in a mock-philosophizing way upon the world and all its proceedings,—

'What, art mad ? A man may see how the world goes, with no eyes. Look with thine ears : see how yon justice rails upon yon simple thief : change places, and, handy dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief ? Thou hast seen a farmer's dog bark at a beggar ?'

'None does offend, none, I say, none ; I'll able 'em :
Take that of me, my friend, who have the power
To seal the accuser's lips. Get thee glass eyes ;
And, like a scurvy politician, seem
To see the things thou dost not. Now, now, now, now :
Pull off my boots :—harder, harder ; so.

'*Edgar.* Oh, matter and impertinency mixed !
Reason in madness !

'Lear. If thou wilt weep my fortunes, take my eyes.
 I know thee well enough; thy name is Gloster:
 Thou must be patient; we came crying hither.
 Thou know'st, the first time that we smell the air,
 We wawl and cry:—I will preach to thee; mark me!'

The use of the fool in Shakspeare is a good deal in connexion with this vein of thought in the poet. Levity is a medium to a philosophical effect. It is remarkable that the gravest things obtain a conventional ridiculousness as soon as ever there attaches an idea of commonness and uniformity to them. The grave offences of cheating, lying, and drunkenness, are thus popularly ridiculous because they are large established classes of offences, and belong to a very prolific common mould; and thus the unquestionably grave affair of death has collected a world of jocularities around it as the result of its undeniable universality. As commonness then has a natural alliance with the ridiculous, so *vice versa*, ridicule becomes an instrument to raise the idea of commonness; and as the fool wanders on with his laughter and jests, his absurd parodies and irrelevant reflections, the idea is unconsciously imbibed of some large type to which these griefs and evils belong, some order of things out of which they proceed.

But we have alluded to another and a very different class of poets, whose poetry also has been strongly marked by this sentiment against this visible course of things. This school may be said to be more full of the subject than the religious one; more exclusively and eagerly occupied with it. The obliquity of this visible system is the one great stimulus of the whole poetical thought of such writers as Lord Byron and Shelley; the one theme, which is ever drawing them magnetically, and round which they work as round a centre. Loose and undisciplined themselves, these men feel an undoubted disgust for the looseness and disorder of the world in which they live. Their poetry cannot be set down as words; they mean what they say, and have an idea in their heads; and they swell the general body of sentiment which runs in this direction: while at the same time they must not be allowed to take their place side by side with the sacred poets and religious contemplators of the scene, as if their feeling and that of the religious class were the same.

The general subject of that common ground of feeling and taste, which good and bad men have, would be too large a one to enter upon here. It is obvious, however, that they have one; that bad men are capable of possessing affection, friendship, generosity, courage, zeal; and that just as they have intellect and imagination in common with the good, they have also moral sensi-

bilities, and even refined and delicate ones, in common with them. The feeling against the injustice and disorder of this visible order of things is part of this common ground, and bad men and good men can both have it. We may ask what minds in themselves loose and immoral can see in such injustice to offend them, and why they should not feel perfect sympathy and content with a world like themselves, on the principle of the proverb in Aristotle, that 'Like loves like, and potter takes to potter.' But the answer to such a difficulty is easy. Bad men are capable of feeling disgust at evil without them, though they may have no such feeling toward it within them. There is all the difference between external and internal: men are annoyed with bodily uncleanness as a spectacle, who have no objection to it as a companion. Admitted within us, in the shape of some bad passion, evil is part of us for the time, and being part of ourselves is not felt as evil, and therefore does not raise disgust; but let the same bad passion be situated outside the soul,—that is to say, be apparent in some other person,—and it will raise disgust. The bad have a moral nature, in spite of their immoral acts; and they allow that nature to work where there is nothing practical or painful in its working, but on the contrary an agreeable irritation and excitement. Thus proud, unjust, and selfish men, will be fully alive to pride, injustice, and selfishness, in others: and the same with respect to any system or order of things external to themselves: if they see injustice in it, it will offend them.

In this way good men and bad men are alike capable of entertaining the sentiment against this visible order of things; the only difference in this, as in other feelings which they have in common, lying in a certain fundamental state of mind in which they respectively entertain it. Scripture points to a particular fundamental state of mind in which good men entertain all feelings whatever; which it calls 'in the Lord.' Good men entertain this, as they do other feelings, upon this basis. But this basis bad men want, and the whole line which this feeling takes in them, shows it. The moral ingredient in it, though it does exist, exists but as a small particle in the midst of a vast body of wounded pride and self-love. The feeling of religious minds towards the world is judicial; theirs is retaliatory. Good men would be heartily glad if the world got better, and would sincerely welcome a state of things in which virtue and innocence prevailed. But the bad do not wish the world to change, however they may rail at it. They know that a better state of things would be a witness against them, and they had rather have the worse state, and accuse it. Thus, retaliating on the world's injustice, and enjoying its laxity, they form the proud

misanthropical, and at the same time licentious school of poetry: in the wake of which follows that crowd of busy satirists, and describers of fashionable life, who unfold with such cleverness and vivacity, in such unwearied detail, the vices and selfishness of society, showing all the time that they secretly relish what they profess to expose, and glory in their real or assumed intimacy with it.

But after all, the injustice in this visible system is not the sole or the main object of complaint with this class of poets. And here lies the most striking point of difference between their feeling and that of the religious class. The religious class confine themselves to the phenomenon of injustice, that is to say, to the spectacle of undeserved pain and triumphant evil in this visible system: but the other class take the universal line of objecting to the existence altogether of pain and of evil. This is a widely different ground from the other. A spectacle of injustice offends the moral sense, and throws, though of course negatived by our certainty of there being a solution of it, a *prima facie* appearance of injustice upon the power that permits it. But there is nothing immoral in the simple fact of pain: it is mysterious to our intellects, and discordant with our senses, but it does not come into collision with the conscience. Nor is there anything immoral, as regards the Author of nature, in the fact of the moral evil or guilt which resides in us; for He is not the author of it. These minds, however, brood querulously over the fact of simple pain, especially pain of mind, disappointed love, wounded self-respect, weariness, satiety, terror, melancholy, doubt; as if these were in themselves grievances and scandals. And they proceed even to regard the moral evil within them in the same light, and to complain in the same way of 'this life,' which is 'a false nature,' and is not in

'The harmony of things—this hard decree,
This uneradicable taint of sin,
This boundless Upas, this all-blasting tree.'

The great fact of the fall of man and the corruption and disarrangement of our nature is acknowledged; they acknowledge their own particular sin and corruption; but the fact does not produce self-condemnation, but only makes them accusers; by a determined twist of mind they regard the very sins which they themselves commit as so much injustice committed upon them; and so far from feeling self-abasement, are positively elevated in their own eyes as victims. Such a view is of course self-contradictory, for why does sin pain them at all, except on the idea that they themselves are responsible for it, and are the authors of their own wrong acts, and not any other power? And yet,

by an ingenuity of attack, they turn the very contradiction to their accusation into matter of accusation itself, and of all the effects of the fall and corruption of man, specially single out the pains of conscience for complaint; protesting against the 'self-disapprobation' and 'self-contempt' resident in human souls, as the greatest wrong of all done them, because it penetrates deepest, and turns the man himself against himself: the complainer seemingly forgetting that the judge must agree in his own sentence, and that therefore the self-disapprover cannot, except by the most ridiculous inconsistency, complain of the injustice of that disapprobation. In this way, then, they treat all pain and evil, all suffering and all sin, and with them the whole system of trial and probation which exposes us to them, as grievances;

. . . . 'To the last in verge of our decay
Some phantom lures, such as we sought at first,
But all too late; so are we doubly curst:
Love, fame, ambition, avarice:'

thus, besides the difference in the subject-matter of feeling between them and the religious class of poets, differing also in the impatient inference which they draw; and, where the former simply assert a fact which comes before their eyes and there stop, proceeding to an immediate judgment upon the constitution of things, and making the order of nature a stumbling-block to their faith. Two such lines of objection as these come under the distinction which Butler makes in his *Analogy*, where he allows reason to judge of morality, but not of expediency. He would allow men to decide upon the justice or injustice of the system of the world as it stands before them, because that is merely deciding upon a fact of which our moral nature makes us proper judges: while to objections against the construction of this whole system, on the ground that it is productive of much actual evil and misery, he answers:—'There could be no stopping (in such objections) till we came to such conclusions as these: that all creatures should at first be made as perfect and as happy as they were capable of ever being, that nothing of hazard or danger should be put upon them, some indolent persons might think nothing at all. . . . But we may see before hand, that we have not faculties for this kind of speculation.'

In a general body of popular sentiment, then, and in the voice of constitutional, and even corrupt and extravagant poetry, enough has appeared to show the large place in human thought which the injustice and irregularity of this visible order of things has occupied. It was to be expected that the Bible, being a

book intended for the instruction and consolation of the whole human race, should in due course touch upon this feeling. It is part of the office of such a book to show large sympathies, and spread over a wide ground of human feeling; on the rule, that every instructor who undertakes to direct and discipline feelings, should first show that he understands them. And, accordingly, the Bible does take this feeling in hand in one book, which is devoted specially to it. In the Book of Job it shows sympathy with it in the first place, and supplies its due correction in the second.

The form under which this sympathy is expressed is the same as that which the great poets, ancient and modern, have used. The character is real in one case, fictitious in the other; but in both cases a character is drawn. The Book of Job draws the character of the patriarch Job. Under the influence of one great idea—a sense of the injustice of this visible order of things, he pursues various trains of thought, and gives way to various emotions; he is argued with, and he argues; he is reproached, and he defends himself. His character thus comes out, as it were, dramatically, and it comes out as an extraordinarily intense, and, in the unobnoxious sense of the word, passionate one. It would seem almost as if it were the intention of Scripture to show to all generations of mankind how thoroughly it understood this vein of thought, and, however watchful over it, felt with it; and how it was resolved to leave no excuse to the most sensitive to say that their case had been overlooked and unprovided for. One look into this book should satisfy the most vehement, melancholy, and indignant natures of the existence of a religion which understands them, and would direct them if they would let it. They are anticipated there perfectly; they must see themselves there, and their keenest thoughts reflected. Scripture is beforehand with its sympathy, and they cannot escape it but by violence. And that whole school of morbid poets, who disbelieved it because they never chose to consult it, and never chose to consult it because they took it for granted that it did not understand them and could not instruct them, are simply proved guilty of the folly of hasty persons in worldly matters, who refuse the offers of experienced and sympathetic guides, on the mere indefinite dread of being interfered with, and meeting with the slightest check to their will.

The character of Job, as the book represents it, may be brought substantially under two heads,—his language about himself, and his language toward the Deity.

We have noticed already that the argument in the Book of Job requires him to take a high line about himself; but it is obviously not a satisfactory explanation of such a line of feeling

to say that the argument requires it; for, however the argument may require it, the question still remains whether it is in itself right and proper. It does appear at first sight singular audacity in a human being to assert, in the presence of God, that he does not deserve a particular train of calamities with which, in the natural order of providence, he has been visited. And yet this is what Job asserts and persists in maintaining. No argument, entreaty, or reproach, can pull him from this ground.

Aristotle has given a famous definition of the magnanimous man: 'one who thinks himself worthy of great things, being worthy:' *ὁ μεγάλων αὐτὸν ἀξίων ἄξιος ὢν*. It is obvious that this is the character attributed to the Supreme Being in Scripture. He is specially represented as 'jealous,' that is to say, aware of the great honour due to Him, and claiming it. He deserves great honour at the hand of His creatures, as well on account of His bounty to them, as on account of the ineffable goodness and greatness of His own character. He expects them to pay it Him:—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first and great commandment.' Here is the character of the *μεγαλόψυχος*. From the Supreme Being, who is the type of it, this character descends in a subordinate sense to man, as made in the Divine image: he has it so far as he retains that image; though so far as he has lost it he has another, and must simply abase and annihilate himself in his own ideas. We call it self-respect. A man, by the constitution of his nature, stands in certain intimate relations to himself, which it is his duty to maintain, just as it is his duty to maintain his relations to others. Thus he adopts certain general lines of action on the idea of it being due to himself to adopt them, and that any lower ones would not be just to himself; and he desires what is due to himself also in the actions of others toward him.

This temper, referring, as it does, the mind entirely to a standard and a voice within, stands in marked contrast to pride, of which, as S. Augustine says, the fundamental characteristic is 'a certain swelling,' that is to say, a 'going abroad and out of doors, out of the world within into the world without.'¹ There is indeed a species of pride, sometimes confounded with self-respect, which seems to keep a person wholly within and attending to an internal judgment; and which is, on that very account, considered a deeper and more intense kind of pride, and is unfavourably opposed to vanity, the very obtrusiveness and transparency of which is thought after all to indicate a

¹ *Superbia intumescere, hoc illi est in extima progredi:—progredi autem in extima, quid aliud est quam intima projicere: id est longe a se facere Deum, non locorum spatio, sed mentis affectu.*—Aug. lib. vi. de Musica, c. 13.

simpler and more venial form of the sin. But this pride will not be found, on examination, to do what it seems to do. There is a chamber within the human mind, in which the whole external world, transferred from its external and material site, is lodged; and where, gathered to a point, are reflected all the influences and the eyes of society. In minds of a certain power this image of the world is so deep and strong, that they are able to act under it as under the eye of the real world itself, and are not obliged, as the vain or weaker class of minds are, to be perpetually realizing the stimulus and support of society by actual applications to the material body. But still it is the stimulus of the world's approval, reflected from without, under which they act, and not the genuine praise of the native judge within. That pure praise has no particle of pride in it, but is the act of simple original truth, measuring and weighing the moral being, defining what is his due, and authorizing him to claim it at the hands of all creatures. Beneath this inward measuring eye of truth high moral natures live, and they claim what it awards them, not for the purposes of self-flattery, but of justice. And this freedom from selfish aims gives them confidence, nor are they ashamed of the sentence of their own hearts, as proud minds are, who, with that mysterious consciousness which evil has of its own shame, veil their self-exaltation under an outside of retirement, and hide the unseemly disease from the public eye; on the contrary, they express it, if occasion requires, freely and openly. True self-respect has nothing to conceal, and is, like childhood, a plain-spoken claimant. And on this principle Homer gives his hero pre-eminent freedom of speech and openness in claiming his due, and, at the beginning of that great speech which is devoted to this object, puts that sentiment into his mouth,

ἔχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλησιν,
ὅς χ' ἔτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει.

And to go to inspired models, S. Paul uses great freedom of speech, and is remarkably open in this claim. So little cause is there to suspect this principle as if it were of the nature of pride, and were to be suppressed like a strong unruly appetite. Indeed, so far from it calling for suppression from being too strong, it is evident that the principle is much too weak in the generality of human minds; that the mass are ready to rest upon any respect whatever sooner than their own, and live upon the approval of the external circle, social, intellectual, or religious, to which they may belong, far too much; and that a diseased human race craves the artificial stimulus of the world's eye, either actual or reflected, and cannot appreciate that high form of honour which their own moral nature, as God made it, supplies.

Indeed, the exercise of self-respect, so far from being allied to pride, is in many cases, which will easily occur to any person who thinks on the subject, a positive exercise of humility. It is so in the kind of case with which we are now concerned. The first instinct of self-respect in a man is to see injustice when it is done him; and this very perception is at the same time humiliating. Injustice is of the nature of contempt; and it is humiliating to be despised. And therefore, through a class of minds who are sustained by the unnatural strength of pride and evil passion, counterbalancing and negating that humbling result, will even take pleasure in brooding upon real or imaginary injustice done them; in the minds of good men, who have no such counterbalance, the thought brings no pleasure, but simple pain. They would avoid it if they could, and refuse to see the fact. There is a well-known form of character occasionally met with in society, that allows the possessor to see no slight: the most obvious and palpable does not touch him: he will never believe in the possibility of any such intention toward him; he imagines, as a matter of course, all men always thinking well of him, and this determined previous view colours every act, or word, or look which he meets with, however unsusceptible in itself of such an interpretation. A secret indisposition to that kind of humiliation which injustice, either real or supposed, inflicts, produces such a character; the trial is too unpleasant a one, and he goes through life thrusting it away from him by the propelling force of this previous view. For the same reason, good men would avoid the sense of injustice done them if they could, and would refuse to see it, from the natural distaste for what is humiliating. Indeed it is not paradoxical to say that, with respect to the mere question of comparative pain, they would rather have the sense of deserved wrong to bear, than the sense of undeserved; and that, after dwelling with the feeling of a person ill-used upon any piece of ingratitude, or contumely, or neglect, from any individual or body, the idea, could they persuade themselves of the fact, that they had done something to them to deserve it, would come quite as a relief. For then the wrong is accounted for, and being accounted for, is removed. They stand on equal ground with the injurer, and the position of a victim shifts to that of give and take. Thus, had it suddenly occurred to King Lear, in the extremity of his distress at his daughters' ingratitude, that he had done them some or other great wrong, which he had till that moment forgotten: the fact would have been welcomed with consummate and indescribable joy, and his mind would have felt instantaneous rest. Unquestionably there is something in the situation of a simple recipient of injustice which must be said to stand quite pre-eminent in its repugnance to nature: and

S. Peter alludes to this when he says, 'What glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.'

The character of Job is the 'magnanimous one,' according to the Aristotelian definition; that is to say, he is worthy, and he knows himself worthy. He is a righteous man, and he claims what is the righteous man's due. That this claim is made upon Providence, in his case, and not upon a fellow man, is no difference to the purpose; for if a man does not get his due, the fact is exactly the same, from whatever quarter he fails to get it. It may be objected, indeed, that there can be no such due or right, in the first instance, to be urged by a human being upon Providence, inasmuch as no creature can possibly know beforehand what his due from the Creator is. To enter upon such a question, seems to be entering upon a task of measurement, where we have no rule whatever of measurement and no proportion to go upon; and, therefore, to be the height of folly and presumption. True: but Job is not claiming anything as his due absolutely and intrinsically, but by comparison. If the constitution of things does as a matter of fact supply a certain amount of happiness and well-being, the righteous certainly deserve this happiness more than the wicked do; and in this sense the righteous man can regard himself as having something due to him, even at the hand of Providence. The impression is a sound and legitimate one, as a first impression, however subsequent considerations may come in to correct and qualify it. Job claims this due, then; and, not having it, does not hesitate to say that he is treated with injustice. But this temper of self-respect carries with it those characteristics which accompany it in the minds of good men; that is to say, it is not a proud, but a humiliating feeling. He would be ready, could he do so really, to make the discovery that he deserved his punishment, and so had no occasion for that feeling; and the repeated efforts of his friends to extort from him some acknowledgment of ill desert, appeal to one quite willing to be convinced, could he be so genuinely and reasonably; for he wants, as much as they do, to have the feeling of living under an equal Providence which deals justly with its subjects, and this conviction of his own ill desert would be, with reference to this want, a relief. But he will not feign an assent which he does not feel. As he cannot make that discovery, he voluntarily submits himself to the full impression of injustice done him, and faces with strong endurance its humiliating and mortifying results. He pursues the idea long and continuously, unfolds it in all its vexatiousness, and drinks the bitter cup to the dregs. A long period of mute

unbroken meditation, during which 'none spake a word unto him, for they saw that his grief was very great,' first puts this whole visible system of things in strong and vivid light before him. Thought gathering strength, and feeling pent up, then make their way into words, and Job opens his mouth, and speaks. The hero of the Iliad had one burden of complaint, when he delivered himself of his great protest against unjust power: the single sentiment contained in that line—

ἐν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ ἡμὲν κακός, ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός·

Job has the same. The apparent fact that God 'destroyeth the perfect with the wicked;' nay, 'shines on the counsel of the wicked,' and 'laughs at the trial of the innocent,' absorbs him. And just as the hero of the Iliad reviews his own past course of action, for the purpose of contrasting it with his reward, justly and frankly magnifying himself, and, according to the standard which his religion has given him of what is great and noble in man, proclaiming his great exploits, and demonstrating his high desert: just as he says, I have taken so many cities, by land and by sea; I have fought for you, and spent nights of watching and days of toil and danger, and this is what I get for it! so Job, with another standard of man's true greatness and virtue, says, 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and 'when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that 'had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to 'perish, came upon me: and I caused the widow's heart to sing 'for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, 'and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor, and 'the cause which I knew not, I searched out. And I brake the 'jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth:' and adds, 'But when I looked for good, then evil came unto 'me: and when I waited for light, there came darkness. He 'hath cast me into the mire, and I am become like dust and 'ashes. My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ 'into the voice of them that weep.' And he concludes with a form of protestation, in which he makes his whole past life appear as in a public court, and witness against an unjust punishment. 'If I have walked with vanity, or if my foot hath 'hasted to deceit: if my step hath turned out of the way, and 'mine heart walked after mine eyes, and if any blot hath 'cleaved to my hands. If I have withheld the poor from their 'desire, or have caused the eyes of the widow to fail; or have 'eaten my morsel myself alone, and the fatherless hath not 'eaten thereof. If I have seen any perish for want of clothing,

‘or any poor without covering. If I have made gold my hope, ‘or have said to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence. If I ‘rejoiced at the destruction of him that hated me, or lift up ‘myself when evil found him. If my land cry against me, or ‘the furrows thereof complain: if I have eaten the fruits ‘thereof without money, or have caused the owners thereof to ‘lose their life:—then let me be weighed in an even balance, ‘and let my unrighteousness be known:’ let every portion of myself and my substance to which the sin attaches, suffer: let the arm which was lifted up against the fatherless ‘fall from ‘the shoulder blade,’ and on the field which refused its bounty ‘let thistles grow instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley. ‘The words of Job are ended.’

The language of Job toward the Deity is another remarkable feature of the book. This language is a startling carrying out even of that bold ground which he takes about himself; for he positively, as far as words go, accuses the Deity of injustice. He complains of Him, remonstrates with Him, protests against His course of government. This language the more calls for explanation, because, in reading Scripture, we find it to be the type of a whole line of language toward the Deity which we meet with there. The language of complaint and remonstrance, more or less modified in addresses to God, is not unfrequent in Scripture, and that from the mouths of God’s holiest and most zealous servants, of prophets and inspired men. Thus we meet with it occasionally in the addresses of Abraham and Moses to God; and oftener in the Psalms, and in the Prophecies. The Lamentations of Jeremiah, indeed, seem to borrow their language largely from the Book of Job, so as to give the impression that that book supplied the recognised exemplar of that kind of language; the one to which the holy men of old looked when they wanted to express the extraordinary class of feelings which affliction imparts.

It is obvious then, at first sight, that this language cannot really mean what it literally means. No religious man, no reasonable man, no man in his proper senses at all, can really mean to accuse the Deity of injustice; for the very idea of a God implies the idea of perfect goodness, which idea would be contradicted by such an accusation. The literal meaning therefore being excluded as an impossible one, it remains to see what such language, as a mode of speaking, can mean; for modes of speaking have real meanings, though not literal ones.

The saint of the Old Testament had a very different idea of the Divine Being from that which the Pagan had; as in the point of the unity of God, so in other very important points. In particular, on the subject of His omnipotence, there was a

great difference. The Pagan had not a clear and consistent idea of the omnipotence of the Supreme Being; he attributed absolute omnipotence to Him on one side, and modified it again by imagining some distinct power running parallel with it on the other. This power figures in ancient systems sometimes as Fate, sometimes as Chaos, sometimes as Matter, sometimes directly as Evil. The old Greek mythology spoke of Fate, and pictured it as some positive and active force, which produced events, independently of the will of the supreme God. The Egyptian mythology taught, under the name of Typho, the existence of a primeval principle of disorder in things, which would persist in interfering with and spoiling the operation of the Divine laws in the world. The oriental philosophies held that matter was coeval with the Deity, describing it as an unmanageable substance, with obstinate lusts inherent in it, which would be satisfied; or they were directly dualistic, and taught two independent original principles of good and evil. Thus, in one way or another, the omnipotence of the Supreme Being was limited. He was not the true Creator of the world, for Chaos and Matter were coeval with Him, and therefore He was the Creator of the world's form only, and not the Creator of the world's materials. He was not the true Governor of the world, for these original independent substances of Matter and Evil had power and produced results independently of Him. But the Bible taught a God who was truly Almighty, the absolute Creator, and the absolute Governor of the world: 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth: and the earth was without form and void.' He created the formless matter, as well as the world which He made out of it. And, having thus absolutely created the world, He is represented as the absolute master of it afterwards, directing and controlling all its affairs.

It followed naturally then from the idea of God which the Bible revelation inculcated, that, as power creates responsibility, there would be a disposition in the true believer, on the appearance of things going wrong in the world, to interrogate the Deity about it. The God of the Pagan was weak, and could not help himself; the original powers, which ran parallel to his own, took off the edge of his responsibility, and received the blame. But the Jew had no Fate, or Chaos, or Matter, or Original Evil on which to throw the blame; his God was Almighty, and the whole weight of the government of the world rested upon His shoulders. So far, then, as he looked to the one attribute of power in the Deity exclusively, he would feel a disposition to make the Deity responsible for the evils of a disordered world, and to accuse him of injustice in his administration. It is true that this idea would, as soon as it occurred to the mind,

be met simultaneously by the recollection of the other attribute of perfect goodness; and the character of the Deity, regarded as a whole, would instantaneously refute this inference from one particular attribute taken singly. But there is this difference between refuting an idea from without, and by the authority of a superior consideration, and refuting it from within, and upon its own ground; that though the former is quite as certain a mode of refutation as the latter, it yet leaves the idea refuted externally standing. The image remains though the substance is gone, and makes a particular impression, as a mere image, upon the mind. Thus the vivid appearance of a departed friend meeting our eyes, though we knew it was simply the effect of a particular medicine taken, which had the property of causing such ocular delusions, would still affect the mind, and we could not wholly get over the impression of somebody's presence. And thus an apparent falsity or inconsistency makes an impression on the mind while it lasts, even though we are sure it will be explained the next minute, and have perfect faith in the veracity of our informant. In the same way this idea of injustice in the Deity, which arises from the consideration of His attribute of power, though completely refuted by the attribute of His goodness, makes an impression as a mere image upon the mind. Such power and such results the mind repeats to itself, not believing in reality that the irregularity of the present system of things is the result of any fault in that power, but only regarding the two facts in combination, and allowing that combination to make an impression upon it. Thus arises an illusive language of complaint against the Deity, and beneath the shelter of a perfect faith in His goodness and wisdom, the soul feels itself secure in using an outward freedom with Him. With the consciousness of His true intentions really sovereign in its thoughts, it protests against His supposed ones; and it pleads the cause of justice forcibly against One presumed to neglect it. 'O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: Thou art stronger than I.'—'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me, and art so far from my health and from the words of my complaint.'—'Lord, why abhorrest thou my soul, and hidest thou thy face from me.' The holy men speak as if God were hard and unjust upon them, all the while feeling the fullest and most penetrating conviction of His goodness. Indeed, just as, in the case of ordinary irony, feeling expresses itself by contraries, and delights in urging the charge, and fastening the epithet, in order that the seeming accuser may feel the more vividly, by the contrast, his real love, and more consciously appreciate what he appears to deny; so, in the adoption of this tone to the Divine Being. It betrays its own

contrary meaning. The apparent doubt only expresses more strongly the real faith; the protest against injustice and harshness, the sense of absolute goodness and ineffable mercy. Amidst the disorder of the earthly scene the mind takes refuge in the position of accuser of, and pleader with Divine injustice, as a mode of reminding itself of that Supreme justice, which is that disorder's ultimate and certain remedy. Indeed, all prayer may be said to partake in some measure of this irony. The earnest and intense supplicant seems to himself to be addressing a Deity whom it is hard to gain, and who requires the utmost pressing to grant what he wants, even though the subject of the prayer be most reasonable: otherwise, why should he use such urgency, and adopt so pressing a tone at all. The very posture of supplication reflects a character of resistance upon the object of it; even though we know that character is no reality, but only the reflection of our own act. Heaven must be taken by violence, and the Unjust Judge won by importunity. Thus the piercing tone of the prayers in the Psalms, as if the Almighty were indeed a 'hard' Master, and it were all but impossible to get any favour or mercy from Him. We may observe much of this species of irony in the poetry of our own George Herbert:—

'Broken in pieces, all asunder,
Lord! hunt me not,
A thing forgot,
Once a poor creature, now a wonder—
A wonder tortured in the space
Betwixt this world and that of grace.'

Or—

'Come, Lord! my head doth burn, my heart is sick,
Whilst thou dost ever, ever stay;
Thy long deferrings wound me to the quick;
My spirit gaspeth night and day.
Oh, show thyself to me,
Or take me up to thee!'

Or—

'Lord, didst thou leave thy throne
Not to relieve? How can it be,
That thou art grown
Thus hard to me?'

Or—

'Whither, oh, whither art thou fled,
My Lord, my love?
My searches are my daily bread,
Yet never prove.'

Or—

'Oh, take these bars, these lengths away;
Turn and restore me;
Be not Almighty, let me say,
Against, but for me.'

Of this compound character, then, is the complaint of angry Job, charging the Divine government of the world with injustice. He sees a world in disorder, and, looking simply to the responsibility of Absolute Power, he lays the blame of it upon the Divine Possessor of that power. When the perfect and the wicked are punished alike, it is He that does it; when the trial of the innocent is laughed at, He laughs. The earth is given into the hands of the wicked, and He gives it; He covereth the faces of the judges thereof; He shines upon the counsel of the wicked; and He despises the works of the good. But simultaneously with this charge comes a recollection of God's absolute goodness. He thus alternates from anger to love, and from blame to adoration; with fiery quickness the indignant complaint darts from him, and immediately he is a tender suppliant, according as his single idea of responsible power, or according as his whole religious conviction, including the belief of God's absolute goodness, is expressed. Nor,—and this is a further point to observe,—do these two lines of feeling alternate only, but intertwine: and by some remarkable interchange of results, this very Power, in its turn, elicits love; this very Goodness, accusation. Thou tearest me, thou gnashest upon me, thou sharpenest thine eyes upon me, thou huntest me, thou breakest me, thou slayest me, thou scarest me, thou terrifiest me, thou plungest me in the ditch, thou settest thy bow against me, thou hedgest me in, thou watchest me, thou hast set me as a mark against thee, are Job's addresses to the all-powerful Being, while he thinks only of unjust power. 'If I speak of strength, 'lo, he is strong; and if of judgment, who will set me a time to plead? He is not a man that I should answer him, and we 'should come together in judgment.' But this power itself, the pure and simple attribute, in its turn completely subdues and softens him. And, just as the captured on a field of battle, expecting death, fall down and embrace their conqueror's knees, or clasp his hands, rushing into all the external expressions of the strongest love, not feignedly and for an object only, but because in very truth mere power wins by subduing, and the intense consciousness that some one has the absolute power to do what he will with us, puts us into the position of love to him; making us imagine him as our benefactor and friend, because we turn beforehand his absolute choice, of saving or destroying, into the alternative most favourable to ourselves: just so the power of the Almighty Maker and Governor of the world impresses Job. Such amazing power softens him. Many chapters in the book of Job are devoted to the description of this power. For this purpose the great original act of creation is strongly insisted on, that incomprehensible act of power by which matter was brought

out of void, and spiritual substances, which had not been, were made. The solid world, and all that therein is; the animals and vegetables upon the earth, the minerals beneath it, the heavenly bodies above it; the horse, leviathan, behemoth, hawk, vulture, eagle; the veins of silver and gold, brass and iron; Arcturus, Orion, and the Pleiades, all bear witness to a tremendous act of power, exerted at their creation and maintained ever since, of which the very thought is overpowering. 'Where wast thou when I laid the foundation of the earth? declare, if thou hast understanding. Whereupon are the foundations fastened, or who laid the corner stone thereof? Or who shut up the sea with doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed?' As he contemplates, then, that absolute Power which the idea of creation involves, and feels himself within its grasp, a poor and feeble creature, to be dealt with just as that Power pleases; the thought of a Being on whom he is so absolutely dependent, turns him with softened feeling towards Him, and draws out tender and supplicating love. And he says, 'There is none that can deliver out of thine hand,' and makes that his tie to Him. Thou art Almighty, therefore I love thee. Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness: honey out of the rock, oil out of the flinty rock: thy power is itself mercy; thy greatness is itself love. I am thy creature, thy property; thou canst do with me whatever thou wilt: I am thine: therefore thou art mine: I have a claim upon thee which thou canst not resist: thou must be my friend and my preserver.—'Remember, I beseech thee, that thou hast made me as the clay; and wilt thou bring me into dust again? Hast thou not poured me out as milk, and curdled me like cheese? Thou hast granted me life and favour, and thy visitation hath preserved my spirit. Wherefore hidest thou thy face, and holdest me for thine enemy? . . . Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him.' On the other hand, the idea of the goodness of God seems to embitter him, and stimulate accusation; for why, being so good a Being, should he treat him thus? The goodness of the punisher makes, in one aspect, the case of the sufferer worse, for it is more painful to suffer at the hands of the good than at the hands of the evil; as also the act of the punisher himself more inexcusable, for he is violating his own nature in it. Underneath the complaints of Job there is perceptible the feeling of the peculiar hardship of suffering under a good Being, whom he was bound to honour and reverence. And just as children, by a certain fantastic inconsistency of feeling, which some particular severe act of their parents, seen in discordant combination with general parental love, produces, are

angry with their parents because they have done the act, *being* so good and loving, and make their very goodness an additional grievance, because it gives a sting to their severity: so in Job's complaints of the Deity. He shows the inconsistency of perplexed love, keenly alive to the goodness of its object, and quickly susceptible, on that very account, of anger toward it. Thus, what with the original alternations of feeling in Job, and what with those alternations intertwining, such a deep and touching intricacy in his whole feeling toward the Supreme Being arises, as perhaps no dramatic poetry has ever yet described toward any object of love. Such quickness of transition and sharpness of contrast, and such invisible slidings of one feeling into another appear. 'The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about 'unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind 'returneth again according to his circuits.' Yet all these alternations and contrasts have one solution: he confesses the absolute goodness of God in conjunction with the mystery of present injustice and disorder. Love, in the heavenly state, sees God face to face, and moves directly toward Him; but its movements upon earth are often inflected and circuitous, according as the various incongruities in the present system of things blamelessly affect it. In Job all is motion and change; he exhibits the innocent restlessness of the affection in its earthly stage. 'When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.' Love, in its earlier, or earthly stages, shows many of the inconsistencies and irregularities of childhood; but it will one day put away childish things; and its motion be clear, constant, and uniform, proceeding straight and direct towards its great Object.

We have endeavoured, under two heads, to exhibit what seems to be the main features of the character in which Job is presented to us in the Book of Job.

With this whole exhibition of character, then, Scripture does undoubtedly, in substance, sympathize; for, at the close of the book, in passing judgment upon the whole discussion between Job and his friends, it definitively declares that Job 'had spoken the thing that was right,' whereas his friends, who had taken the opposite line to him, had offended. Without pressing this decision too far, or interpreting it as a sanction of the whole of Job's language and every outburst of emotion from him, it must be understood to convey an approval of the substance and groundwork of them; and to pronounce that his argument was true, and his feeling legitimate and right in the main. It must be remembered that there is a wide distinction between that movement of natural passion which has a reason, and that which

has not; and that exactly the same amount of temper, which is fretfulness in one case, is natural or constitutional anger in another. Job is not angry at the simple sense of pain and misfortune, which would be unreasonable anger or fretfulness, for respecting that he simply says, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' But he is angry for a totally different reason, derived from consideration, and reflection; from long silent thought and meditation. That period of deep silent thought through which he passes, before the argument of the book begins, convinces him that there is injustice in the present system of things, and that he is suffering under it. Feeling, proceeding from such a cause as this, is reasonable feeling, anger upon a natural and legitimate ground. He may fall occasionally into the excesses incident to human frailty, and allow his thoughts too free a scope: he may be too vehement, ardent, and bold in his manner of expressing himself; but his feeling itself is reasonable and just, and he speaks substantially 'the thing that is right.' We connect indeed a particular difficulty, at first sight, with his case, from the consideration of the fact that his sufferings have proceeded immediately from the providence of God, and that therefore when he complains of suffering unjustly he is complaining of the injustice of a providential dispensation, and not of any mere treatment from fellow-men. There is a difference between the two kinds of visitation which shows, at first sight, unfavourably for Job. 'Let me fall into the hands of the Lord,' says David, 'and not into the hands of man,' as if that was the particular difference between a providential visitation and the action of human force; that whereas, in the one case, you had a punisher who, however he might be a scourge in the hand of Divine justice, was unjust in himself, and his castigations revengeful and proud; in the other, you might be sure that all was calm and judicial, and might have the feeling of simple resignation under it. But this difficulty is removed by Scripture itself at the very opening of the Book of Job. Inspiration there draws aside the veil, and lets us see that Job's pains and calamities, which we might have supposed to have been inflicted by God, on some judicial ground, were really inflicted by Satan, out of spite and malignity; and therefore it appears that Job was perfectly right in characterizing his punishments as he did, and insisting on their injustice, in spite of their providential appearance. The fact bears him out. They *were* inflicted by a tyrant and persecutor, and not by a righteous judge and governor; and they were only providential in the sense of being permitted by God, not in the sense of being

awarded by Him. It is true this permission ultimately involves the Deity in the responsibilities of the case; but that is an ulterior part of the question, to be considered and solved, if it can be, in its proper time: meantime, the infliction itself is, as Job maintains, unjust, and proceeds directly from an unjust power. Scripture declares in favour of the freedom of Job's attitude toward an apparently providential dispensation, and sanctions the view that not only men, but events may be unjust; and that what takes place in this world may proceed from a latent evil power, even where the system or order of nature alone visibly operates, and no individual agent can be fastened on. In David's case, the justness of the visitation is specifically secured, for God comes forward in the first instance as its inflictor; but in Job's it is otherwise. In this way, at the opening of the Book of Job, and at its close, inspiration undoubtedly declares itself in favour of Job's argument, and pronounces what he says about this visible order of things to be true, and Job himself right in asserting and maintaining it. And thus one great purpose of the Book of Job is clear and transparent.

And here we have a clue given us toward ascertaining what is a not unimportant point to consider in connexion with it—the peculiar place and position of the Book of Job in the Bible. We may readily suppose that such a book does not stand by itself, but has relations to other parts of Scripture, and was meant to fulfil a particular part in the general scheme of revelation.

The nature of the expectations which the Jews entertained as to the Messiah is a feature of Jewish tradition, which it is not easy at first to enter into. It appears so much more natural, so much more agreeable to common sense, to suppose, that an extraordinarily good person would rather meet with trouble in the world than with prosperity. 'The majority are evil,' said even the heathen proverb: the evil are necessarily jealous of the good; and jealousy naturally seeks to gratify itself by persecution and oppression. The instinct of moral nature thus clearly presages sorrow and affliction for the eminently good who come to perform their appointed part in an evil world; and Plato has a remarkable passage, bearing almost the appearance of an inspired prophecy, to the effect, that when a perfectly just man ever did appear in the world he would be put to death. The writer of the Wisdom of Solomon speaks more fully and more clearly to the same effect, in describing the feelings of the mass toward the righteous man. 'He is not for our turn, he is clean contrary to our doings: he upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education. He professeth to have the knowledge of God:

‘and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold, for his life is not like other men’s, his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits: he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness: he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true; and let us prove what shall happen in the end unto him. For if the just man be the Son of God, He will help him, and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness and prove his patience. Let us condemn him with a shameful death.’ And such presages of natural and higher wisdom were confirmed only too forcibly by facts. The system of ostracism was dominant in the classical republic; and among the Jews it had been exactly as the parable said; that the king had sent his servants, and the husbandmen had beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Of the fact that the prophets and forerunners of the Messiah had been persecuted, imprisoned, and slain, the Jew had even his own confession before his eyes, in the sepulchres which he had built them, as a sort of compensation for his fathers’ injustice. The Jew had no encouragement then, either from reason or fact, to suppose that his Messiah, when he came, would be an externally magnificent and successful personage; yet so obstinately was he impressed with the necessity of his being so, that he could positively think of no other character for him; and would have a brilliant and prosperous Messiah, or none at all.

The reasons of this deep prejudice are to be found in those tendencies connected with the old dispensation, which have been remarked upon in this article. The peculiar defect and the peculiar superiority of that dispensation both worked together and assisted each other, in producing a strong idea of this present world, as a scene of Divine distributive justice. The absence of a distinct doctrine of a future state, which was its peculiar defect, necessarily gave a greater wholeness and finality to this world as a field of Divine administration: and the doctrine of God’s unity and omnipotence, which was its great superiority, necessarily gave an infallible pledge for the goodness and justice of that Divine administration, wholly and finally. The very truth of his system thus put the Jew to a disadvantage with respect to the particular view he took of this world; one truth, as is often the case, leading astray when not seen in connexion with other truths. The pagan was enabled to take a more natural and genuine view of this world as a wild irregular scene, from the very circumstance of the erroneousness of his creed: for he started with believing in certain

original powers of evil and confusion independent of and co-ordinate with his deity. Error gave him freedom, and allowed him to take the facts of this world as they stood, without squaring or varnishing. But the Jew was trammelled by partial truth, and was thus tempted to varnish. The doctrine of one Omnipotent Deity, held without a sufficiently distinct conception of a future world, only put upon him the apparent necessity of making out this world to be, however facts contradicted it, a fit reflex of such a Deity, a scene of real distributive justice. It is evident what idea this whole line of thought must lead to of what the Messiah was to be when he came. He supposed for certain that so heroic and Divine a personage would have some signally exalted and triumphant career in this world. Greatness and success were his due, and therefore he was to have them; and the law of Divine justice imperiously required that goodness should be rewarded in the person of its great Exemplar and Pattern. That while the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, the Messiah should not have a place where to lay his head; that he should be despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, and die an early and ignominious death, would be at once a disproof of his mission. The cross was an offence to the Jew, in a real argumentative sense. The pertinacity with which the Jews of our Saviour's time connected adversity with ill desert, is evident in the question respecting the blind man,—‘Hath this man sinned, or his parents, that he was born blind?’—and in the opinion, which our Saviour refutes, that the Galileans, whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, were sinners above all the Galileans; and the eighteen upon whom the tower in Siloam fell, sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem:—instances, in which it is curious to observe how they were, without knowing it, prejudging the case of our Lord Himself.

When such an idea, moreover, as this, was once entertained with respect to the Messiah, it is obvious how the whole language of prophecy about him would fix and confirm it. For, as far as language goes, the prophets certainly exhibit the Messiah as a magnificent and successful prince, the conductor of a great national restoration, and raiser of the Jewish people from an oppressed condition to empire and glory. ‘Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it and to establish it with judgment and with justice from

‘henceforth even for ever.’—‘It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the ends of the earth. Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people: and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers; and they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet.’—‘Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. Because the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee. The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense, and they shall show forth the praises of the Lord.’—‘The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee; and they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet, and they shall call thee, The city of the Lord, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel.’ The literal meaning of such prophecies was in exact accordance with the notion of a Messiah who was to enjoy upon earth the due rewards of his heroic virtue and nobility. They gave him apparently a successful earthly result of his labours in a magnificent earthly headship, and the glory of a whole nation restored and elevated by his own hand. And the hopes and aspirations of the Jew in behalf of his nation and race, combined with his previous prejudice in favour of present rewards, in committing him to the confident expectation of a visibly prosperous and glorious Messiah.

It is evident that to resist such a traditional notion of a Messiah, some book would be serviceable, which would specially resist that view of this world upon which such a notion was founded. If the Jew was to accept a Messiah who was to lead a life of sorrow and abasement, and to be crucified between thieves, it was necessary that he should be somewhere or other distinctly taught that virtue was not always rewarded here, and that therefore no argument could be drawn from affliction and ignominy against the person who suffered it. The Book of Job does this. It devotes itself to the enunciation of this injustice and irregularity as a law or principle of the present order of things. However the mass might cling to the idea of a visibly successful Messiah, such a book would insensibly direct the minds of the better sort into another channel, and prepare them for the truth of the case. It spoke things *φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν*, in describing the afflictions of one, whom when the ear heard, it

‘blessed him, and when the eye saw, it gave witness unto him; ‘who delivered the poor that cried, the fatherless and him that ‘had none to help him.’ And thus it stood in a particular relation to the prophetic books of Scripture—a kind of interpretative one; supplying a caution where they raised hopes, suggesting suspicions of apparent meaning and conjectures as to a deeper one, and drawing men from a too material to a more refined faith. By the side of a long line of prophecy, as a whole outwardly gorgeous and flattering, and promising in the Messiah a successful potentate, and opener of a glorious temporal future for the Jewish nation, there rose one sad, but faithful memento, and all that appearance of approaching splendour was seen in qualifying connexion with other truths.

Accordingly, all the fathers agree in declaring that Job prefigured Christ: that, as David typified the conqueror, he typified the victim; and that put before us in the one special character of an undeserving sufferer, he foreshadowed the great undeserving Sufferer of all, the Sufferer upon the Cross. All cases of innocent suffering that are, or have been, or will be, are in a sense the shadows and reflections of our Lord’s, the true pattern and exemplar of such suffering; and the afflictions of Job and the elder saints, were shadows of it beforehand. For whereas goodness in the degrees it had here attained to, had provoked, in all ages of the world, the jealousy and hatred of fallen man, and the husbandmen had every where beat one, and killed another, and stoned another, that had been sent to them; whereas the Jews had imprisoned or slain their prophets, and the Greeks had slain or banished their wise men, and, according to the dispensation they were under, intended guides and teachers; and goodness had no sooner presented itself to either Jew or Greek, than it had excited, as if by a law of nature, the outrageous desire to expel and get rid of it, as a troublesome and noxious thing, a plague and torment: in Him the world’s ostracism was completed, and Supreme and Divine goodness encountered a perfect and consummate injustice. For then the ‘Beloved Son’ himself, ‘the Heir,’ was slain, of whom the lord had said, ‘It may be, they will reverence him when they see him.’ Doubtless, according to the rule of justice, there was no honour which the world could give, which was not due to our Lord in the flesh. That every knee should bow, and all heads do obeisance; Satan’s own offer of all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, was but His due: for universal empire is the natural property of absolute virtue, which, whether it be honour, or pleasure, or power, deserves all good that is. ‘But the light shined in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not;’ and the true Exemplar of goodness was cast out

of that world which He came to inform, with hatred and contumely. Poetry has dwelt much upon the crime of man's ingratitude to man, and imagined cases in which children have made cruel returns to the parent, and persons rescued to the deliverer, and the befriended to their benefactors, for the purpose of raising emotion, and possessing our minds with the acutest sense of injustice; but what is to be thought of the case of Him of whom it is said that, 'the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not;' that 'He came unto His own, and His own received Him not;' of the Creator of all things put to death in the flesh by His own creatures, the Redeemer of all men by the world He came to save? All other ill returns which have been made to good men, parents, friends, deliverers, in this wild irregular scene, are but faint types and reflections of this great one; and the Crucifixion is the one consummate act of injustice to which all others are but distant approaches.

Of such injustice, moreover, our Lord, in accordance with the magnanimity of a perfect nature, feeling its own worthiness, had due sense; which the Gospels manifest in various allusions made by Him to the unjust sufferings of the prophets, His fore-runners, specially coupled with prophetic announcements of His own. Thus the parable, already quoted, of the Lord's servants, and the Heir of whom the husbandmen said, 'Come, let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.' Thus the allusion, so expressive of the sense of unjust power, to the fate of John the Baptist, that 'they had done unto him whatsoever they listed;' immediately succeeded by the announcement, 'Likewise shall also the Son of Man suffer of them.' Thus the message to Herod, 'Go ye and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils, and do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.' Thus the reproach to Jerusalem: 'Thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee;' coupled with the solemn declaration that He himself must die there, as 'it could not be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.' Thus the holy irony: 'Truly ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers, for they indeed killed them and ye build their sepulchres:' thus the fearful malediction, 'Fill ye up, then, the measure of your fathers;'—that the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world may be required of this generation; from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, which perished between the altar and the temple:' thus the argument: 'If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin, but now they have both seen and hated both me and my Father:' thus the protestation: 'Are ye come out as against a thief, with swords and staves, for to take me; I sat daily with you teaching in

‘the temple, and ye laid no hold upon me:’ thus the rebuke to the traitor: ‘Judas, betrayest thou the Son of Man with a kiss?’ thus the parting admonition to the faithful disciples: ‘The servant is not greater than his lord: if they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you:’ ‘if the world hate you, ye know that it hated me before it hated you.’ And to such expressions may be added the very particularity of His prophecies respecting His own death, its form, circumstances, and mode of bringing about: the betrayal, the trial, the condemnation, the mocking, spitefully entreating, spitting on, scourging—all so wonderfully undue to Him. Our Lord’s character, in these respects, as portrayed for us in the Gospels, is in perfect keeping with His prophetic one in the Psalms, and He speaks there what He spoke beforehand by the mouth of David:—‘They that hate me without a cause, are more than the hairs of my head: they that are mine enemies and would destroy me guiltless, are mighty. And why, for thy sake, have I suffered reproof? shame hath covered my face, I am become a stranger unto my brethren, even an alien unto my mother’s children. For the zeal of thine house hath even eaten me, and the rebukes of them that rebuked thee are fallen upon me. I wept and chastened myself with fasting, and that was turned to my reproof. I put on sackcloth also, and they jested upon me. They that sit in the gate speak against me, and the drunkards make songs upon me. They gave me gall to eat, and when I was thirsty they gave me vinegar to drink.’ He says in the Gospels, as in the Psalms, ‘I have spied unrighteousness and strife in the city. Day and night they go about within the walls thereof; mischief also and sorrow are in the midst of it. Wickedness is therein: deceit and guile go not out of their streets. For it is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour, for then I could have borne it. Neither was it mine adversary that did magnify himself against me; for then peradventure I would have hid myself from him. But it was even thou, my companion, my guide, and mine own familiar friend. We took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends.’ Such is the character which the Bible, as a whole, one part aiding and unfolding another, gives our Lord; the attitude in which it places Him toward the world. In the Gospels actually, and the Psalms prophetically, one view of His own sufferings and death comes from Him; viz., as the climax of a long hostility, on the world’s part, to the good and righteous seed; the consummation and completion of the injustice and dominant evil in this visible order of things.

And upon the cross the full weight of this sense of evil, and its dominance, descended upon our Lord. Before the Last

Supper, indeed, His soul was troubled; and in the garden of Gethsemane, He was exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: but the Gospels record one final agony upon the cross, when, to express His burdened spirit, He used the opening words of the twenty-second Psalm, most awful from His mouth, yet most fitting and in place. For then, of all the apparent victories which he has had since the world's beginning, or will have to its close, Satan had the greatest: then, evil seemed positively triumphant and supreme, and the world given up to it; then, Perfect Goodness Itself was, to the eye, prostrate and conquered, with no more power left, and no more effort in reserve; then was 'the hour and the power of darkness;' then, the nearest of all approaches, which Truth could permit, to the appearance of all things having been made for nought, and the whole Divine scheme having failed at last. For expressing the weight of that hour, therefore, the extraordinary resources of Scripture were applied; the type of language laid up and reserved in it for extreme occasions,—that sacred and touching irony, which, when all regular modes of expression failed from inherent weakness and insufficiency, expressed the last and sharpest sense of evil,—was used; and words significative of utter desolation, and the total departure of the world's Sole Good, expressed our Lord's sense of that absolute triumph and victory of evil which was then, to all appearance, taking place, embodied in His own crucifixion and death.

To return to the book of Job. Thus much for the sympathy which Scripture, in the book of Job, exhibits with the sentiment against the injustice in this visible order of things. But there is another part, besides that of sympathy, which it fulfils, and that is, of correction. The feeling of Job, while it plainly receives the sanction and approval of inspiration in the main, and is pronounced in substance legitimate and right, has yet with equal plainness a check and a rebuke given to it; and Job is told that he has been excessive in it, and must take a calmer and more subdued view of things. 'The Lord answered Job out of a whirlwind, and said: Shall he that contendeth with the Almighty instruct him? he that reproveth God, let him answer for it.' Job had not sufficiently taken into account the ignorance of man respecting the Divine purposes—his perfect incapacity for judging of, or probably even understanding, were they revealed to him, the reasons why God permits all the evil which prevails in the system of the world: and he is reminded of that omission. And upon this a retraction takes place on Job's part, and he says: 'I know Thou canst do every thing, and that no thought can be withholden from Thee. I uttered that I understood not, things too wonderful for me

‘ which I knew not. I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth Thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.’

This retractation on the part of Job is an important part of the book to consider, with reference to Job’s character. The difficulty which was noticed at the beginning of this article, as arising from the apparent incongruities there were between his character, as exhibited in the book, and his Scriptural one as an exemplar of patience, has been met more or less in various places as we have gone along. Still, what has been said has been more in a negative than a positive direction—been more in the way of explaining and giving reasons for apparent impatience, than of showing a character of patience. Nor has it been possible to deny, because the fact speaks for itself on the very surface of the book throughout, and the rebuke to Job at the end decides it beyond dispute, that, with all the substantial justice of Job’s argument and feeling, there has been excess. And therefore it may still be asked what there is in the book to make Job a special exemplar of patience to us? Here is a great and noble character, it may be said, one of extraordinary depth, power, and passion; but is it not more like one of those fine characters, as we term it, which dramatic poetry draws, than a Scriptural one at all—a Scriptural pattern of patience especially? Patience is specially a sober and quiet virtue, but here is anything, apparently, but sobriety and evenness of feeling; and were it not that we were particularly told that patience was Job’s great virtue, we should certainly have thought that impatience was his great defect.

But, in urging such objections, it is not sufficiently considered that Job, after all, removes his own incongruities, and that the book itself restores the equilibrium of character which the book has unsettled. A temporary suspension of a particular grace is quite compatible with the person in whom it takes place being a special exemplar of that grace; and no one doubts that Abraham is the pattern of faith, and Moses of meekness, and David of generosity and the kingly virtues; though all three sinned at one or other stage of their lives, from particular defect respectively of these virtues. And, if this is the case where a grace is wholly suspended, and a saint is allowed to do some act of positive contrary sin, much more may it be so where there has been no positive sin; where feeling has been right and legitimate in substance all along, and only gone too far. This is Job’s case. His habitual state of mind is, for a time, unsettled, and he loses, for a time, his perfect equilibrium; but they return again, and he is the same as ever. Were the state of mind, indeed, thus described in Job, a permanent one, lasting for the

whole of the rest of his life, there would be considerable difficulty in reconciling it with his being such an exemplar of patience as he is pronounced to be. But, though the book of Job does, for a particular purpose, mainly put Job before us in such a state of mind, it is not his permanent one; and, between its being his permanent one and not, there is all the difference. Indeed, the matter of time, as regards the operation of natural anger and passion, not only makes a difference as to the quantity of the fault, but as to the quality of it, for the time. 'Be ye angry and sin not,' says S. Paul; 'let not the sun go down upon your wrath; neither give place to the devil;' as if the anger which went on to the morrow was worse even yesterday than that which stopped short, and time were the test of innocence or guilt in the substance of the feeling itself, and acted retrospectively upon the case. And thus, with reference to the subject before us, there is an obstinate and gnawing anger against which the Psalmist warns us when he says, 'Fret not thyself because of the ungodly, neither be thou envious against the evil doers;' an anger which is not only worse than another sort, because it lasts longer and there is more of it, but because whatever there is of it is worse. Such is the anger of morbid tempers; but such an anger Job's is not. We see him into his anger, and see him out of it. It is duly transient, and admits its check when the time comes. There is a temper of undoubted and signal patience at the commencement of the book; there is the same temper at the close; and the too strong and vehement feeling which occupies the book itself, is only a short break in the midst of regular and habitual states of mind on each side of it, which enclose it, and favourably explain and interpret it at the same time. Upon a particular disclosure, which his own deep reflection and contemplation make to him, of the disorder and injustice of this visible system, he is moved and excited; and he passes through a particular phase of mind, in which indignation at evil too exclusively and intensely absorbs him; a state in which his mind, wrought up to a very high pitch of acuteness and force, an extreme vividness of perception as regards the character of this visible system, a sort of inspiration and supernatural degree of intelligence and realising of the truth, has, by that very intensity and power, its balance somewhat unsettled, so as to exceed the due limits of feeling and language. But, as such a phase of mind was produced by reflection, it yields to reflection again; Job receives the check given him with humility and a ready will; he sees that, in his view of this order of things, he omitted some considerations which would have calmed and modified his feeling; he acknowledges his own ignorance and the Divine wisdom, and with that confession abandons his complaints, and

resumes his former resignation. Nay more;—and it is very important to observe this:—he rises to a higher and maturer patience even than that with which he started, and his return to his original and habitual state of mind, is a return with increase and advance. He now becomes an example of that particular kind of patience which S. Peter pronounces to be the very highest of all; the temper which bears not only afflictions, but unmerited afflictions, calmly, and acquiesces in evil, even with that most trying character, fully realised and embraced, attaching to it—that it is not evil only, but injustice. ‘What glory is it if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? But if, when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.’ Job does this. He has realised the injustice of his punishment, and, realising it, submits to it. The phase of mind he has passed through has provided a harder trial for him, and he surmounts it. He overcomes his own acute perceptions and intelligence, and reduces a whole body of intense feeling, which they gave him over and above his previous difficulties to surmount, to order. Before any change has taken place in his condition, or any external cause has been afforded for composure, this change takes place from within. The subtler class of temptations overcome, he thus issues the higher saint; and the hardest and finishing trial of patience surmounted, he becomes the great scriptural example of patience to all ages.

The corrective side of the book of Job, then, first impresses on us a fact that injustice and disorder are a regular part of the system of things here, permitted by God for wise ends, with which we are unacquainted; and secondly, as a natural consequence of such a view, enjoins a particular temper of mind with reference to such a system.

It is remarkable, if we examine at all accurately the state of mind of the mass, how imperfectly they embrace the idea of the world’s disorder as a regular and fixed characteristic of it. They acknowledge it in words, and when the time comes that they have any result of it actually to bear, they show that they have not really felt what they said. Let any piece of injustice be actually committed upon them, and the first and natural impression of nine persons out of ten will be to think it something quite extraordinary and unaccountable; something exceptional and contrary to the natural order of things. They think it so impossible, that it can be justified; and therefore so wonderful that it should be done. They are affected with genuine surprise, and call attention to the curious event. It is repeated again and again, and still the same notion remains and occupies a deep and hidden corner of their minds: they fancy the world’s basis

right, and look upon each awkward result, as it turns up, as a mere accident. And as nobody, however quietly he might take its ordinary working, likes to be the object selected for the extraordinary caprices and eccentricities of any power, they are proportionally angry and vexed. Such a habit of mind is seen in all degrees in men, according as their general characters are more or less perverted. In some it produces only a comparatively harmless kind of fretfulness, which is ordinarily criticised with more pity and amusement than severity. In others it produces dreadful and monstrous effects: and necessarily so. If God has laid any one form of trial upon the human race, and a man obstinately and determinately refuses to undergo it, there is no limit to be assigned to the excesses into which that part of his mind may run for which that trial was intended. In this instance the temper has refused the one great trial designed for it by God, and it becomes like any other wild unreasonable thing in nature which has escaped its proper yoke. It sees no distinction between what is its due, and what is not, and so thinks everything its due: it becomes insatiable, and, therefore, ferocious. Thus arises the class of imperious and savage characters in the world. Beginning with rejecting the yoke of injustice, they end in rejecting that of justice too. Those that would not be oppressed become oppressors; and those that would not bear persecution, end in persecuting. The material of which the whole active injustice in the world is composed is the original impatience under injustice inflicted. Indeed, it is curious to observe how the proudest and most aggressive men seem to make this their trial, and put to their own minds even their most wanton acts of injustice to others under the form of resistance to others' injustice to them. A link is discovered, and we see that minds that began with not bearing real injustice are punished, in the natural course of things, with the haunting presence of an unreal and fictitious injustice, which they seem to themselves to have to bear, and against which they struggle, at every turn; an injustice which is the mere correlative of an overbearing will, making right coincident with its own desires, and, therefore, stamping with injustice all opposition to those desires. We wonder, at first, how human nature, having the moral basis it has, can do the acts it does: but this is the way. It first forms an unbounded notion of what it has a right to, and then regards even the passive dissent from that as so much wrong to it. Thus tyrants and persecutors drive their stings into the poor passive masses beneath them, with the spirit of zealous judges and avengers; and even the highway robber will regard, for the time, the harmless traveller as an unjust foe, and have, for the moment of assault, the retaliatory feeling towards him. There

is no limit to the extravagant and fictitious standard which proud minds will raise of what is injustice to them, and what, therefore, is on their part simple resistance to injustice. Such is the unconscious witness which human nature, even in the most extreme cases, bears to the fact of what its one great trial, in the department of temper, is; and the aspect, however fictitious and absurd, in which it puts its own acts to itself, exhibits a great truth.

The indisposition to regard injustice and disorder as a regular and fixed part of this visible system of things, has sometimes even gone beyond those practical symptoms by which the mass show their defective realizing of the truth, and has taken a systematic and scientific form. A theory is maintained by some modern schools of philosophy, which does formally convert the injustice and disorder which has existed in the world from the beginning into an accident, of which the removal is feasible, and to be literally accomplished some day by the united efforts of governments and people. The theorist looks forward to this, as the natural result to which social progress tends, and sees in all the improvements and advances of the age, in every new movement of thought, and every new modification of civil polity, symptoms of approach to it.

The sentimental philosophy,—for this is the name commonly given, and very suitably, to a philosophy which fondles this material world, and expects perfection to issue out of it—took its main rise in Europe, towards the close of the last century, under the teaching of Rousseau. Rousseau was a believer, or professed to be, in the absolute purity of human nature at the bottom. He pronounced man's original tendencies to be all good, and the evils found in society to be only the results of bad systems of education, which had gained a hold over it. His '*Emile*' provides a remedy for these evils, by the removal of these bad systems. A plan of education of his own constructing, highly elaborate, and framed with great attention to detail, secures the negative ground in the first instance, and prevents all interference with the pupil's mind from without, from established forms of conduct, opinions, creeds. A character thus grows up without any one touching it, and without any other force upon it than the inevitable laws of nature. Under the shelter of such a system, its original tendencies, which are all good, have fair play, and necessarily come out; and human nature, with evil from the first excluded, and protection given from the impure and corrupting usages of society, arrives at its perfect proportions and designed growth. Upon this philosophical basis arose the first French revolution, with its extravagant expectations, and wild talk; its ideas of the

largeness of human benevolence, and the majesty of human reason; its dreams of a rapidly approaching era of social perfection. The weight of the doctrine of human corruption removed, the notions of the age rose indefinitely; every thing appeared possible of human nature; divisions of race, class, interest, language, climate, association, all disappeared, and one scheme of universal love embraced all mankind as one people, under one law. A reign of the most horrible ferocity, which the history of the world has recorded, accompanied this sentimental outburst; and consistently enough: for the selfsame error which was the basis of all this sentimentalism, was a fit basis for all the ferocity too. That which keeps men patient under the evils of this present state of things, is the idea of their necessity; the notion, indistinct, but still real in their minds, that injustice and disorder are fundamental in this visible system. That idea removed, all evil, civil and economical, becomes so much gratuitous and superfluous wrong, and the apparent authors of it so many monsters of cruelty, and wanton tyrants, delighting in inflicting evil for its own sake. Retaliation to any extent upon such, appeared simple justice; and the same theory which produced extravagant expectations, produced horrible anger at facts.

The error still lives, and the Communist theory, which has made such ground in France during the last few years, and collected such an enthusiastic, intellectual, and eloquent circle of disciples and expositors around it, is another result of the sentimental philosophy. The Communist theory demands, as a necessary condition of its development in the world, a time when private interests shall cease, and every individual be wholly absorbed in the interests of the community. It requires absolute love and disinterestedness, on a universal scale, in order to its success. It does not deny that it does this: it boasts of its demand, and vindicates its expectation. It literally contemplates a period approaching, when mankind will submit to an economical system which allows of no profit whatever to the individual, from any superiority of talent or skill, bodily or mental, but gives it all to society. It orders the individual to live for the body and not for himself; and it favours, and with no little theoretical triumph, contrasts its aim with that of S. Simonianism in this respect. S. Simonianism, it says, aims at a system of complete distributive justice, which rewards every man according to his capacity: but what is such justice but selfishness in disguise? There is a higher principle, and that is love. That principle carried out consistently and logically, makes the individual not a claimant upon society, but a benefiter of it. He contributes whatever talent, natural or acquired, he may have,

cheerfully to the promotion of the common good, and looks upon all his powers, not as his own, but as the community's.

'The following was the development given by the disciples to the ideas of the master.

'Accepting his division of mankind into artists, *savants*, and men of business, the S. Simonians occupied themselves, in the first instance, with verifying by historical induction that law of progress, which constituted the basis of their belief.

'With respect to the order of feelings, they remarked that, in history, the course of humanity was from hatred to love, from antagonism to association. The conqueror, they found, had in the first instance set out with exterminating the conquered; by and by, he contented himself with reducing them to slavery; the serf succeeded to the slave, the freeman to the serf. Again, they found a single family enlarging itself until it has become a city, the city swelling itself into a kingdom, the kingdom becoming a federation of kingdoms, until by degrees, from one step to another, a great number of nations united under the law of Catholicism. The march of humanity, then, was towards the principle of universal association, founded upon universal love!

'Studied with reference to the facts which concern *science*, history afforded them instruction of no less valuable nature. The development of civilization had continuously augmented the importance of the intellectual man, to the detriment of the strong man. And what a magnificent lesson was given to the world, in the spectacle of the church, organized otherwise than the state! On the one hand, a spiritual power obtaining acception for itself on the basis of reason, and its intrinsic merit; on the other, a temporal power imposing its authority, by right of conquest, or by right of birth. In the middle ages, the hereditary principle was represented in the person of the emperor; the contrary principle by the pope. Now, down to the time of Leo X. who surrounded himself with a court, like a temporal prince, who sold indulgences to defray the cost of his sister's toilet, who transformed himself into Caesar, which of these two powers, the church or the state, eclipsed and mastered the other? Was there no profound conclusion to be drawn from the example of a monk, who, the one day quitting the obscurity of the cloister to ascend the pontifical throne, on the next, saw the proudest among the monarchs of the earth kneeling submissively before him, and reverentially kissing the dust from off his sandals? Humanity, it was clear, was marching on towards an organization in which there should be given to each according to his capacity, and to each capacity according to its works.

'In what concerns industry or labour, the law of progress was manifest. Habits of industry had unceasingly been gaining the ground which habits of war had as continuously been losing. War, it was true, had not yet become banished from history, but its object was no longer the same. Where nations formerly armed themselves for purposes of devastation, they now armed themselves in order to establish marts of trade. The commercial conquests of England had become substituted for the triumph-conquests of old Rome. The military class was daily giving way before the mercantile class. Napoleon himself, the man of battles, Napoleon had held out to the ambition of his armies, commerce and peace as the objects for which they were to contend. Humanity, then, was marching on towards the organization of industry.

'As results of these historical investigations, came the three following formulæ:—

'Universal association, based upon love; and, as a corollary, no more hostile competition,

'To each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works; and, as a corollary, no more hereditary possession.

'Organization of industry; and, as a corollary, no more war.

'Such doctrines as these tended directly to shake down the entire fabric of existing social order. Their announcement caused great sensation, consternation. Yet they are deficient alike in logic, true grandeur, genuine courage.

'In preaching forth the universal association of mankind, based upon love; in demanding that industry should be regularly organized, and should establish its empire upon the ruins of a system of disorder and of war, the S. Simonians showed a thorough comprehension of the laws which, at a future period, will be the rule of mankind. But they overturned with one hand the edifice they were raising with the other, by this celebrated maxim: *to each according to his capacity; to each capacity according to its works; a wise and equitable principle in appearance, but in reality unjust and subversive.*

'Whether inequality, the mother of tyranny, takes her stand in the world in the name of mental superiority, or in the name of physical conquest, what matters this to us? In the one case, equally as in the other, charity disappears, selfishness triumphs, and the principle of human brotherhood is trampled under foot. Take a private family, and examine its proceedings: the father, in the distribution of that which he has to give his children, does he take into consideration the difference in the services which they render him, or does he not rather guide himself entirely by the wants which they feel? He himself, he who bears the whole burden of the domestic association, does he not readily abridge his own enjoyments, that he may be able to satisfy the requirements of a sick child, or promote the happiness of a child who is under incapacity from a diseased mind? Here you have charity in action. Let the state model its proceedings after those of the private family. If it does not, there can be nothing but violence and injustice. Give to each according to his capacity! What then is to become of the idiots? What of the infirm? What of the incurably helpless old man? Are these to be left to die of hunger? It must be so if you adhere to the principle that society owes nothing to its members beyond the value of what it receives from them. The S. Simonian logic then was a homicidal logic? No: it was merely inconsistent: for elsewhere it admitted of hospitals for the incapable, and of Bicêtre for the insane. To assert it to be fitting that a man should adjudge to himself, in virtue of his intellectual superiority, a larger portion of the worldly goods than to other members of society, is at once to interdict ourselves the right of execrating the strong man, who, in the barbaric ages, enslaved the feeble, in right of his physical superiority: it is a mere transference of tyranny. The S. Simonians, indeed, went upon the principle, that it is good to stimulate talent by the prospect of recompense; seeking in social utility a justification of this maxim of theirs. But is it necessary that recompenses should be material, should have a money value? Thank heaven! mankind have shown that they can be influenced, and more efficaciously, by other and far higher motives of action. Incited by the promise of a bit of ribbon, to be stuck in the button-holes of the bravest by their emperor, whole armies of Napoleon's soldiers rushed on to meet death. The word *glory*, well or ill understood, has directed the destinies of the world. By what fatality shall that which has sufficed to inspire great deeds, when the work in hand has been destruction, not equally suffice to inspire men when the work in hand is production? Have not the truly great ever sought and found their principal recompense in the exercise of their high faculties? Had society desired adequately to reward Newton, its whole means would have fallen short: the great and sufficing recompense of Newton, was the glowing happiness which filled his soul when his genius had discovered the laws which govern the world of

space. There are two classes of things in man: wants and faculties. By his wants, man is passive; by his faculties, he is active. By his wants, he is thrown upon his fellow-men for assistance; by his faculties, he is enabled to assist his fellow-men. The wants are the indication given by God to society, to point out what it owes to individuals. The faculties are the indication given by God to individuals, to point out what they owe to society. Then there is the more due to him who has the greater wants, and we may fairly require more of him who has the greater faculties. Then, according to the divine law, written in the organization of each human being, higher intelligence is called upon to contribute more extended and useful action, but is not entitled to greater remuneration; and the only legitimate rule, with reference to inequalities in aptitude, is that from those who are less apt for the duties of society, less duty shall be required. Adjust the social scale according to capacity: this is well, it is productive of all good; but the distribution of the public means, according to capacity is worse than cruel; it is impious.'—*Louis Blanc's History of Ten Years, 1830—1840*, vol. i. pp. 553—556.

It is evident such a state of things as the communist here contemplates, is neither more nor less than a state of social perfection founded on the universal abandonment of self-interested aims. He dwells with satisfaction upon the logical completeness of his system, the harmony of part with part, and admirable results of it supposed to be in operation; and sees nothing absurd and preposterous in the supposition he has to make, in order to secure its operation in the first instance; because he does not believe in the fundamental disorder of the nature and the world to which he belongs.

In opposition, then, to all such philosophy as this, the book of Job witnesses to the fundamental hold which injustice and disorder have over this visible system of things; compelling us to look on them in their true light, not as accidents capable of being removed, and for the removal of which, schemes are to be set on foot in the same spirit in which are instituted reforms in finance or commerce, or jurisprudence, or police; but as part and parcel of this world. It substitutes for the sanguine view a sober and matter-of-fact one, and dissolves delusive futures: it tells men to measure their expectations by their experience; and, as they should be just before they are generous, to be wise before they are prophetic. It puts a stop to the fondling and caressing of human nature, and rebukes a luxurious and a carnal faith. It condemns sentimentalism. And as it witnesses to the fundamental hold which practical injustice and disorder have over the present system, it gives, we may add, a no insignificant hint at the same time, as to the force and prevalence of error in opinion to be expected under the same system. It were strange, indeed, to expect any large reign of pure unmixed truth under such circumstances. The gospel contains a specific promise that truth shall never be conquered and overpowered in the world; but it

does not promise such a direct contradiction to the first principles of natural religion as that moral evil should not affect injuriously religious belief, and that the course of truth should run pure in a world of alloy. Why should truth be maintained to move thus by itself without sympathy with what is going on in our nature at large; and religious belief be the one single point on which mankind, on a very large scale, should go on from age to age correctly and without error? The reason of the case suggests that the mode in which religious truth is entertained, handled, used, and brought out in the world, must be affected by the state of the world practically, and that, if that state be bad, it will suffer with it. To expect, accordingly, that the received belief of that vast promiscuous mass of human minds which compose the existing church over the world, the practical creed of the visible Catholic world, should be correct in the sense of being free from error, seems an approach, in the department with which it is concerned, to the sentimental philosophy. It is expecting too much of the human body, and imagining what does not harmonize with the world's state. It may be said that the church is not the world. True: it is very distinct from it in one aspect, but it is largely identical with it in another. It has admitted the world on a vast scale into itself, and has become so far materially identical with it; the same masses of persons that compose the church composing the world too. Numbers are the test; if the many are not the world, where is the world? And being so far identical with the world, the church is so far subject to the same law of imperfection to which the world is, as regards the mode in which truth is held and handled in her.

Under this injustice and disorder, then, strongly laid down as part and parcel of this world, Scripture proceeds to enjoin a certain attitude, and a certain temper of mind.

It is very evident, from the history of human thought, that the deeper part of mankind have always had an eye toward the construction of some temper of mind to meet this state of things. Of the various types of character which ancient philosophy struck out with this view, the Stoic and the Epicurean are the most conspicuous and complete: creations of very different schools, but both obviously evoked by the same want, and constructed with the same aim. Both of these formations of character show one great common ground; the means employed for the mind's protection and security amid the difficulties around it, being in both a kind of absence of feeling. Ancient philosophy diverged remarkably from ancient poetry on this point; and while in Homer and the tragedians a standard of character appears which admits feeling prominently; in the ancient philosophies for the most part the only question seems to be how they can

most effectively suppress or expel it. The Stoic took a high moral ground against feeling; he treated it as a kind of disease, which philosophy was to cure; just as medicine cures the humours and distempers of the body. Thus, Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations*, where he favours not an extreme, but a modified and gentle stoicism, and professes rather to temper and combine different philosophies, than to push out any one, has one judicial formula against the feelings, which he brings in at every turn of the discussion. '*Omnis commotio insania*,' he says; feelings are perturbations, and are, therefore, wrong. They are opposed to the proper constancy, gravity and dignity of the human mind; and must be discarded by the wise man. The Aristotelian argued for the admissibility of 'moderate perturbations' into the mind of the wise man; but he will not hear of it. 'Do you uphold moderation in vice,' he asks, 'or do you not rather insist on its removal altogether? Do you stand up for moderate injustice, moderate indolence, moderate intemperance? no more can you defend moderate perturbations—*mediocritates perturbationum*.' The opponent pleaded that 'men were not flints;' that there was an element of softness and tenderness in the very material of which human nature was composed, which made certain affections and passions not inappropriate to it; and that apathy was not its designed state. But he rebukes the pleader with judicial severity, and bids him beware of assenting to weakness and effeminacy under the cover of considerateness and discrimination. 'Not so,' he goes on to say; 'the philosopher must not allow half measures; he must not content himself with amputating the boughs, he must pull up the roots and fibres of human misery. Something, indeed, will be left after all; so deep is folly rooted in us; but it will be what is necessary and no more.' In this spirit the philosophy of the *Tusculan Disputations* marches over the whole ground of human affections and emotions; all are sentenced under one common head, as being commotion in distinction to stillness and repose; and the wise man, in accordance with his essential constancy, tranquillity and fixedness, is pronounced free from the invasions of anger, fear, envy, grief, and pity. Grief, for example, it is decided, has not its existence in nature, but in opinion: a man grieves because he is under the obstinate prejudice that he ought to grieve; he could prevent himself, if he chose to exert the will, and see that it was not necessary for him to be in such a state of mind. Anger is equally gratuitous, equally superfluous; man has reason,

¹ 'Omne enim malum etiam mediocre magnum est. Nos autem id agimus, ut in sapiente nullum sit omnino. Nam ut corpus, etiam si medicocriter ægrum est, sanum non est; sic in animo ista mediocritas caret sanitate.'

which tells him what ends to choose, and how to arrive at them: he wants no other stimulus or aid: reason is his substance, and all else is disease. '*Quid Achille Homérico fœdus?*' says the philosopher, as he dwells upon his own portrait of a perfect man, and contrasts it, much to his satisfaction, with the rude standard of ancient poetry.

In the very extreme of this direction, then, was the type of character which the Stoic chose, to fit himself for the world in which he lived. He assumed an artificial hardness and rigidity to meet the pressure upon him, and cased himself in a kind of buckram: he would not confess that he felt anything, and would not allow evil a single opening at which to get at him. Acknowledging the fact, he professed to ignore the power of evil, and treated it as something irrelevant, and in which he had no concern: just as persons in society affect a lofty ignorance about this or that individual who is displeasing to them. And this explains the extraordinary position given to the affection of pity in the Stoic moral code. It comes in promiscuously in the general list of the passions and diseases of the human mind; and the wise man is not chargeable with pity, just as he is not chargeable with envy, or anger, or fear. Such a bold contradiction to the instincts of our moral nature as that which turns pity into a fault, is called for by the necessities of the system. The Stoic wanted a complete inaccessibility to evil in the mind of his perfect man; and that was his idea of moral strength and dignity; but pity was a medium of contact with evil, and subjected him to actual results in the shape of impressions received from it. It appeared to bring him under its power, and bend him before its presence. In this one point of view pity stood on exactly the same ground with envy, though the one was a benevolent affection, the other a selfish one; and the prohibition, accordingly, was as strong against it as against envy. As the Stoic assumed an artificial hardness and rigidity, the Epicurean, again, assumed an artificial indifference, as a mode of meeting the state of things in which he found himself placed. He pretended to a secret of ease and pliability, which enabled him completely to fit in with the state of things here; to a power of mind, which acted not so much by hardening the man, as by the much more complete method of softening the event. A secret, indeed it was, which was not maintained without the cost of great self-command to the possessor. The Epicurean took the greatest care about his mind, and was always engaged in a preventive process, by which he kept himself just out of those relations and those influences which really fasten upon and penetrate the mind. He just stopped short of the impressive and absorbing point; and so just forestalled

the stage of disappointment and depression. This was a real work of self-control, but properly done, he pronounced it to be most effectual. He had no misunderstandings, because he had no friendships; he had no disappointments, because he had no zeal; he had no defeats, because he had no cause; he suffered no injustice, because he never conferred any obligations; he had no fears, because he had no lookings forward; and he had no regrets, because he had no lookings backward. He was thus quite safe, and felt quite composed. He was always in harbour, at some expense of care and watchfulness, indeed, in keeping himself there, but still, as being there, enjoying the immunities of the situation. This was his account of himself; though, like the Stoics, it must be supposed to be all true. It is evidently a forced and assumed character, as the other's was; no one ever really brought himself to such a state of mind; and though approaches to both types are seen in human character occasionally, they are very imperfect and superficial ones. It was an effort, as the other was, made to meet a want; a character constructed upon a theory, and because the system of things here appeared to the originator to require it.

There is a form of character, again, not either of these two singly, but a tempered and modified combination of both, which is often actually met with in society, and is not a mere erection of theory; the character, in the more favourable sense of the phrase, of the man of the world. It is evident that experience has a tendency to form a particular habit of mind with respect to the world. No person of sense can see like fact after like fact taking place, and suppose every one of them in succession to be only a curious coincidence; he must, from the repetition, begin to suspect the existence of some sort of law or order of things. Thus in the place of that favourable theory of this world which presented to him at starting every cross incident as gratuitous, and, therefore, intolerable, a new basis of expectation is formed; and the idea that something good must always be happening to it, the perpetual vicinity to self-congratulation, which was always irritating because always disappointing it, abandoned, human nature assumes a ground much more reasonable, and therefore much less trying to the temper. It might be thought beforehand, that the greater number of like facts, of the bad sort realized, would only cause the greater offence. But we know it is generally the reverse. Repetition has a peculiar power of unsubstantiating; a law converts individual facts into reflections of itself. All the world over, we see the human being taking refuge in the universal as a kind of counterbalance to the particular, and reposing in some impersonality or other as a relief from that definite and personal

agency which immediately surrounds him. And this is one great reason, perhaps, why fatalism has been so popular, and gained such ground, wholly moulding the religion of vast portions of mankind. It extinguishes the personal agency in the world. Impatient of the injustice it sees around it, the mind falls back upon one summary antidote, and gets rid of the fact by converting it into fate: and fatalism has recommended itself by deadening the sense of wrong, and allaying the internal sore, like some stupifying medicine. And a modified and harmless form of this feeling is observable in all minds; for people all the world over console themselves with reflections on the universal, as soon as they have anything to complain of in their own particular case. Such is, more or less, the state of mind which experience produces; a cooler, and calmer, and we may add, a more benignant and forgiving one. Men of the world have acquired a regular habit of mind, which turns them away from the particular act to the class to which it belongs. They go about with general exemplars of human conduct in their minds, to which they refer all individual acts they come across; which acts, therefore, affect them less strongly, as being no fresh realities, but only illustrations of an old familiar one. The philosophy which realizes the weakness and frailty of the race, leads to a charitable estimate of the individual. It treats him as the reflection rather than the substance of evil, and tempers its feeling about him accordingly. It excuses, shields, and bears with him, and is a long-suffering and considerate judge. And thus it is that a favourable specimen of a man of the world is so popular. People take refuge in him, from the caprice and violence of undisciplined minds, with a sort of confidence; they repose in his sober kindness, his equable courtesy, his tolerant and disciplined good nature, his sympathy, and acquaintance with mankind. There is moral form about his mind which engages them; he bears the Ulyssean stamp, and shows the effects of a species of discipline. Though, it must be added, all this need not be very deep morality. The whole character is an imitation of the true moral temper, rather than the temper itself. An Epicurean pliancy, a callousness, and a materialism, often mingle with the discipline of life, and undermine the fabric of character so attractive to the eye.

The Christian type of character with reference to these points, is one of stronger feeling and deeper nature than any of those mentioned. It does not produce an artificial hardness, like the Stoic; or an artificial indifference, like the Epicurean; nor is it one of accommodation to events, like that of the man of the world. It does not abandon the old poetical type altogether, as these philosophical creations do. At the same time, it is not to be classed,

as in the popular sense of the term, a poetical character. A character is made more poetical, that is to say, more dramatically pleasing, by the very circumstance of a certain defect of internal control. Nature is more interesting than art or discipline; and passion is nature, and the control over it is art and discipline. So that to a certain extent, that is to say, within those limits which a high nature of itself imposes, natural passion is more pleasing not under rule than under rule. And youthful minds seem to have some such notion as this, and to go upon it, when the question of temper comes practically before them: they often give their feelings vent from a real latent idea that it is more noble and grand to do so: that is to say, upon a ground of reason, as it appears to them, and thinking self-control to be, however well intended, a mistake in morals. The Christian character has too much self-control in it for a poetical one. It is a practical character; a character which attends to work, and is full of the sense of duty. It is difficult to read the portrait of the charitable man, or true Christian, given by S. Paul, without feeling that it is a practical, rather than what we call a poetical character, which is described: that of a person who is in a scene in which he finds all kinds of men and things which are difficult to bear, but to which he is always actively adapting himself, and doing the right and proper thing in each case: 'suffering long, and being kind, not envying, not vaunting himself, not being puffed up, not behaving himself unseemly, thinking no evil, rejoicing not in iniquity, but rejoicing in the truth; bearing all things, believing all things, hoping all things, enduring all things.' The Christian has this practical character, however, not because his strong feeling has vanished under artificial systems or a worldly experience; but because existing and living in him, it is controlled by definite religious reasons. He knows the shortness of this life, and the eternity of the one which follows. In so short and passing a state to prepare him for so long a one, he feels that he must be doing and acting as much as he can, and must not spend too much time in contemplating, however deeply, the system in which he is for the time placed, and examining the features of the road which takes him to his journey's end. It is ignorance to mistake the anteroom for the room, and be absorbed in the task of unthreading the bustle and crowd in it. In all preparatory places, the mind is naturally pushed aside from its nicety; and simply thinks of acting for the best under the circumstances. 'The time is short: it remaineth, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoiced, as though they rejoiced not: for the fashion of this world passeth away.' And this practical spirit gives a

cheerfulness to the Christian character ; for action is necessarily cheerful. We see this effect in the case of all persons engaged in honest worldly callings, to which they industriously and conscientiously attend. The husbandman 'holdeth the plough, and giveth his mind to make furrows. So every carpenter and workmaster laboureth night and day, and is diligent to make great variety. The smith also sitteth at the anvil and considereth the iron work : the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh ; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly. So doth the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet. He fashioneth the clay with his arm, and boweth down his strength before his feet ; he applieth himself to lead it over, and is diligent to make clean the furnace.' The honest labourer and artizan derives unfailing cheerfulness from his task, because it is his task ; and because a whole part of his nature, which would otherwise lie gnawing him within, finds an external vent and is satisfied. It is the same in moral employment. Whether this takes the shape of definite works of charity without, or that of self-discipline simply within, makes no difference : so long as it goes on, the mind feels itself to be doing something, making some way. Whatever difficulties there may be in the world around it, its own situation here is fully accounted for and explained, and the system approves itself, as far as the individual is concerned, in its results.

His intensity of feeling, again, is checked by his faith, as well as by his practice. For what occasion is there for vehemence or excitement ? there is no danger ; all is safe ; a good ultimate issue stands before his eyes, and has only to be waited for. Men are vehement and excited when they are under some impression, conscious or unconscious that a cause is tottering and needs some speedy support to prevent a fall. Whenever there is insecurity felt as to the end, there is a motive for hurry as to the means ; for it may depend on those means being taken immediately and on the spot, whether the end is accomplished. We see a great difference, indeed, in this respect in the temper which some men, and the temper which others exhibit in the management of all questions. Some persons may have the best argument in the world to maintain, and they will not maintain it with effect, because they want the principle of confidence, and do not fairly realize even a true argument's weight, or grasp its necessary upshot ; they are never wholly without some latent apprehension that it may fail ; and, therefore, they are vehement and hurried in their mode of conducting it, throwing out their defences, without giving them-

selves even fair time to state them, and snatching at, if not forestalling, every pause which admits of a remark; as if they were propping up a weak argument, instead of enforcing a strong one, and felt a constant call for their instantaneous succour to what was always on the point of giving way. There is something analogous to this in the attitude which the mere undisciplined generosity of nature assumes toward the evil which is in the world. Minds of this class are excited at the first news of any case of injustice and oppression which occurs in the world around them; and are, if their feeling were analyzed, for final punishment upon the spot; as if they felt a latent insecurity that that punishment would come at all, if it did not come then, and wanted to have the testimony of their eyes to the justice of God's government. Put the government of the world into their hand, and they would convert the course of Divine justice into a series of hurried acts, and, because hurried, weak and ineffective; they would choose a justice which mistrusted its own powers, and was always forestalling the proper issue, because it did not fully believe in it. Such is not the temper of Christian faith with respect to this visible order of things, and its issue. It is self-possessed and calm, because it is confident of the issue: and sees beyond this or that apparent obstacle. And thus the admirable harmony and accordance of that whole new code of injunctions, 'Resist not evil,' 'Let every soul be subject,' the injunction involved in the parable of the tares and the wheat, and the like, by which the Evangelical Law lays down the relations of the Christian to present evil, and limits his moral as a civil constitution does his natural rights, with the new light of Evangelical promises and revelations. It was quite suitable, quite in keeping, that the same dispensation which enlightened should tranquillize, the same promise which elevated, chasten; that feeling should be calmer where faith was stronger, excitement vanish with its excuse, and the toleration of present evil be enjoined where final good was assured, and life and immortality fully brought to light. True it is, that a deep hostility to a mysterious antagonist, who, unseen himself, has his visible representatives throughout the realms of this lower world, pervades all moral nature; for moral nature would not be itself, if it had not fundamentally adhering to it, and never parted with, the hatred of evil. But, in proportion as this nature rises, this hostility becomes disciplined. The generous sort of brute animals, over whom, as possessors of a rude, subordinate kind of moral nature, some shadows of this great enmity seem to fall, execute a dreadfully summary vengeance on those intruding species whom the apocryphal writer calls hateful and undesirable, unpraised and unblessed, annihili-

lating their vile life with a frenzy of despatch, as if the mere sight of their existence were intolerable. But this is brute justice. Rational justice is a sober and tempered feeling, allowing time, preparation, and trial; introducing its operations with preliminaries, conducting them by rule, and consummating them with gravity. And Christian justice is—more than sober and tempered—passive and self-denying. Now, justice assumes its most majestic temper, and feels the strength and the repose which mathematical science and logic do in their respective spheres; a strength and a repose arising from clear-sightedness—the certainty that, as the problem must produce its demonstration, the argument its conclusion, so a moral constitution of things must issue in a Day of Judgment. Now acting in the highest stage of character, and become a quality not of a simply feeling, or of a simply rational, but of a spiritual nature, it imitates the temper of Him, who seated high above this world and all its movements, and strong in His own omnipotence, is supreme in His hatred, and supreme also in His toleration of evil: ‘Who maketh His sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust;’ ‘the Lord God merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty.’

NOTICES.

A CAREFULLY executed 'Translation of the Twelve Minor Prophets,' with an elaborate and learned commentary, happily free from the *emendandi pruritus* of Lowth's similar work, by E. Henderson, D.D. (Hamilton & Adams),—a sequel to a former volume on the prophet Isaiah,—has made its appearance. But it is not enough, nor even the main thing, in a commentary on the Prophets, that it be learned;—the principle of exposition adopted is, after all, that by which such a work must stand or fall, considered as offered to the Church's acceptance. And here we find a radical defect in Dr. Henderson's system of exegesis. We augured but ill for the depth, and therefore for the soundness of it, from the motto in the title-page, from Melancthon: 'Unam quendam ac certam et simplicem sententiam ubique quaerendam esse.' And our prognostics were confirmed by the author's own announcement of his principle of interpretation in the Preface: 'In no instance,' he says, 'has the theory of a double sense been permitted to exert its influence on his expositions. The author is firmly convinced that the more this theory is impartially examined, the more it will be found that it goes to unsettle the foundations of Divine truth,' &c. (p. ix.) He is for the 'plain, simple, grammatical, and natural species of interpretation.' (Ibid.) Thus denying any onward look to countless passages which the writers of the New Testament, or our blessed Lord himself, have quoted or referred to as prophecies,—simply because such was not the primary bearing of such passages,—common-sense persons will be ready to wonder how he disposes of them. But he is too deeply versed in 'Quicquid Germania mendax audet in historiâ,' to feel any difficulty on this head. The ever ready solution is, that such passages are only alleged in the New Testament by way of illustration. Thus, though S. Paul (Heb. xii. 26) has quoted Hagg. ii. 6, with a most close application, as a prophecy, 'But now hath he promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven,' &c.—we are told (*in loc.*) that 'his object is to show that the kingdom of the Messiah is stable and immovable; and in order to illustrate his point, he introduces by way of contrast . . . the political phenomena predicted by 'Haggai.' Surely this is a painful tampering with Holy Scripture to save a theory. Again, it will occur to others, as it did to us, to wonder how our author would deal with passages which he himself must admit are direct prophecies of the Messiah, but which are so interwoven with prophecies having a visibly temporal bearing, that it would require some hardihood to undertake to disengage them. He does not shrink, however, from the challenge; he marks off, without any hesitation, where the Messianic prophecy is broken off, and where resumed again, after a parenthesis of a temporal character. Thus does he fearlessly dam off into so many disconnected and standing pools the glorious stream of prophecy, saying to the Spirit which speaks therein, 'Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther.'

Happily the scheme refutes itself at every turn; and this 'limiting of the Holy One in Israel' stands convicted no less of utter erroneousness than of presumption. The context comes in to testify against this breaking up of the Scripture into arbitrarily assigned portions; for allusions are constantly found in the theoretically distinct passages, which prove their real unity and identity of subject. By way of an example, we turned to Zech. ix. 8-14, to see how Dr. Henderson would dispose of the undeniable prophecy of Christ's triumphal entry, occurring as it does (v. 9) in the midst of manifestly temporal promises. His shift is, as usual, to deny all continuity to the prophecy; so that to ver. 8 inclusive, it refers to Alexander the Great, thence to ver. 10, to our Lord, then back again to the fortunes of the Jews after the Captivity. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory and violent than such a scheme, taken as a whole: yet it is very quietly assumed as the only tenable one. Neither is our author anything daunted by the very peculiar and pointed renewed mention in ver. 13 of the 'battle-bow' spoken of in ver. 10. Notwithstanding this indication of continuity, he boldly 'refers them to two totally different periods of time; and to increase the confusion, the last-mentioned of the two periods is to come first in order of time; so the scheme requires. But there is a graver objection behind. This explanation denies all Christian application whatever to the words, 'As for thee also, by the blood of thy covenant have I sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water;' a conclusion which Churchmen at least will be slow to acquiesce in, treasuring as they do the application made of the chapter—as it should seem, for this very verse's sake—by the Church in appointing it as a Lesson for Easter Eve. Thus expounding prophecy, then, we cannot give the right hand of fellowship to Dr. Henderson, as, for his learning and his labour's sake, we should gladly do if we could. We cannot recommend his work to the study of Churchmen, without large qualification and salvo on the ground above indicated. He comes to us in the guise of an ally, but we are constrained to spy in him the Gibeonite, whose alliance is forbidden us. We can assign him no higher place than that of a 'hewer of wood and drawer of water' for the Church; though this task he shows himself competent to perform. Such commentators may effectually cleanse the wards and adjust the bolts of prophecy; but they have wilfully thrown away the key: for this we must go to other teachers. We would suggest to such as find Dr. Henderson's volume critically and philosophically useful, to turn for their exegesis to the rich and glowing pages of S. Jerome. They will there see of what glorious spiritual depths of truth these narrow Germanizing expounders,—the philosophers, forsooth, who are to regenerate the spiritual and intellectual world,—would deprive us. Dr. Henderson would fain decry these comments, and those of the 'Fathers generally,' so we understand him, 'as perversions of the Word of God, hereditarily kept up under the specious garb of spirituality and a 'more profound understanding of Scripture,' (Pref. p. x.) We would fearlessly rest the matter on this issue—Whether of the two, the dry and literal, or the full, deep, and spiritual method, is more like that of S. John and S. Paul?

'Occasional Reflections upon several Subjects, with a Discourse about
'such kind of Thoughts. By the Hon. Robert Boyle, sometime Fellow of

'the Royal Society.' (Oxford, A. A. Masson, and J. H. Parker.) As one of the earliest productions of the Littlemore press, this book does not threaten any very extreme or exclusive character to its workshop, and will prove to people that they may have Littlemore books on their table, against which no breath of suspicion can exist. Robert Boyle is a well-known name in the history of English science; and it is also generally known that he was a Christian believer and a good man, as contrasted with the moral and religious laxity by which science has too often been accompanied. But people are not, perhaps, generally aware how deep his Christianity went; that it was far more than an abstinence from scepticism in creed and laxity in life; that he was an anxious, serious, inward disciple of Christ, living with the day of judgment ever in his thoughts, and making his whole life one course of repentance and self-improvement. These 'Occasional Reflections' show a mind ever quick and alive to the smallest hints which could be gathered from nature and the world around, upon the one great end of life; a mind always on the look-out for instruction, and making dumb things and the most insignificant occurrences, objects, matters of business, give that instruction, when the other more regular methods were suspended. He is most ingenious and finds a voice for everything; nor does much quaintness, and a loose and inelegant style at all hide the real depth and cleverness of his thoughts, and prevent them from being both entertaining to a reader at the time, and sticking to his mind afterwards. An intelligent reader could hardly fail to carry off with him, and retain in his memory, many of the thoughts in this volume. The list of subjects shows the wide field which the author subjected to his spiritualizing habit of mind; and perhaps its very variety, as well as the smallness of some of the materials from which the lessons are drawn, will raise a smile. But, after all, intelligent minds, as a general rule, like minuteness and detail; and good small observation is not a common talent. And therefore when the author gives his reflections 'upon his manner of giving meat to his dog;' 'upon his distilling spirit of roses in a limbeck;' 'upon sitting at ease in a coach that went very fast;' 'upon his paring of a rare summer apple;' 'upon the syrups and other sweet things sent him by the doctor;' 'upon a thief in a candle;' 'upon his making of a fire;' 'upon my spaniel's fetching me my glove;' 'upon the taking up his horses from grass, and giving them oats before they were to be ridden for a journey;' 'upon the sight of a fair milk-maid singing to her cow;' 'upon the quenching of quick-lime;' 'upon one's talking to an echo;' 'upon the sight of a paper kite in a windy day;' 'upon the sight of sweetmeats very artificially counterfeited in wax;' 'upon seeing a child picking the plums out of a cake his mother had given him for breakfast;'—we have a pledge to the reality and genuineness of his thoughts, which a collection of general sentiments would not of itself give. The author seems to be deeply possessed with the principle of the typical functions of nature; and to see everything material with reference to some ulterior thing moral and spiritual, to which, he conceives, it is intended to take us. He never seems to think that anything in nature is understood by being merely seen in itself; that to understand it we must find out something or other in the invisible world to which it is like. And this habit of mind is a practical one in him; one which he uses for his own

benefit, and of which the practical tone transpires also for the benefit of a reader.

We are glad to see a cheap edition of Mr. Marriott's 'Hints on Private Devotion,' from the Littlemore press.

'Twelve Sermons, preached at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. By William Edward Jelf, B.D., Senior Censor of Christ Church, and late Whitehall Preacher.' (J. H. Parker.) Without agreeing in all the views of doctrine or discipline in these sermons, we are glad to acknowledge much in them witnessing for a higher and stricter standard of religion than the existing popular one; nor can we fail to see that the preacher has made this a special aim of the whole course, and not done it incidentally merely. For this conscientious and religious use of an opportunity placed in his hands, Mr. Jelf deserves thanks. He writes, moreover, with some elegance and feeling. His fault is a want of definiteness and vigour. We have no doubt that he often means more himself than what he impresses on his readers.

Mr. Sewell's 'Sermon on Christian Communism' (J. H. Parker), is an appeal on behalf of the poorer classes, written with Mr. Sewell's peculiar eloquence and sympathy with that cause. Mr. Heurtley has published a Sermon on a subject somewhat similar to Mr. Sewell's—'Mutual Dependence.' (J. H. Parker).

'A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Oxford, suggestive of Means for supplying the present want of Colonial Clergy and Missionaries. By H. S. Slight, B.D. Fellow of C. C. C. Oxon, and Chaplain in the Royal Navy.' (J. H. Parker.) Mr. Slight enlarges in this letter on an idea suggested by the Bishop of Oxford, and long ago, as he informs us, entertained by himself, of temporary Missionaries. To quote his own words: 'Where we cannot find heroism, it would be but ill economy of our resources to refuse to avail ourselves of ordinary valour and enterprise. If Missionaries are not to be obtained in sufficient numbers, who will consent to devote at once the labour of a life, and to sacrifice permanently the ties of kindred and country; need we therefore despise the services of those who would successively relieve one another at the post of duty, and each add something to the good work as it advances?' We think there is something in this suggestion. It is not essential to the Missionary work, that it should be life-long to every one engaging in it. The Missionary work is a work of charity, just as giving alms, or visiting the poor, or any other course of action which seeks the good, temporal or spiritual, of our fellow-creatures, is. As such it is indefinite, and admits of degrees. And the lesser degree may as legitimately be offered and accepted as the greater, though it is not equal to the greater in value. The maxim of degrees in good works is a valuable one; and most minds, imbued with a practical sense of things, will be inclined to turn it to account. It is almost universally found useful, whenever anything is to be done, and effectiveness is aimed at. The Bishop of Oxford is urgent and anxious on the subject of Missionary exertions, and his Lordship finds the over-stiff idea of the missionary period rather in the way. He relaxes it accordingly. If such a relaxation can secure more work, it

will justify itself. And though there is something suspicious in the first look of such a suggestion, we do not think laxity always follows from a relaxation. The relaxation will not be taken advantage of by the higher workers, and may catch some who otherwise would not be workers at all.

Since we last noticed their labours, the 'Anglia Christiana' Society have issued two works: the 'Chronicon de Bello,' and the 'Liber Eliensis.' (Leslie.) The plan, (an unfortunate one, we think,) of writing English notes, will always prevent the series from doing that real credit to the great republic of letters, which it might otherwise have attained. The 'Chronicle of Battle Abbey,'—a mere fragment,—certainly does not exceed the average of such records already printed. The author, a decided partizan—as in this case was to be expected—of the Normans, presents the harder, because only the external, aspect of a large monastery: how cleverly the estates were managed and augmented; what exchanges of benefices were effected; how the system of appropriating tithes spread, and how vicarages originated; how the Abbots were at constant feud with the Bishop of Chichester, and how generally they got the best of him. We mention this the rather since the Editor, in a well-intentioned, though somewhat stilted, preface, speaks much, and with truth, of the value of, and of the great blessings which attended, the monastic profession. We are very far from denying such truths: only the Preface is a little out of place. The Chronicle itself is of the driest matter of fact; it scarcely gives a glimpse of the inner monastic life; and in the way of history and illustration of ancient manners, it presents almost a blank. Some few details about the election of an Abbot, perhaps, form an exception: and we noted the application of the term 'patriarchate' to the jurisdiction of Canterbury (p. 143). The notes are sensible; but if the text is an accurate transcript, the result is often unintelligible. The 'Liber Eliensis'—the volume at present published contains the first two books of the 'History of the Island of Ely'—is of far higher value both in an antiquarian and hagiological view. It appears to be carefully edited, and when complete, the series on Ely—not only the whole of the 'Liber Eliensis' is promised, but hopes are given of transcribing the MS. lives of the various Prelates, the Priors, and Bishops of Ely—will form an important and commendable work.

'The History of a Family,' (Grant & Griffith,) belongs to a school which we thought had passed away. A 'gentle boy,' meeting a stranger for the first time, thus discourses: 'I have no father on earth: my dear papa is gone to live with his Lord in a better world: but mamma says we must not say we have no father, for God Himself has *promised*,' &c. The utter unreality of the language, as well as the violent improbability of the plot, so to designate the two or three incidents which it strings together, make this perhaps the lowest specimen of the religious story-book with which we have of late met.

'Prayers for the Nursery.' (Hatchard.) We shall shock the very good person—the mother—who penned this little book: but she does not know what *prayer* is. Just let her think of the awful irreverence of getting her babies thus to address Almighty God: 'Let us endeavour with our left-off

clothes to help to clothe the naked, and with what few pence we can spare,' &c. This is the most attenuated form of a common mistake: but the notion that any sort of random thought on religion, a hope, an intention, a wish, a reflection, or an argument, may be turned into a prayer, is a mistake, and that no light one.

We have on a previous occasion mentioned with satisfaction some of Mr. Nind's poetical works. He succeeds better in them than in 'Sermons,' of which a volume has reached us. (Hatchard.) Following up what we have just said about prayer, we must remark that essays, or disquisitions, or reflections, meditations or Scriptural thoughts, are not necessarily sermons. Very few preachers, judging from the sermons which reach us in print, seem to conceive that a sermon has an especial idea. Is it that the English Clergy think it indecorous to speak in the pulpit as a living man to living men?

That Mr. Hopwood's 'Order of Confirmation Illustrated,' (J. H. Parker,) has reached a third edition, precludes the necessity of criticism: the popularity which this manual has attained it merits. To say that 'the English Church had taken no care to put forth either Bible or Prayer-book in a language which the people could understand,' (p. 36,) is an over-statement.

Mr. Poynder has published an abridged edition of 'Nelson's Fasts and Festivals,' (Painter,) divested of its catechetical form. If in any way we could reconcile ourselves to this tampering with the monuments of the dead, we should not be disposed to say that Mr. Poynder's alligation of himself to Nelson by the remarkable coincidence to which the title-page asks attention, 'both lay-members of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' was a sufficient warrant for him to undertake the task of revision. That Mr. Poynder has sufficient literature for this or any other editorial purpose, may be judged by the first paragraph of his preface, which speaks of 'the well-known Mr. Kettlewell, the colleague and friend of Archbishop Laud.'

Mr. Blackley has published a volume of heavy and unsound sermons, called 'Scriptural Teaching,' (Hatchard,)—a sad misnomer. We notice the volume for the last three pages, which contain some of the most mischievous teaching which has lately fallen in our way. It is a Dialogue on Confirmation, in which we are informed that 'the Confirmation-service arises, '(!) entirely out of the imperfection or deficiency of infant baptism;' 'it is not necessary for adults to go through the Confirmation-service;' but 'baptism without an open profession of belief being *personally nothing*, must be incomplete;'—a pleonastic statement. 'Infant baptism is a parental dedication of the child to God; but it is not the act of the child: therefore it is incomplete. The object of confirmation is to involve him in the personal act on his part.' The Creed says, 'One baptism for the remission of sins.'

There is a great deal of heartiness and truthfulness, perhaps even an approximation to something like rough homeliness, in the late Archdeacon Bather's 'Hints on Catechising,' (Rivingtons). The Salopian mind might need it. And while we distinguish the qualities,—for all plain talking is not attended with power,—we can quite understand that such catechising as

Mr. Bather seems not only to have written about, but to have worked, must have told distinctly upon his class. The danger in familiar teaching is obvious: on the whole Mr. Bather has avoided it: and the patient, calm, maieutic process which surprises the mind into self-respect by discovering its own hidden depths of capacity, if not of possession, is well brought out in this little volume. With wit not first-rate, and theology somewhat vague, the tone of the book is very good.

From the Dean of Edinburgh, Mr. Ramsay, we have received the fifth edition of his 'Catechism for the Use of Young Persons,' &c. (Grant, Edinburgh.) We cannot altogether follow the public judgment in this case. Mr. Ramsay's theology is of a cold and level character: he does not lift Baptism beyond Mr. Crossman's 'Covenant' view, and states very inadequately the gift of the new birth. The 'chief design of the Holy Eucharist' is not 'to remind us,' &c. We almost fear that the writer has but an imperfect view of the doctrine of which he speaks, when, in p. 85, he so pointedly draws attention to 'the threefold relation that God bears to us,' &c. Besides these objections, which may be laid down broadly, we hardly think a Catechism the place for making statements which are sure to be questioned, such as that 'the second Prayer-book of Edward VI. was an improved edition of the former,' (p. 165); or the restriction of certain commemorations inserted in the Prayer-book of 1661, after nearly a whole century of disuse, to the most unworthy purpose of their connexion with 'fairs, dates,' &c. (p. 167.) Whoever did, S. Ambrose did not, compose the *Te Deum*, (p. 173.) It is not that the present work offends in the puritanical direction, but we find it thin and meagre.

Apart from other and more perplexing associations, we must certainly award the palm of interest and a business-like character to the 'Monthly Publication' of the 'National Society.' It almost assumes the dignity of a periodical.

We are not quite resolved whether 'Pinacothecæ Historicæ Specimen,' (Londini: Bell,) is sufficiently *publici juris* for us to criticise. The notion is ingenious: that of classical inscriptions to, or descriptions of, such historical characters as for good or evil, the writer thinks have displayed enough worth or point to deserve a piece of nervous antithetical lapidean Latinity. The design and execution are alike elegant: and with the exception of a striking work of Mr. Savage Landor's, 'Poemata et Inscriptiones,' novel among ourselves: and if we select the following, it is only to connect it with the writer's own allusion to himself, 'F. K. Aquis Solis.' So miscellaneous a plan, which plan is not, will account for the felicitous contrast which arises from the following page (p. 29,) occurring opposite to one dedicated to Bishop Wilson: 'Ricardus. Nash. inepti. sæculi. qua. servus. 'qua. tyrannus. ingenium. rebus. majoribus. ac. melioribus. aptum. 'male. feriatarum. circulis. regendis. dedit. mulierculis. atque. ho- 'muncionibus. pro. lubricine. dominatus. quorum. interea. collatis. sym- 'bolis. victitabat. tandem. quum. Aquis. Solis. per. xxxvi. annos. 'arbitr. ut. dicitur. elegantiarum. sed. verius. ardelionum. nugacissi- 'mus. tricis. atque. crepundiis. vacasset. e. vita. per. ludum. ac. va- 'nitatem. exacta. ad. rationem. serio. reddendam. advocatus. est.'

We are glad to recognise in the dignity of a second edition, a book which we welcomed on its first appearance, 'Scenes and Characters.' (Mozley.) There is stuff in this work, decided character-drawing, a firm touch, and a workman-like grasp both of dialogue and the likelihood of a story; qualities in which most of the religious story-books of the day are sadly deficient. It will some day become a matter of duty to notice the serious defects of our well-meaning religious literature more formally.

We can hardly rank the 'Analysis and Summary of Herodotus,' (Oxford, Wheeler,) above a 'cram:' but it is well executed, which, to confess the truth, a good many 'crams' besides this are. The vice in this class is their use: to those who have read the books they are often very serviceable: but unluckily they ordinarily fall into hands the least qualified to employ them.

'Translatæ et Epigrammata a Ludovico Gidley, A.M., e Collegio Exoniensi, Oxonii.' (Painter.) The scholar who publishes metrical translations from the vernacular into the learned languages,—unless, indeed, the verses be printed for private circulation only,—seems peculiarly to challenge criticism. He addresses his book to classical scholars, many of whom must, at some time or other, have done something themselves in the same line; and must have the polished results of their labours now in their portfolios, with which to measure the published specimen of scholarship. The power of versification, in Latin and Greek, is above all others a gift, with the *consciousness* of which the possessor is abundantly satisfied, preferring the 'suum scire' even to the approbation of others. We all know the difficulty which the public found in getting a sight of any of the compositions of those most accomplished scholars, the Marquis Wellesley and Sir H. Halford. And we have ascertained that in the case of some recent publications, the *best* contributors were with difficulty prevailed upon by the earnest solicitation of friends, to submit one or two of their versions to publication; and we cannot but think that Mr. Gidley would have consulted better for his fair fame as a poet, had he been contented to remain in the consciousness of his own powers, instead of publishing their results to the world. In the present little volume, or rather pamphlet, we have favourite passages from Shakspeare, Milton, and our other standard poets, translated into metres (Latin and Greek) of all ages and names—Anacreontic, Sapphic, Alcaic, Hendecasyllabic, Hexameter, Elegiac, Iambic in all its branches. The most cursory perusal of the volume will show that in almost every piece the writer's friends will discover reasons to regret the publication.—In all Greek prologues, it is unnecessary to say that a remote approximation to accuracy of scholarship, though far from being the only requisite, is absolutely essential; but unfortunately it is an essential most painfully absent from too many of these pages. The Greek versifier, who makes the enclytic *νιν* immediately follow a colon (xiv. 8); who abbreviates the second syllable of *ἐπτόργιον* (xiv. 1); and the first syllable of *ἐβλαπτες* (xviii. 8), contrary to the invariable usage of Æschylus and Euripides; who is ignorant, or regardless, that *οἶον αὐλοῦντ' εἰς κενόν* (xviii. 9) is a violation of the pause; who uses *μεθιέναι* in the sense of 'to put forth' (xviii. 16); who construes *ἄρνοις βόσκεται* 'is grazed on by lambs,' which

can only mean 'is nourished on lamb;' who thinks that in *γενεῖω τε κρυερᾷ* (xviii. 30) a trisyllabic foot beginning with the last syllable of the first word, is admissible in tragic Iambics; who imagines that *ἦρ* (for *ἐαρ*) can be used in Attic Greek in the nominative case (xviii. 32); who is so unaware of the fundamental rule about the position of the article, as to believe that *τὴν στολὴν εἰθισμένην* (xviii. 34) and *ἄφρονα τὰ στόματα* (xxxix. 4) are correct Greek; who supposes that *οὐκ εἴης* (xxi. 2) can be used without *ἄν*, to signify 'you could not'; who, finally, opines that a Greek could express a *wish* in this wise, *κίνητος γλώσσα γένοιτο κ' ἐμή* (xl. 12).—But the Latin translations may be executed in a more satisfactory style. Even this consolation we can scarcely offer. Take as an example, the version of Waller's beautiful poem, 'Go, lovely rose;' where, not to mention that in the first line, 'quæ mecum conterit horas,' is what the poet is trying to persuade the lady to do, and not what he reproaches her with; and that 'sient' cannot be used in Augustan Latin; the whole is weak and enervated, and a parody on the original:—

'I, rosa, dicque illi, quæ mecum conterit horas,
Pulcræ a te speciem discat ut ipsa suam.
Dic quoque virginibus cœtum fugientibus, oræ
Desertæ innatas, vos sine laude mori.
Abdita forma parum prodest: dic, prodeat illa
Nec multis rubeat culta, petita, viris.
Mortua deinde illi monstra fatum omnibus unum,
Magnopere et quamvis dulcia, pulcræ, sient.
E foliis autem tibi odor marcentibus halet,
Virtutem ostendens esse perenne decus.'

'Sketches, by Henry Dunn,' (Houlston & Stoneman,) are the substance of articles from the Eclectic Review. The subjects are—1. 'Joseph Lancaster and his Contemporaries;' 2. 'William Allen and his Labours.' Mr. Dunn can write vigorously: his first article is a parallel, and this Plutarch of the Borough Road has a good subject in Bell and Lancaster. As characters, each presents its peculiar bad points; Lancaster, the expelled Quaker, squandered in folly the alms of his generous friends; while we find Bell, the beneficed Prebendary, begging for another pension, starving his sister, dismissing his wife, and leaving his enormous fortune to schemes of posthumous ostentation. If the monitorial system be the blessing to society which it was once thought to be, blessing never came from a more unsatisfactory fountain-head. The Borough Road and the Broad Sanctuary have at least this in common—hearty shame for their founders. Allen seems to have been a highly favourable yet characteristic specimen of the Quaker: pious, within a system compounded of mystical extravagances and doctrinal vacuity; active to the verge of intrusiveness; insatiable in practical works; compassing sea and land to start schemes of real good; zealous for the spiritual welfare of Emperors and Lascars; the friend and associate of Robert Owen and Sir Robert Inglis. Princesses are his 'sisters,' shop-boys his friends; he delivers a sermon before an Archbishop, and a scientific lecture before Sir Humphry Davy—practical alike and fanatical; full of alms-deeds, and—highly successful in business. The character can only be described by its accidents:—analysis of it is impossible.

'An Ode on the Opening of S. Augustine's College. By an Eye-witness,' and signed T. B. M., made us think that Mr. Macaulay's historical studies had as much warmed his Churchmanship as they had chilled his muse. But the Ode is by another T. B. M., and displays excellent principles, and an affectionate temper.

'Christian Memorials,' (Masters,) by Mr. Osmond of Salisbury, is a useful contribution to the good work of Christianizing our burial-grounds. It consists of lithographed elevations of grave-crosses and coped tombs. We have our doubts whether country masons can or will work without plans and sections. Most of the stone crosses are good: but we think that Mr. Osmond has not seized the idea of the wooden cross; some of these designs are certainly only gable crosses executed in wood. Neither has he, we think, apprehended the propriety of the slanting pieces, which are not so much parts of the composition as weatherings, a feature which all wooden crosses, if meant to last, should preserve. Fifteen inches is not enough for the portion sunk in the earth. We observed an inaccuracy in the letter-press (p. 3): speaking of the sign of the cross preserved in the first reformed Ritual, it is not true to say that 'these were at the last review omitted.' The book being a handsome one will attract.

The writer of 'Seven Fairy Tales,' (J. H. Parker,) has quite caught the spirit of the gorgeous warm sunny scenery which ought to be inseparable from such compositions. Sunshine, colour, satin, gold, jewels, and flowers, such elements with a good, yet not obtrusive moral, can hardly fail to succeed. There is a sad grammatical slip in the stanza which concludes the volume.

In its way it is a hopeful sign that the mass of untouched heathenism in our towns suggests 'Authorized Street Preaching' to be 'proposed as a remedy for our social evils, by a Country Parson.' (Bell.) There is a remarkable sweep of thought in this direction: the fact is, that earnest, anxious men turn hither and thither for something which will face the evil, and because street preaching is the most direct and obvious mode for the Church to raise its witness—to do which, even in a Christian country, is all that ever has been attained—it is not surprising that it should attract early, or in some cases exclusive, attention. But because the most direct mode, it by no means follows that it therefore implies success; and we own to an impression—not simply because this particular kind of evangelization has been hitherto connected with unauthoritative and debased associations—that in some sense failure, as far as the multitudes go, is a recognised condition of the Gospel kingdom. But with all this, to every class and in every place, to every creature and of every condition, the Gospel must be preached. And therefore, whatever our view of the ultimate results, we claim entire sympathy for every such attempt, be it that, of the principle at least, of Revival, as it is called among Dissenters, or Mission, as it is called abroad. And that some extensive infringement of our actual system—the adoption, that is, of some larger and more principled (*verbo venia*) addition to the actual requirements of our Prayer-book, than consists in a staff of anomalous Scripture Readers, who are too often useless, where not decidedly mischievous—may well be discussed, we cheerfully admit.

While, therefore, we do not withhold our dissent from the conclusions of the present pamphlet, we altogether refuse to accompany the writer's reasons for his suggestions. First: no parallel is just and applicable between our Lord's own practice before the Atonement and the present duty of the Church. To preach in the lanes and streets of the city is the Church's duty: but that text does not prove it. Next: we admit that Church building and Church extension 'is not a specific.' We demur to the conclusion that a church should not be built till a parish, or district, is evangelized. The Country Parson knows literally nothing of the nomadic habits of a town population, of which the poor shift their lodgings, like Arabs of the desert, several times in the year. If no church is to be built till 'in the filthy and fever-haunted suburbs,' either the whole, or much, of the population is fit to profit by the services, no church would be built at all. There are many whole districts in which more than one half of the population never remain more than twelve months in the same house or lodging. But if there be one thing more than another necessary to the success of street preaching, it should not be sought in anything like a view of this sort of preacher's office as a good occasion to avoid 'disputed minutiae,' or 'disputable interpretations of theological points.' Before all things, the right faith must be agreed upon: and we dread anything like a scheme which would employ in such an office, either the most zealous latitudinarian, or the most earnest and eloquent evangelist, who holds inadequate views of the Church and Sacraments, from an unwise conviction, that for such a purpose, his peculiarities would do no harm.

'The best Preparation for the Cholera,' &c. (Darling,) is something like a specimen of what a good street Sermon might be.

Of occasional publications we may mention: 1. 'Emmaus,' &c. a Sermon preached by Mr. Nugee, (J. H. Parker,) somewhat over-wrought in language. 2. 'Gunpowder Treason: a farewell Sermon, preached at Camberwell, by Mr. G. Fyler Townsend.' (Rivingtons.) We should have thought the legend about 'Henry VIII. becoming acquainted with Gospel truths and the contents of the Bible, through the printing press, and then engaging in godly zeal with the nobles (!) and prelates of the land, to effect a great change in religion,' &c., only survived in the smaller class of Camberwell seminaries. And then for Mr. Townsend's history: 'The whole hierarchy accepted the reformed Prayer-book,' after Queen Mary's death, 'The first four Councils were large ecclesiastical assemblies of Bishops from every part of the world; from the East and West, from Africa, and Asia, and Europe,' (p. 11;) the fact being, that even at Nicæa there were exactly two Bishops from the whole of the Western Church, and one from Africa. Mr. Townsend has, doubtless, many qualifications: theology and history are not among them. 3. An 'Address to the Congregation of S. Mary's Chapel, Dumfries, by Mr. M'Ewen,' (Lendrum,)—vigorous, yet kind.

Those who have taken in hand to decry in set terms the introduction of any degree of splendour and beauty into Church architecture and ritual, have generally adopted the line of admitting the existence of a certain amount of it in the Jewish Temple and services, but disallowing the inference from that fact. Mr. Samuel Garratt, in his 'Scripture Symbolism,

or *Tabernacle Architecture*, (Seeleys,) has taken the reverse course. Far from allowing that the Jewish law was overburdened with ceremonies, and the Temple and the Tabernacle bedecked with an outward pomp, which were to pass away with the rest of the legal bondage (which is the view of the Close school), he discovers the perfection of puritanic simplicity in these things, and understands them to have been prescribed as a model for the Christian Church to follow. As might be expected, he makes a very ridiculous book out of this notion; we wish we were not constrained to add, in parts a very profane one. We will give a specimen: 'The general appearance of the Tabernacle was simple and cheerful. Those massive structures which the ignorant piety of a dark age raised for the worship of God are full of melancholy mystery; but the buildings which God planned for his own service were quite of another aspect. The temple was white and glistening,' (so is Milan Cathedral) 'like a distant snowy mountain. There was beauty in the Tabernacle and grandeur in the Temple, but simplicity and cheerfulness in both.' (Is it not said that the house was 'exceeding magnifical'?) 'The Cathedral is a human symbol of man's religion; the Tabernacle and the Temple were divine symbols of God's religion. Truth, as it flows fresh from the throne of God, is full of joy and simplicity. It has its dark shrine, but that is the Holy of holies, in which God dwells. It is only dark when it touches upon God (!!). When it meets man, it is all light,' &c. (pp. 15, 16.) In p. 52, is a passage on the Holy Spirit, which reminds us strongly of one of Mr. Newman's Sermons on Subjects of the Day. It shows that Mr. Garratt is 'capable,' as the phrase is, 'of better things' than the present work. We question whether any body is capable, either as a matter of taste or theology, of worse.

'The Memorial and Case of the Lay-Clerks of Canterbury Cathedral, with an Introduction,' &c. by Mr. Charles Sandys, (J. R. Smith,) is an important pamphlet, compiled with judgment and temper. It shows the miserable working of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The singing men of Canterbury,—one of the best choirs in England,—are miserably paid, they receive only 40*l.* per annum. They regret that they are obliged to eke out their subsistence by secular and unpleasant occupations; they express their own estimate of their high office; they ask but for a subsistence: they say, and with full truth, that before the revenues of Canterbury Cathedral are confiscated, to pay curates, nobody knows where, in Birmingham and Manchester, that due provision ought to be made for the choral service of Canterbury Cathedral. Upon their application to Government on the subject, the comprehensive answer comes, that the law is imperative: the Act says, that confiscated estates are to go to the General Fund; that the maintenance of the solemn worship of God in Cathedrals is not an object contemplated by the Act, or to which the General Fund is applicable. This is a gross case of injustice: if the Act cannot recognise the case of the ill-paid Lay-Clerks, let the Act be altered, and that immediately. To provide and pay additional Clergy in other dioceses, may be, or may not be, a due appropriation of the estates of Canterbury. Anyhow, this care for the salvation of men in Lancashire and London, should not lead to a neglect of the glory of God at Canterbury: and the present payment of the

choir in that Cathedral is dishonourable to God's service. But this is only the result of the old vice of Deans and Chapters: if the Chapter of Canterbury had in past days properly appropriated its resources, and paid its choir in any way proportionate to the fortunes heaped up for wives and daughters, there would have been less for Ecclesiastical Commissioners to confiscate and misapply. Such a case as the present, however, will right itself.—We are glad, by the way, to mention, in connexion with this subject, or rather in reference to some strictures which we made on the neglected education of choristers, that an adequate provision has been recently made for the choir-boys at Westminster. They now attend an excellent school, well mastered, and efficiently superintended, within the abbey precincts. When we hear of similar care being taken at S. Paul's, we shall gladly withdraw the whole of our observations: that attention had been drawn to the subject has not been without its value.

'Jesuitism in the Church: an Address to Churchmen, pointing out the true quarter in which, if anywhere, we are to look for it. With an Appendix of details, showing clearly the tendencies of the Low-Church, or Puritanical principles, &c. By a Curate in Suffolk.' (J. H. Parker.) To transcribe the title-page is to describe the work; we add only the recommendation that it is very ably executed: miscellaneous, of course, in character, but displaying varied and accurate reading and good principles, with an occasional tinge of vituperation, which perhaps the subject justifies. The form of this pamphlet is inartificial: the address of four pages is a very slender peg on which to suspend an Appendix of a hundred-and-eighty.

From America we have received one of Bishop Doane's kind and genial packets—his Addresses to the twin establishments of Burlington College and S. Mary's Hall. A remarkably sensible collection of addresses delivered at the commencement of S. James' College, Maryland, by the Rector, Mr. Kerfoot, a very real and vigorous character, judging from his works. And 'America and Great Britain,' Bishop Doane's Address at Burlington on the 4th July, the annual celebration of the Declaration of Independence. The Bishop, in his own fervid way, expands the theme that brothers are better friends for thrashing each other: and the feeling seems reciprocal.

There is much important and much interesting matter in Mr. Helps' book, 'The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen,' (Pickering.) The writer traces from documentary, and, of course, contemporary evidence, the rise and growth and adaptation of the slave trade; he also shows, incidentally, how not so much one of its original elements, but, paradoxical as it may seem to some, how the slave trade itself, was looked upon as a means to a Christian end, *i. e.* the conversion of the negro. We had seen and were satisfied with previous works of the author, and we look for the completion of this plan with interest. It is written in a style slightly affected, aiming at the didactic simplicity of the chroniclers: but altogether the subject is a most important one, and a valuable contribution to the philosophical history of a certain phase of society which of late years had been surveyed rather under the influence of the temper than of the reasoning faculties.

A scheme, which certainly attracts at the first aspect, 'Suggestions for the foundation of Colleges for superannuated and disabled Clergy,' is in circulation. The promoter may be addressed at Rivington's. That something in this direction ought to be attempted, we quite feel: but, in the first instance, the need itself ought to be urged, for though existing, it is yet not generally realized. This we think the promoter had better have done, without encumbering his appeal with a definite plan, which may be open to many not unreasonable objections.

'A Short Commentary on the Collects,' by Mr. Spencer of Knightsbridge, (Cleaver,) will be found a useful manual. We are told that 'Christmas means the "festival" of Christ,' which is quite true: but we are not quite ready to admit that the reason of this is because "Mass" is a Saxon word for "festival."

A flight of penny and twopenny books has reached us from Mr. Cleaver: the 'Child's Cross,' and 'Ann Dale,' among the best: but they will all suit the purpose for which they are designed.

'Plain Sermons for the Poor,' and a series called 'Sound Words,' from the same publisher, have been also commenced. They are cast in a somewhat stiff mould. But they display great earnestness and sincerity.

Mr. J. H. Parker—of whose 'New Series of Tracts for the Christian Seasons' we announced the prospectus—has delivered the first instalment for Advent: in size and guise they far surpass their competitors. The introductory Tract on 'Godly Order' is written with considerable vigour and state. The other four Tracts were, we think, composed for Sermons; at any rate they seem to make better Sermons than Tracts. But in literary powers they are far beyond the average of Tracts.

Among devotional and practical works, Mr. Masters has published during the quarter, a reprint of 'Ken's Prayers for the use of those who come to the Baths,' &c., with an extremely agreeable Life by Mr. Markland. 'The Penitent's Path,' a manual which ought to replace the objectionable, yet too much circulated 'Sinner's Friend':—another 'Manual for Communicants,' of which it is high praise to say, that it will stand well with the best which we have: a 'Treatise on the Eighty-fourth Psalm,' recommended by Dr. Hook, of which the title is too ambitious, but the substance unexceptionable: 'Advent Meditations and Prayers,' a cento of Psalms and Collects, mostly from the Prayer-Book: this seems, though very brief, conceived somewhat in the spirit of the old *Horæ*: 'Prayers for the Use of Parochial Schools,' very suitable for the purpose.

And now a word on the whole subject: 'Masters' Sermons for the People,' Cleaver's 'Plain Sermons for the Poor,' Rivington's 'Plain Sermons,' Of Tracts, Masters' Series; Edwards & Hughes' Series; Parker's new Series; Cleaver's new Series; 'Sound Words,' 'Plain Words,' Dr. Hook's 'Devotional Library'; 'the Practical Christian's Library'; Mozley's Penny Books; Burns' Penny Books; and now Cleaver's Penny Books; the Churchman's Companion: the brain gets dizzy, the pen refuses its office to enumerate them all. The religious world is suffering under a plethora

of print: every writer seems to feel it a personal obligation to start a rival series. In every point of view we may complain of this. Directly a series of Tracts, or a periodical, or a library, or a set of Sermons, seems in a fair way to attract the confidence of the Church, a rival bookseller starts with a rival advertisement: the tradesman suffers—the buyer is distracted; even when all are equally good, the difficulty to choose often ends in no choice at all: and many anxious persons, observing how the commercial overrides the higher object, are beginning to get dissatisfied with all the opposition, and competition, and antagonism, which the religious book-market is getting into. If writers and publishers would believe us, whose office it is to look through their wares, and whose survey is larger and broader than their own, while we admit most thankfully the amount of purity of intention and real spiritual earnestness which characterizes, for the most part, their various publications, we must at the same time say that there is a weary amount of common-place also published: that most tracts and stories run upon a dead level: that the new devotional book of October is as good as, but not so decidedly better than, its predecessor of January, as to be worth printing: that every department is overstocked—Manuals, Libraries, Allegories, Tracts, Books for Juveniles, Books for the Poor, Fairy Tales, Village Tales, Town Tales, Tales for the Nursery, the Drawing-room, the School-room, the Kitchen. We have enough and to spare of them all. If both writers and printers would but hold their hands and types for a twelvemonth, and use the very many good works which are already in existence, they would find both head and pocket invigorated by this healthy abstinence.

Mr. Fox of Morley has printed a collection of short Biographies, 'The Noble Army of Martyrs,' (Masters,)—a subject disproportionate to the size of the volume; that is, we say so with some recollections of the 'Acta Sanctorum' in our minds. But it is religiously executed, and anything but like a more notorious 'Fox's Martyrs.'

The general implies the particular; therefore, what we have said about Church-publishing as a whole, applies to each of the departments of its literature. Chanting, and all appliances to the Choral Service, are happily much in vogue: what is the consequence? That the Scriptural reproach applies to us: 'Every one hath a psalm.' Every Church boasts its own pointed Psalter; every choir its own Chants; every precentor his own Book of Anthems. Thus Mr. Martin of Battersea might have saved himself the trouble of publishing a 'Hand Book of Chants—Single Chants and Double Chants,' (Rivingtons,) and Mr. John James Scott of Barnstaple may be assured that his 'Pointed Psalter,' (Rivingtons,) giving it all the praise to which it may, or may not, be entitled, is, to say the least, quite superfluous. That Mr. J. J. Scott possesses qualifications of a *kind*, for the task which he has so unnecessarily imposed upon himself, may be judged from his adopting the view that 'the differences as to the division of the words' in chants may be arranged into three or four general classes, as follows: 'Lincoln, York, Canterbury, Bangor; and that this is what is meant in the Preface to the Prayer-Book by saying, that "some follow the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln, and Canterbury."' And then Dr. Gauntlett, who ought to know better,—and who does know better,

being as accomplished an ecclesiastical musician as any in England—while he has published what otherwise would be a complete manual for the Psalter, with the three-voice parts printed in separate volumes, yet each with the text of the Psalm accurately divided,—has chosen to attach all this apparatus to the ‘Bible Psalms,’ (Houlston & Stoneman.) Now we are not aware that the Bible Psalms are sung anywhere, except by the Irvingites and Swedenborgians. If Dr. Gauntlett publishes for their use, well: but while the Church of England uses the older version of the Prayer-Book, Dr. Gauntlett’s, otherwise very valuable, publication is so much waste paper to us. If, instead of this otiose ingenuity, Dr. Gauntlett would give us some more such carols as his Christmas verses, ‘Last night I lay a-sleeping,’ (Masters,) he would gain, what so far he deserves, the thanks of Churchmen in their Christmas festivities.—‘Hymns for Public Worship,’ (Hatchard,) is a very eclectic collection, chiefly, however, from conventicle sources: we mention it only because it contains some of the fine Lutheran hymn tunes and chorales. Being published for the benefit of a German hospital, we fancy that we detect a Teutonic, or Bunsenish, tone in the able preface which precedes the verse volume: for the publication is in two parts—verse and vocal.—It is delightful to find the organist of one of the Islington churches, Mr. Thomas Kilner, publishing a humble little ‘Tract on ‘Congregational Responding,’ (Wertheim,) which is in fact a recommendation of a Choral Service, and in which he says ‘that the making use of a musical tone is the only way in which’ the prayers can be said ‘decently and in order.’ With such an assurance from such a quarter, we are quite content to endure the confession of faith which Mr. Kilner has allowed himself—or a clerical friend is it?—to prefix to his otherwise straightforward pamphlet.

Among the best of single Sermons, we may specify, 1. ‘Two Sermons preached at the first anniversary of the Consecration of S. Nicolas, Kemer-ton, by Sir George Prevost and Mr. C. E. Kennaway,’ (Masters.) 2. ‘Mr. Cecil Wray’s fifth November Sermon,’ (Masters.) The anniversary, we suppose, necessitates polemics: and Mr. Wray deals his censures with even-handed impartiality. We think him over-hasty in adopting so entirely the authenticity of the Bohemian and Silesian (so-called) Confessions.

Our notices, in whatever quarter they extend, be it in literature, devotion, art, all have one direction. We have but to recount in all directions signs of a growing, expanding, deepening sense of duty and propriety. Rather than stimulate, we have to prune, the luxuriance of some of our efforts. And as minor things, the accessories of religion, have their proper place in a system, we are glad to mention two publications on Church Embroidery: one—‘English Medieval Embroidery,’ (J. H. Parker,) and the joint contribution of Mr. Hartshorne and Miss Blencowe. The lady’s part—the practical—is the best: Mr. Hartshorne’s, originally published in the *Archæological Journal*, is accurate, but diffuse. The other consists of some large sheets, with working details of choice conventional flowers, published by the Ecclesiological Society, (Masters.) In what concerns the decoration of the sanctuary, plate, glass painting, and embroidery, we think we may safely say that lost arts are successfully and entirely recovered.

Mr. Appleyard, the amiable author of 'Proposals for Christian Union,' has concluded his series by another contribution to his object: 'Principles of Protestantism considered with a view to Unity,' (Darling.) Probably, from the subject-matter, it is the least interesting, because it is the least hopeful, aspect of the subject. Knowing that from the hour when Protestantism, in its sense of negation,—which is what the present writer is concerned with,—commenced, it has but pursued a diverging line from unity, it is a pious sentimentalism, but scarcely more, which can think of George Fox with tenderness—Fox, who invented a system which leaves men in no sense Christians, since it dispenses with both sacraments: or which can be so blind to facts as to say, 'that Wesleyan Methodists have invariably evinced a marked attachment for the Church of England,' p. 141.

'Cambridge Theological Examination Papers, edited by Mr. A. P. Moor, Fellow of S. Augustine's,' (Macmillan,) scarcely comes within the scope of criticism. With materials ranging from 1833 to the present time, the publication, apart from its intrinsic value to students, is curious, as illustrating the tone and mind of the Church in her theological investigations and subjects of thought.

By far the most interesting and recommendable work which the quarter has brought before us is Mrs. Jameson's delightful pair of volumes, 'The Poetry of Sacred and Legendary Art.' (Longman.) Ten years ago such a subject could not have failed to receive treatment in one of two ways; either as a mere vehicle of cold art-slang—the criticism which learnedly pronounces only upon impasto and glazings, and can see nothing in a work of art beyond a specimen of schools and handling: or, it would have given occasion to a fanatical and irreverent disparagement of the Church's Saints and Martyrs, simply as such. Neither are our own times free from contingencies in this connexion equally painful: on the one hand, the hagiologists of Maryvale and the Tablet, would, with sincerity in some cases real, and in some assumed, probably convict of developed heathenism all who feel scruples about the histories of S. Lucia or S. Dionysius or S. Ursula: while another quarter,—that of the French school of lofty criticism,—while fully admitting the occasional propriety in mediæval society of Christian legend, looks at it, and the religion to which it relates, with the same calm indifference of interested contempt with which it would survey the ruins of Yucatan, or peruse the Sagas of the North. We are not saying that a tinge of that habit of mind which relegates all mystery to myth, and which looks at all Acts of the saints as merely a characteristic and transient form of poetry, as well as is indisposed to accept any precise view of the objects of Christian faith, may not here and there be detected in the present writer. In Mrs. Jameson's case we hardly expect a very religious tone: passages exist in her publication which cannot be read by a religious mind with other feelings than those of pain. But we are grateful that so few sneers occur: and whatever be her own belief, if not from higher motives, yet from taste and a delicate habit of mind, she has mostly avoided offence; and there is always a most genial and affectionate recognition of the moral grandeur, as well as of the æsthetic beauty, of the legend which she illustrates. A female biographer were perhaps needed, to enter into the deep delicacy and refinement of such teaching as that

which suggests itself in the lovely recollections of S. Catharine or S. Sebastian: and seldom have the saints and martyrs of the Church been glorified in language more warm and refined than in the work on which we are commenting. We desire to extract two passages which may serve to convey some notion both of Mrs. Jameson's style and principle:—

'Now, if we go back to the *authentic* histories of the sufferings and heroism of the early martyrs, we shall find enough there, both of the wonderful and the affecting, to justify the credulity and enthusiasm of the unlettered people, who saw no reason why they should not believe in one miracle as well as in another. In these universally-diffused legends, we may recognise the means, at least one of the means, by which a merciful Providence, working through its own immutable laws, had provided against the utter depravation, almost extinction, of society. Of the "Dark Ages," emphatically so called, the period to which I allude was perhaps the darkest; it was of "Night's black arch the key-stone." At a time when men were given over to the direst evils that can afflict humanity—ignorance, idleness, wickedness, misery; at a time when the everyday incidents of life were a violation of all the moral instincts of mankind; at a time when all things seemed abandoned to a blind chance, or the brutal law of force; when there was no repose, no refuge, no safety anywhere; when the powerful inflicted, and the weak endured, whatever we can conceive of most revolting and intolerable; when slavery was recognised by law throughout Europe; when men fled to cloisters, to shut themselves from outrage; when the manners were harsh, the language gross; when all the softer social sentiments, as pity, reverence, tenderness, found no resting-place in the actual relations of life; when, for the higher ranks, there was only the fierce excitement of war, and on the humbler classes lay the weary dreary monotony of a stagnant existence, poor in pleasures of every kind, without aim, without hope; *then*—wondrous reaction of the ineffaceable instincts of good implanted within us!—arose a literature which reversed the outward order of things, which asserted and kept alive in the hearts of men those pure principles of Christianity which were outraged in their daily actions; a literature in which peace was represented as better than war, and sufferance more dignified than resistance; which exhibited poverty and toil as honourable, and charity as the first of virtues; which held up to imitation and emulation, self-sacrifice in the cause of good, and contempt of death for conscience' sake: a literature, in which the tenderness, the chastity, the heroism of woman, played a conspicuous part; which distinctly protested against slavery, against violence, against impurity in word and deed; which refreshed the fevered and darkened spirit with images of moral beauty and truth; revealed bright glimpses of a better land, where "the wicked cease from troubling," and brought down the angels of God with shining wings and bearing crowns of glory, to do battle with the demons of darkness, to catch the fleeting soul of the triumphant martyr, and carry it at once into a paradise of eternal blessedness and peace!

'Now the legendary art of the three centuries which comprise the revival of learning, was, as I have said, the reflection of this literature, of this teaching. Considered in this point of view, can we easily overrate its interest and importance?'—*Introduction*, pp. xviii. xix.

' When in the daily service of our Church we repeat these words of the sublime hymn, I wonder sometimes whether it be with a full appreciation of their meaning? whether we do really reflect on all that this noble army of martyrs hath conquered for us? Did they indeed glorify God through their courage, and seal their faith in their Redeemer with their blood? And if it be so, how is it that we Christians have learned to look coldly upon the effigies of those who sowed the seed of the harvest which we have reaped? "*Sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum!*" We may admit that the reverence paid to them in former days was unreasonable and excessive; that credulity and ignorance have in many instances falsified the actions imputed to them; that enthusiasm has magnified their numbers beyond belief; that when the communion with martyrs was associated with the presence of their material remains, the passion for relics led to a thousand abuses, and a belief in their intercession to a thousand superstitions. But why, in uprooting the false, uproot also the beautiful and the true? Surely it is a thing not to be set aside or forgotten, that generous men and meek women, strong in the strength and elevated by the sacrifice of a Redeemer, did suffer, did endure, did triumph for the truth's sake, did leave us an example which ought to make our hearts glow within us, in admiration and gratitude! Surely, then, it is no unfit employment for the highest powers of art, that of keeping alive their blessed and heroic memory; and no desecration of our places of worship that their effigies, truly, or at least worthily, expressed, should be held up to our veneration, and the story of their sublime devotion be sometimes brought to remembrance . . . The most beautiful and edifying representations of the martyrs are not those which place them before us agonized under the lash or the knife of the executioner, but those in which they look down upon us from their serene beatitude, their work done, their triumph accomplished, holding their victorious palm, and wearing their crown of glory; while the story of their sufferings is suggested to the memory by the accompanying attribute—the sword, the arrow, or the wheel.'—Vol. ii. pp. 137—139.

But we are giving an inadequate account of Mrs. Jameson's pleasant labours, if we confine them to her literary successes in the treatment of legend alone. Quite apart from the thankfulness with which from such a quarter we hail such a work on such a subject,—and we can quite conceive that with respect to the religious spirit in which it is executed, a more grudging estimate may not unreasonably be passed by others, though we cannot reconcile ourselves to accord it,—there lies the large field in which two opinions on Mrs. Jameson's work were impossible; we mean as a work of art. With an exceedingly sensitive and sympathetic spirit, she approaches the soul of a picture: she analyses its purpose: she weighs how far it succeeds in touching finely that emotion to which it seeks to address itself. This is the highest criticism of art: and yet its technical view is by no means neglected. A poetess and artist herself, Mrs. Jameson is eminently qualified to appreciate works of art: her love is with the Italian picture and its spiritual beauties, as contrasted with the more material and grosser forms of the German phase of religious art. She loves Angelico and Ghirlandaio and Perugino, while she respects Van Eyck and Hemeling; and the diligence with which she has examined, noted,

and discriminated thousands of holy pictures, in so many of the finest European collections, as well as in their native and more sacred haunts, displays as much honesty in purpose to collect facts as her other qualifications show a high and rare genius to describe and appreciate their meaning. When we add that the volumes are illustrated by hundreds of woodcuts and etchings, altogether forming quite a text from which to study and compare different periods and artists, and most of these from types of the very purest and most religious art, selected with judgment and executed in a faithful spirit, and all drawn by Mrs. Jameson herself—our readers may anticipate that our recommendation of the work is tolerably complete. Of the fact which is comprised in its publication, merely as an evidence of our improving sense and appreciation of the glorious functions of Christian art,—functions to which even Mr. Hobart Seymour, in his recent pilgrimage to Rome, bears so ample a testimony,—coupled with the general estimate passed on Lord Lindsay's, in some respects, kindred publication,—we can all form our own estimate: it is a fact, and a thankworthy one, which no sophistry can get over or explain away, one which fanaticism may rebuke, but cannot deny or dispose of. By way of drawback, if only to preserve the integrity of the critical character, we will observe that Mrs. Jameson's subjective habit of mind, and her allusive references, occasionally betray her into obscurity. She reckons upon exuberance of knowledge or reflection equal to her own in her readers: we found ourselves decidedly at fault in more places than one: we cannot but specify the passage which concludes the first volume; to our unpenetrating or uninitiated eyes, the allusion is accompanied with the most profound and Cimmerian darkness.

The Bishop of Gibraltar has printed a 'Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the approaching tercentenary of the English Prayer-Book,' &c. (Rivingtons,) with suggestions on its observance, and a general collection to be made for objects with which we express our decided sympathy;—a sympathy which we are compelled to withhold from the proposal, which we judge to be crude and impracticable. To say nothing of the obvious borrowing of the thought from a recent Jubilee, which seems to have been a remarkable failure, the plan is not without more solid objections to it than would accrue from comparison with an idea emanating from a quarter with which we have so few affinities as the Church Missionary Society. Already inconvenient questions are proposed about it. Why the Book of 1549? why not rather the Book of 1552? or 1661? or why neglect the tercentenary of what was really the first *English* office, the Order of Communion of 1548? or again, if we are to celebrate the revision of 1549, why not a tercentenary of the Hampton Court and Savoy revisions? Some people think that we have no more to do with the Book of 1549 than we have with the institution of the Sarum Breviary: others, again, wish we had, and suggest its revival for this day in particular. Some look at the Book of 1549 as something worse than semi-popery; and some, again, think it a grievous loss. If to suit one party we have a tercentenary in 1849, we must infallibly have another three years hence to celebrate the advent of the Second Book. Why give occasion to all this discussion, which is sure to end in scandal? Some will celebrate the tercentenary with a most jubilant crowing and flapping of wings: others, who object to a fuss, will perhaps not celebrate it at all: and there will be more marked men, and

more men charged with the sulks, and disloyalty; and great will be the warfare between Reformation principles and Catholic principles. Some will think the Act of Uniformity interferes: and others will be loth to allow the party heats and discussions of a single period of ecclesiastical history to be mixed up with such thoughts and feelings as ought to accompany one of the Church's chief festivals. Many will object to being forced to preach a sermon for the Church Missionary Society. Altogether we foresee sides and parties, much unprofitable discussion, and a considerable range of heart-burning and disunion, as the results of this proposal: which we trust will remain a proposal—well-meant, but not feasible.

As we intimated in our last number, Mr. Maskell's Visitation Sermon has attracted both attention and controversy. A correspondence on the subject, between the Plymouth Clergy and the Bishop of Exeter, has appeared in the newspapers. Other painful matters are also occurring in this quarter. The only formal publication against Mr. Maskell is from Mr. Hill, of Ottery St. Mary, in the shape of 'The Absolution Services, [*Quære* Forms?] a Letter,' &c. (Exeter: Wallis.) It is characterized by an admirable spirit: but the motto from S. Augustine is very odd:—'*Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas,*' &c. Does Mr. Hill seriously suppose that the book called by S. Augustine his 'Confessions,' of which he speaks in the above passage, has anything to do with the subject of oral confession by a penitent?—Mr. Maskell's promised Vindication has just appeared, under the title, 'The Doctrine of Absolution,' (Pickering.)—Dr. Hook has published a sermon, 'Auricular Confession,' (Rivingtons,) which will best come under notice when we take up the whole subject, as we hope to do, in a future number.

'Kings of England,' (Mozley,) is a history of England, as useful as unpretending. It is of the right size, and events appear in something like proportion: sufficient of personal interest, sketches of character, and details of scenery, are blended in the narrative, to escape the character of annals; and we have something more solid than that pretty yet delusive phantasmagoria of history, which consists in a succession of bright unconnected pictures. The author, or authoress, has avoided the snare which so many history-writers fall into,—one analogous to that of painters whose figures, though skilfully covered with drapery, betray complete ignorance of anatomy. And there is a deep, though not obtrusive, reference to duty and the principles of faith running through the volume.

'The Lost Sheep,' (J. H. Parker,) Archdeacon Manning's Sermon at the opening—we do not understand why not the Consecration—of S. Paul's, Brighton, is quite equal in glowing distinctness of language and depth of feeling to the Sermons already so well known and valued from the same hand.

By way of supplement to the devotional books already mentioned, we have also to acknowledge a 'Sacred Dial of Scripture and Prayer,' (J. H. Parker,) eminently suited for the sick room:—'Prayers for the Use of the Parish of Bradfield,' (Littlemore: Masson,) a fit accompaniment to the noble new church; 'Questions on the Collects,' (J. H. Parker,) by Mr. Wenham of Ceylon, in terseness and accuracy, as well, perhaps, as in doctrinal precision, superior to one on the same subject already mentioned:

and a new and very useful volume of the 'Practical Christian's Library, Jones of Nayland on the 'Figurative Language of Scripture,' (J. H. Parker.)

Archdeacon Churton, in the form of a 'Letter to Joshua Watson, Esq., giving an account of a singular literary fraud practised on the memory of Bishop Jeremy Taylor,' (Rivingtons,) has vindicated to its right author, and recovered from Taylor, the 'Contemplations on the State of Man,' hitherto passing under Taylor's name. Mr. Churton has advanced many powerful arguments to prove that the 'Contemplations' are a, not very neat, forgery, being patched up from the English translation by Sir Vivian Molyneux, 1672, under the title of a 'Treatise of the Difference betwixt the Temporal and Eternal,' of a Spanish work of the same name, 'Diferencia de lo Temporal y Eterno,' by John Eusebius Nieremberg, a contemporary of Taylor himself. The Archdeacon's Letter is an exceedingly pleasant and artistic piece of literary criticism: but it has higher merits than these. It contains some very just and forcible observations on the legitimate use of Biographies of Saints, both in a practical and historical point of view. In the sentiments so lucidly expressed we entirely coincide: and we are thankful to the Archdeacon, whose judgment and loyalty are so unquestioned, for vindicating the use of this kind of learning, not only to the historian, but to the Christian preacher. Some strictures, unfortunately but too well deserved, on Bishop Heber's heedless editing of, and annotating upon, Taylor, are important. It is curious enough, that many years ago, in print, Mr. Churton had with great sagacity conjectured, that the 'Contemplations' were the work of 'some pious Roman Catholic, and probably of Spanish origin.'

There is a great deal of diligence and reading displayed in Mr. James Anderson's 'History of the Colonial Church,' (Rivingtons,) of which the second volume has been published. By way of preserving and vindicating the authentic sources of history, these volumes will be valuable. What is executed, however, only takes us down to the reign of William III., and if, to preserve anything like a correspondence with the amount of materials, the continuation is to be written in the same relative proportions, the Byzantine historians will be nothing to Mr. Anderson's undertaking. While, as is the case, Mr. Anderson always writes sensibly, he never rises to dignity: his style is level and unpicturesque: he digresses very often, but it is only to a flat common or a wide undiversified moor. He presents us with no comprehensive and vigorous pictures of different periods of Church history: he neither groups his characters, nor analyzes individual temper and cast of mind. In the way of materials he exercises no historical criticism: all goes in and all comes out a rough enormous conglomerate of facts, scarcely hewn into shape, and never polished. The least occasion serves for telling us all that Mr. Anderson has acquired in his search for materials: the times of Charles I. give occasion to a dissertation, scores of pages long, on Laud, the judiciousness or the reverse of his proceedings, Prynne and Bastwick, Stafford and Mountague, Mr. Newman and Panzani, which have nothing whatever to do with the Colonial Church. Then, only to instance the languid diffuseness which characterises the work, Bishop Walton is mentioned, which suggests the Polyglot,—which suggests Castell's Lexicon,—which suggests an analysis of its preface; and then its analogy

with Johnson's to his Dictionary, &c. &c. Or, again, would it not have been quite sufficient to advert to the fact, that during the usurpation some sermons were preached which alluded to the necessity of missionary efforts, without wearying us with page after page devoted to abridging them. At the name of Aleppo Mr. Anderson posts away to the 'Master of the Tiger' and the 'Weird Sisters,' who, to use his own way of putting it, are 'hastening to overwhelm the poor sailor, bound for that Syrian port, whose wife had angered them?' (P. 283.) Mr. Anderson might have made a very useful history: he has honesty of purpose, an influential position, diligence in study, and though not an engaging, yet a passable, style, and a very interesting subject: all these advantages are thrown away, and the result will be a long book, which nobody can read.

Mr. William Trollope deserves some credit for publishing the venerable 'Liturgy of S. James:' with an English Introduction, Notes, &c. (Edinburgh: Clark:) and it is, we trust, with an intention to direct the minds of their several friends and communions to liturgical pursuits, that we observe with satisfaction the names of the Low-Church and Dissenting publishers on the title-page. It is, as they say, 'refreshing' to see the names of Seeley, Hamilton, Ward, and Jackson and Walford, in connexion with this ancient monument of primitive faith. We think that, like Bishop Rattray, Mr. Trollope overstates the amount of interpolation in this Liturgy: yet, while we state specific objections to the execution of this work, we desire to promote its circulation. Even the attenuated, or, as Mr. Trollope calls it, 'the genuine uninterpolated,' form of the Liturgy of S. James, and of which he has furnished a translation, will be useful to English readers. Speaking in general, the notes are common-place, the quotations being trite and familiar. We regret also,—perhaps in deference to his puritanical publishers,—that Mr. Trollope should have done, what the English Prayer-book does *not* do, viz., erase the term Saint before such names as those of Augustine, Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, &c. At p. 29, note 7, it is not true, as any one ordinarily acquainted with Christian antiquity knows, but rather the reverse, that 'the word Table was almost exclusively used with reference to the Holy Communion.'—P. 58, note 3: 'The Hymn, *Gloria in Excelsis*, as it was afterwards used in the Post-Communion.' In what Liturgy was it ever so used, except, as all must think, by a palpable dislocation in our second Liturgy?—Pp. 80, 81, note 4: The editor, in speaking of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, does not appear to be aware that the Eastern Church attributes the consecrating efficacy to it, and not, according to the Western view, to the words of institution.—P. 84, note 2: 'Anti-Communion,' for ante-communion; and the conventicle language in a liturgical writer of '*putting up* the prayer of general intercession.'—P. 87, note 13; (cf. p. 88, note 20:) 'Liturgy' for Litany.—P. 101, note 25: The *Embolismus*, or Prayer against Temptation, after the Lord's Prayer, so far from 'having no parallel in other liturgies,' is common to them all, except those of the Constantinopolitan families.—P. 66, note 23: *ἔλαιον εἰρήνης*, contrary to the universal reading, *ἔλεον*.—P. 67: The Anaphora is made to commence at the *Sursum Corda* instead of the *Dominus Vobiscum*.—We are glad to observe, in connexion with this subject, that Mr. Neale advertises a Tetralogy of the most ancient Liturgies.

Mr. Cavendish Clifford, Fellow of All Souls, has translated the 'Frogs of Aristophanes.' (J. H. Parker.) His version avoids all extremes. It is neither very close, nor very free; highly polished, nor full of rough energy; insufferably dull, nor exceedingly attractive. The notes are few, and unambitious of scholarship. Some grossness remains, though some has been exiled, and much of the wit with it. We can imagine several reasons for the translation being made; it is hard to see why it has been published.

'A Drop in the Ocean,' by Agnes and Bessie, (Masters,) is what it modestly calls itself.

'Christmas Eve, and other Poems,' (Masters;) pretty: the first and longest poem the best; though, if we understand it aright, the expression,—

'Soon must the dew of pain
Be gather'd o'er her brow,'—

contradicts the Church's reasonable tradition.

We have just received the affecting 'Visit to Labrador, by the Bishop of Newfoundland,' (S. P. G.,) prefaced by a warm appeal from the Bishop of London. Never was worthy cause more worthy to be recommended: and we feel it a privilege, as well as pleasure, to commend it to something more substantial than the good wishes of our readers.

'The Bible Revised; by Francis Barham; Part II.: The Song of Solomon.' 1848. (Houlston and Stoneman.) In the first chapter (the only one we have thought it worth while to examine) there are about eighteen deviations in sense from the established version. Of these only two rest on any grounds of philological value: (viz. v. 6, 'scorched' for 'looked upon,' and v. 10, 'strings of pearls' for 'chains of gold:'); and it is not clear that the received rendering is not even here to be preferred to that of the reviser, or, rather, of Gesenius, from whom, no doubt, he took it. The other changes are either mere random alterations, (as 'frankincense' for 'nard,') or positive offences against the plainest rules of construction, (see especially v. 16.) The reviser, it is true, deprecates hostile criticism, (p. iv.,) and begs us to 'hesitate to 'decide absolutely against biblical emendations, till the evidences on 'which they are founded have been heard and weighed;'—as if the circumstance of the emendations being *biblical* (!) ought to make us—not more cautious in proposing them, but—more *forbearing* in examining them;—as if, too, Hebrew were so vague and unsystematized, that we must remain perfectly gentle and passive to every innovator; though, to be sure, if it had been Greek, no one would have requested the same tolerance when he ventured on such novel renderings as *στόμα αὐτοῦ*, 'thy mouth,' (v. 2;) *διὰ τοῦτο*, 'truly,' (v. 3;) *ἐπ' ἀγέλας*, 'from the flocks,' (v. 7,) &c.

'A Compendious Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary,' by the Rev. Joseph Bosworth, D.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Dr. Phil. of Leyden, &c. Though the importance of Anglo-Saxon to an Englishman is not yet appreciated, yet there are hopeful signs that the study is working itself into notice. It is now ten years since the publication of Dr. Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary; it has now been out of print for a long time, and stray copies fetch a high price in the market. Not only is it the best book of its kind, but it is the *ONLY* dictionary of the language, properly so called. A

large glossary, or a complete glossary, is not a dictionary. It must, as its name imports, set forth the diction of a language; discover it in all its bearings, internal and external: *i. e.*, by etymologies and inflections, unfolding the physical relations of the parts; by select quotations displaying the logical; and bringing the light of Comparative Philology to bear upon it from without. That this is somewhat more than a play upon a word, the earnest labours of philologers evince. Dr. Bosworth was the first who undertook this in the cause of Anglo-Saxon. It was an auspicious moment: all the materials were at hand: there was the Vocabulary of Lye; the Philology and Grammar of Grimm and Rask; the successful labours of Kemble and Thorpe; the happy translations of the poetical Grundtvig—even the task of Lexicography was divested of half its terrors. And all lovers of their mother-tongue must thank Dr. Bosworth for the way in which he discharged it. He contrived to make his dictionary available to all, whether versed in Anglo-Saxon or not, by ample indices both of Latin and English words. The Preface contains a history of the whole family of which Anglo-Saxon is a member; this has since been published separately. We have for a long while been expecting a second edition of this excellent book; with many of its deficiencies supplied, and indeed with all the additional acquirements of the last ten years embodied in it. For a Dictionary cannot be completed *at once*: it must be a work of time to bring in all the stragglers, and words that are wanting may escape the notice of all readers for a long space of years, especially if the word be a well-known one: everything that is observed should be carefully noted by the author, with a view to re-editing, and all well-wishers should come forward with their notes. Such a plan would be of great service to the cause of literature generally; whereas, in Lexicography, it is the only way to completeness. We have no complete English Dictionary yet, as all know who have experience in the existing ones. We must not measure the book before us by this scale. 'The present volume has no higher aim than to give in English a compendious explanation of Anglo-Saxon words.' It is a word-book; which, by careful arrangement, is made to convey much of the physical structure of the language. The Preface contains a short sketch of the Anglo-Saxon colonization of England; and altogether we may call this a very handy little volume. Words are ranged under their primitives, without any consequent impracticability to beginners; for where a word has two important elements it may be found under either. But this must occasion difficulty in some words of obscure or doubtful etymology: for instance, we should not have looked for *wilega* under *wile*, but under *witan*; as the German *weissager*, from *weise*, WISSEN. We do not think the author has in all cases carried out his plan:—'The meaning of the Anglo-Saxon is given in English words which most resemble Anglo-Saxon; and, for this purpose, there has not been any scruple in using some obsolete words and modern provincial terms.' But, under *eac*, we miss our old friend, *eke*; under *bytl*, (a mallet,) the Shaksperian *beetle*, a word of every-day use *still* in Devonshire. Under '*angel-twicca*' '*angle-twitch*' would have saved some letter-press. The words of Sommer and Lye, for which Mr. Bosworth is not responsible, are marked with their initials: we may remark that these venerable authorities are not infallible, being ignorant of Anglo-Saxon inflexions; one of our greatest Anglo-Saxon scholars has pronounced Lye's book to be '*a snare to the*

unwary.' In fine, this book will not stand us in the stead of a second edition of the larger work: we rather desire to look upon it as an earnest that the other is coming.

* Reasons why a new Edition of the Peschito should be published,' &c. by J. Rogers, &c. Canon of Exeter. (J. H. Parker.) The labour that would be required to carry out the undertaking suggested by Mr. Rogers is immense. First, comes the selection of some ancient MS. to furnish a new text, instead of the inaccurate one found in Walton's Polyglot; then, the collation of all known MSS. with this text; and, lastly,—though this is not noticed in the pamphlet,—a critical estimate of the value of the *Varia Lectiones* thus obtained. We fear that in these days of active duty, no clergyman, and what *layman*, since the time of Selden, ever reads Syriac?) could afford to give himself up single-handed to such a work. If accomplished, it must be by means of literary combination—an instrument in the use of which we English are much behind our labour-organizing neighbours. May we, by way of stimulating inquiry, put one or two questions to the learned writer as to the *utility* of the undertaking? However old the Syriac version is, is it not at least some centuries later than the LXX.? Was not the LXX. version made by learned Jews, and constantly used by the Apostles? Yet, is it not true that it much oftener receives light from the Hebrew text than throws light upon it? Did Parsons' collation of the LXX. contribute aught to the illustration of the Hebrew text? The bearing of our questions on the subject before us will easily be understood.

‘Christian Poems and Ballads,’ by Arthur Cleveland Coxe, M.A. Rector of St. John's, Hartford, Connecticut. Mr. Coxe is already well known to English readers by the stirring ballads in which, with youthful fervour, he has embodied his love and devotion to his own Church, and his dutiful allegiance to ours, the parent Communion. His ‘Dreamland,’ ‘Vigils,’ ‘Wildminster,’ and other poems, have wakened responsive echoes in many English hearts, and have ministered, in their degree, to feelings of sympathy and brotherhood between the two Churches which cannot be too highly estimated. The somewhat exclusive tendency of the poems we were already familiar with; to enlarge upon externals,—upon the outward signs of sacred truths, and points of order and ecclesiastical arrangement, is still conspicuous in the present volume, which is a complete collection of the author's poems. And living, as Mr. Coxe does, in a land which owns little sympathy for that ‘passion for the beauty of holiness’ which he avows, we cannot wonder that his feelings should expatiate in that direction. But it ought not to be forgotten that it is really a sign of conflict and disunion, for types and symbols to be constantly in men's thoughts and on their tongues: we should talk much of our Queen's crown and sceptre, if there was a party plotting their destruction; and so it is with Catholic symbols: where they are universally acknowledged they may be subjects of allusion or harmless rivalry, but no exclusive theme for discussion; the mind then rather rests on the truths they represent. Mr. Coxe does not fall upon such peaceful days: he is the champion of surplices and fonts, chalices and altars, stalls and rood-screens, calendars and rubrics, porches and towers, organs and bells: these possess all that

intensity of romantic interest with him, which attaches to good things for which we have to fight and struggle; we are therefore perpetually reminded of heart-burnings and contentions. We are not quarrelling with all this; the themes of his song are the outer garbs of many sacred truths; but after a time the mind wearies of long-sustained enthusiasm for anything but the very inmost truth itself. Even the 'pageant of God's perfect law affords not full delight;' the heart seeks after the Spirit which animates all external observances, the Presence which subdues the thoughts, and chastens their expression. We admit that in America these topics may be needed, but are they not too exclusively prominent? Mr. Coxe, apparently from allowing his mind to rest too long on the external signs, sometimes misses of this chastening influence. He often seems to play with his subject. He 'trolls a hymn,' thinking how 'twill roll on round the world: he speaks of some western wilderness being as 'free from holiness as the soul of the infidel,' because it had hitherto had no Church—an off-hand allusion, as it strikes us, to an awful state of mind. He exhorts us to—

'Pray, Christian, pray, at the bonny peep of dawn.'

And again:

'Go, Christian, go,
For the altar flameth there,
And the snowy vestments glow
Of the Presbyter at prayer:—

where the vestments and the altar seem rather to occupy the mind than the prayer he exhorts to. But we will not multiply instances. It is an invidious task to notice blemishes, where there is so much to respect and admire; but it is for this very reason that we would have our author sometimes pause, and realise more than his verse will often allow, the heart of his subject, and the subject, we are certain, of his heart. We believe him capable of higher and more manly efforts, of something deeper and fuller than he has yet aimed at; and for this it will be necessary to meditate on hidden meanings, and to subdue the careless flow to which facility and a habit of enthusiasm sometimes tempts him.

'Angels' Work, and two other Tales,' (Parker, Oxford.) 'Angels' Work' is an enigmatical title, but an appropriate one, when the enigma is solved. It means, in fact, the occupation of choristers; and two choristers are the heroes of the story, who thus explain their office to an old man, who questions them on their employments. There is a tone of allegory in this point of the narrative; the style of conversation being little like what boys, even if they wear surplices, ever really adopt: but this only gives a poetical character to the story, harmonizing well with its tendency. 'Do your best,' the second story, is more matter of fact, and is a valuable lesson, given with serious impressiveness, on the constant necessity of performing this duty.

We have been accustomed to look up to Mr. Poole as a sort of ecclesiological patriarch. Years ago, when there was hardly yet such a thing as 'Camdenism,' this gentleman published lectures, which soon expanded into a thin volume, upon Church arrangement, advocating many of the things for which, though now every new church presents them, the Cambridge Society has since been so severely attacked. It was, therefore, with no

small curiosity that we took up his newly-published 'History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England,' (Masters.) We confess that we laid it down with the conviction that the promise afforded by his earlier work had not been fulfilled, in the bulky tome of more than 400 pages which has latterly occupied his learned leisure. Briefly described, the book is, in a great degree, a compilation from the most heterogeneous sources, monkish chronicles, and Mr. Rickman, for instance, not remarkably well pieced together, and leaving no good general impression of the subject upon the reader's mind. Mr. Poole, we observe, still sticks to the clumsy old nomenclature of Rickman, without so much as alluding to the more compact and scientific one which several ecclesiologists have adopted from the continental writers. In various parts of the book there is a sort of *cave canem* tone, which Mr. Poole ought to have known he need not have assumed, and which will, we beg to assure him, be quite inefficacious in conciliating any support from those who may be shocked at the more uncompromising dogmas of the highest class of Ecclesiologists represented by the leading Societies, with whom, though he avoids the confession, Mr. Poole has evidently enough sympathy at heart to render him equally obnoxious with them to those to whom altars, and chancels, and screens, and painted glass, are scandals. For example, after a glowing description of the restored church of the Holy Sepulchre, at Cambridge, he alludes to that atrocious act of ungrateful persecution, which was the reward of its restorers, in the following easy and philosophic phraseology:—'It is greatly to be regretted that a question very indirectly touching architectural proprieties should have occurred to take the work out of the Society's hands; and no one can approve of the taste and judgment displayed in the few alterations which have been made since they resigned (!) their task of restoration. Into the polemical question, of course, we do not enter.' And why not?—the polemical question of the material and form of altars, and of the use of credences, is surely not so very alien to ecclesiastical architecture. Mr. Poole once did enter into this very question, for in the first edition of his Lectures, he pronounced against stone, and in favour of wooden altars; an opinion which, in his second, he modified; and to which modification, of course, till he again speaks upon the matter, we must conclude that he adheres. We are very much astonished to find that Mr. Poole owns (though in justice to him we must add, as an individual opinion,) 'a dislike to all pictures which include a representation of our blessed Lord,' relying on a decree of the Council of Eliberis. We should have thought that the constant practice of the universal Church in all lands ever since would have been more than a sufficient refusal of this prohibition, which our author himself acknowledges in a foot-note was not that of a general council—a council, too, in which this particular canon is not the solitary instance of exception to the general tone and practice of Catholic consent. In his chapter on painted glass, Mr. Poole adopts Mr. Winston's crotchet of the superiority of the later glass, *per contra*. He is very liberal, further on, in his choice of style, which may be profitably revived by modern church architects, only excluding the later form of 'perpendicular.'

A vigorous criticism on Mr. Soames' 'Latin Church during Anglo-Saxon Times,' has reached us, under the title, 'Anglo-Saxonica: or Animadversions,

&c. by Mr. John D. Chambers,' (Masters.) Mr. Chambers certainly makes a strong case against Mr. Soames: but we are not sure that a little retrenchment would not have made the argument more acceptable.

'Descriptive Notices of some of the ancient Parochial and Collegiate Churches of Scotland,' (London: J. H. Parker.) Scotland, as is observed in a note to this volume, 'is extremely poor in topographical works;' and if the account of ordinary Scottish travellers were a correct one, there would be little reason to wonder or regret that no large proportion of these works is devoted to her Church architecture. But the fewer monuments of art she has to boast of, the more reason is there that full justice should be done to what she has; and, besides, more industrious or more observant investigators, such as Mr. Neale in the Orkney Islands, have proved that valuable examples may be found far north of the Tweed. A considerable number of these meet with ample justice in the present work, the title of which, we trust, implies that more of the Scotch churches will hereafter receive the same consideration. To speak of what is of least importance, it is a first-rate specimen of Mr. Parker's sumptuous typography, and of Mr. Jewitt's finished wood-cuts, which have given such value to many recent architectural publications. The descriptions are written by a person thoroughly conversant with all the terms of the art: indeed, we question whether the profuse use of technical words will not endanger the popularity of the work. It reads like the *praxis* of an ecclesiological student. For instance, the elaborate account of S. Matthew's, Roslin, however minute and accurate, will not, we fear, be very graphic to any but adepts, especially as its rich but debased details have (very properly, perhaps,) been thought unworthy of pictorial illustration. The subjects chosen for engraving, except the very interesting chancel at Dalmeney, are such as in an English work would hardly have claimed such distinction; but they are admirably executed, and give much grace to the work. We wish the Editor's note at the end of the book were not too late to save Holy Trinity church, Edinburgh, from the destruction and desecration with which it is threatened.

'The doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ in its relation to Mankind and to the Church, by Archdeacon Wilberforce,' (Murray,) has just appeared; most opportunely as far as regards this sacred season, but too late to enable us to notice it at length in the present number. We question whether any volume combining equal research and originality has appeared for several years; certainly none more suited to these times, in which many persons seem to have been persuaded that the characteristic doctrines of the Church, and indeed doctrinal accuracy altogether, are in some degree inconsistent, or at least unconnected, with personal devotion and spirituality. We think, on the other hand, that any attentive reader of this work will feel that if true personal Christianity has ever been retained (which we are ready thankfully to admit it has) by men who have forgotten or denied the doctrines of sacramental grace, the Divine indwelling of the Eternal Word in the body of the Church, and the like, it has been retained only for a while, and by a happy inconsistency, which cannot be expected long to be exhibited by any theological school, however it

may exist in individuals. We hope to return to the present volume on a future occasion.

'The Complete Poetical Works of the late Miss Lucy Hooper,' (New York: Fanshawe. London: Chapman.) A very interesting book of poetry by a young American authoress, one of the many examples of early genius which her country furnishes, for she died in her twenty-fifth year. To have written a thick large volume of readable verse before this age, implies almost too much facility. Poetry ought to cost some labour; it is not usually a gain to the reader that the author *thought*, as it is said, in verse—if the expression means, as it does in this case, with the rapidity of the most ordinary prose. And, in fact, these poems have the redundancy, the profusion of epithet, and frequently the adopted phraseology, which characterise habitual haste in composition. But Miss Lucy Hooper was still a very interesting person in her character of authoress, as well as woman. Her poems uniformly bear the impress of an ardent fancy, and a gentle pure nature. Her heart responded to every genuine emotion—was excited by every beautiful scene or noble action. We see that she must express what she felt, and that she wrote because she could not help it. There is a perfect freedom from pretension and display; we invariably *like* the writer, and recognise that simplicity and modesty of character which her biographer so warmly dwells upon. Sometimes instances occur of a certain sentimentality which we could wish away; the adoption, that is, of glowing words rather from habit than feeling—words which, from long and indiscriminate use, have lost their force, and become too much technical stock phrases to have again the power of stirring up our sensibilities, unless their application has a very vivid genuineness. But this sentimentality is the fruit evidently of haste rather than of vitiated feeling. There is a freshness of spirit throughout—a real sympathy with all that is worthy of sympathy. To adopt the wording of her memoir, strange to an English Churchman's ear, 'She had been educated in the peculiar tenets of the Episcopal Church, to which denomination of professing Christians her family had always been attached,' and her mature judgment led her to rejoice in the faith of her birth. Her best and most vigorous poems bear witness to this; and though few are of a directly sacred character, a tone of pure religious and moral feeling pervades them all.

'Thoughts in Verse, from a Village Churchman's Note-Book, by the Rev. Samuel Childs Clarke, M.A.' (J. H. Parker.) This book affords one of the numerous and still increasing examples of the hold our Prayer-Book has on the affections and inmost thoughts of Churchmen, and of the manner in which religious minds dwell on the beauty of its services, and their adaptation to all circumstances and states of feeling. Mr. Clarke, in this volume, applies them to his village congregation, and brings Church feeling to bear on all the events and local interests of rural life. The truth and simplicity of these unpretending verses will recommend them to many in the absence of any striking novelty in the mode of treating familiar subjects.

'The Trial of Creation, and other Poems, by the Rev. G. W. Birkett, A.M.' (J. H. Parker.) There is occasional strength of expression in

these poems; but, on the whole, the poetry is cumbrous, awkward, and strained. They show the Miltonian model too directly aimed at, and Miltonian language too directly borrowed, by one who cannot wield it, and brings it in out of place. Thus the paraphrase of the *Te Deum*—

‘To Thee all Angels cry aloud: to Thee
Heaven and the blazing Hierarchs therein,
Princedoms, Dominions, Powers,
The ceaseless anthem raise.’

‘A New Version of the Book of Job, with Expository Notes, and an Introduction on the spirit, composition, and author of the Book. By D. Friedrich Wilhelm Carl Umbreit, Professor of Theology in Heidelberg. Translated from the German, by the Rev. John Hamilton Gray, M.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford, Vicar of Bolsover.’ (Edinburgh: Clark.) Umbreit belongs to the school of Hebraists brought up under the influence of Gesenius and Ewald. As such, he might be expected to have the qualities we find in him—an acquaintance with the minutiae of grammar (derived almost entirely from the ‘Lehrgebaude’ and the ‘Kritische-Grammatik,’) and of lexicography, joined with a rather liberal style of etymology, never indeed pushed to the extravagant lengths it reached in the hands of Schultens, but still always glad to escape from the beaten track of versions and authorities into the almost boundless expanse of Arabian literature. His philological training leads him to advert here (with two or three exceptions) to the Masoretic text, rejecting the pseudo-emendations of Reiske, Eichhorn, Houbigant, &c. (e.g. at i. pp. 267, 304, 309; ii. pp. 12, 66.) This is, so far, a great improvement on the criticism of a former generation; it preserves at least a sound basis of *ἐρμηνεία*. The exegetical spirit, not so fanatically hostile to the Christian view as that of the old Rationalists, is simply sceptical. Since Umbreit’s version was published, a ‘Commentary on Job, by Heiligstedt,’ (Lipsiæ, 1847,) has appeared, distinguished by a still stronger regard to accurate scholarship; and though with an evident leaning to Umbreit, restoring in a great number of places the older rendering, which he had displaced.

Among several Logical works which have lately appeared is one by Mr. Moberly of Balliol, ‘Lectures on Logic,’ (J. H. Parker.) It is clearly and intelligibly written, but without going very deeply into any of the points, or attempting to exhaust them. Upon several of the Questions there is some information very concisely put, which perhaps is not so conveniently to be got from any other manual; as, for instance, the short chapter on Induction in the Third Part. It would seem, however, that there is some confusion in the chapters which follow, on the Structure &c. of the Syllogism; the validity of which is made to depend, first, on the first two canons; then on a specific dictum for each figure, and then on the special rules. Now, as the writer himself acknowledges, there are two distinct principles introduced. Aristotle’s own definition of the syllogism in the first Figure supplies the place of canon, dictum, and special rule. We have noticed this, as it seems quite possible that this part might be much simplified. Mr. Moberly has introduced us to an entirely new set of examples, having released the propositions (of immortal memory) relative to the first three letters of the alphabet, and the horse

and swan, from their labours. As to the question, what sort of examples are most properly introduced into a logical treatise, a great deal is to be said on both sides. Perhaps it is quite as well that students should have access to treatises which have merely formal examples, and also to others like the present. In the chapter on the *εἰκὸς* and *σημεῖον*, for instance, the examples are well worked out, and cannot but give a beginner clearer ideas, than those in the Rhetoric give, of the use of such arguments; for, certainly, their use would be extremely limited if their great object was to enable us to draw such inference as that a man was ill because he was in a fever, or was in a fever because he was ill.

'The English Churchman's Kalendar, for the year of our Lord 1849,' (Masters.) This seems to have obtained a certain degree of reputation, as the best exponent of the Church's directions on such difficult points as the concurrence of festivals, &c. In the Preface, we find the following startling sentence. The editor is urging that there must be certain rules which 'a Clergyman, at all imbued with the spirit of the yearly cycle of our Church's teaching, would at once feel bound to obey. But what rules? Could he plead the "Duæ Tabellæ ex Rubricis Generalibus excerptæ" of the Roman Breviary as unrepealed? Nay, what do words mean if "the number and hardness of the rules called the *Pie*" be not repealed? Surely the five very closely printed pages which these two tables occupy in the little Leyden Breviary contain rules so numerous and hard, that there is "more business to find out what should be read, than to read it when it is found out." And yet the editor has heard them pronounced clear and easy. If so, and they be the authorities still to settle the concurrence of festivals, why are they not given in the Prayer-Book? Was it contemplated in 1661 that every English Priest had his Breviary to turn to? And is it desired in 1848 that every English Priest should forthwith supply himself with one to eke out the deficiencies of his own Common Prayer-Book? To all this we answer that, till the English Church publishes *her* Tabellæ, one of two things must follow. Either we must abide by the old rules, (the easiest, the simplest, the most accordant to common sense ever devised, whatever the editor may think to the contrary,) or no one has a right to publish a Calendar for the use of his brethren, because the whole arrangement is a matter of private opinion. It is clear that what our Church did not expressly abrogate, (and what is the *Pie* to the present purpose?) that she enjoined; just as the Psalms are said antiphonally, without the shadow of a rubric for the practice, except in the state-services. At all events, to take the lowest ground, why not as well adopt that rule, proved as it is by the trial of centuries, serving (the ancient principle of the *Tabellæ* once studied) for ever, and, as matter of fact, largely followed in our Church—(and which, like other traditional rules, the actual Church assumes as being understood and unrepealed)—as the editor of this 'Kalendar's' rule, invented four years ago, requiring the purchase of the almanac year after year, founded on no principle, and inconsistent with itself? Even in this very number there is a self-contradiction. In the Preface it is said, that when Lady-day concurs with a Sunday in Lent, common sense would lead the English Churchman to give precedence to the Sunday. It *does* so concur this year; and the editor actually gives precedence to the Saint's-day! Again: if we are to

confine ourselves strictly to the phraseology of the English Prayer-Book, what business has the editor to talk of *octaves*?—what right to say that ‘every parishioner is to communicate at Easter,’ means, ‘or in the week, or Sunday following?’ We will notice the absolute mistakes which occur in this ‘Kalendar’ for the following year:—only protesting against the editor’s theory, that Saints’ days having eves which are not fasted have no first vespers. Nothing but the depths of ritual ignorance in which we have long been involved could have given rise for a moment to the notion, —and it is not worth serious refutation. We give the editor’s directions in italics.

Jan. 6. The Epiphany falls on Saturday. *At Evensong Collect of the Morrow.* Properly, First Collect of the Festival, Second of the Sunday.

Feb. 24. S. Matthias falls on the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent. *At Evensong, Collect of the Morrow.* Properly, First Collect of the Festival, Second of the Sunday. It ought to have been directed at Matins that the Collect for Quinquagesima is said after the Collect for S. Matthias: it is a concurrence of a *double of the second class*, and a *feria major*.

March 25. Lady Day concurs with Passion Sunday. The Festival is called by the editor the ‘Annunciation of Mary:’—where does he find the Blessed Virgin so denominated in the Prayer-Book? *Proper Service of the Annunciation.* Quite wrong. Proper service of the Sunday: NO COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNUNCIATION on that day. This involves a mistake in the preceding Saturday evensong: *Collects of the Annunciation and of the Sunday.* Of the Sunday only. The folly of a direction giving the Sunday Collect to the Saturday evening, and not to the Sunday itself, is manifest.

June 24. S. John Baptist’s Day concurs with the Third Sunday after Trinity. *Proper Service of S. John’s Day.* Add, Second Collect of the Sunday.

Sept. 21. S. Matthew’s Day concurs with Ember Friday. *Proper Service.* Add, Second Collect of the preceding Sunday: this being a *feria major*.

Oct. 28. SS. Simon and Jude concurs with the Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity. *Proper Service.* Add, Second Collect of the Sunday.

Dec. 21. S. Thomas. *Proper Service.* Add, Second Collect of the preceding Sunday.

Christmas Day. At Evensong, add, Second Collect of S. Stephen: and so of the following days. Here we will only observe that actually, on the Saturday following Christmas, the Collect for the Fourth Sunday in Advent is directed to be read!

We might point out other mistakes in the prefatory matter; but these are enough to warrant us in expressing a hope that the ‘English Churchman’s Kalendar’ will be discontinued, and Leslie’s ‘Ecclesiastical Almanac’ (why dropped we know not) be revived. *That* could always be trusted.

‘The Churchman’s Diary,’ (Masters,) has nearly all the same mistakes about the concurrence of festivals: but being devoid of the controversial preface of the last-named publication, is superior to it. And it has a good ritual direction about chancels and the celebration of Communion. We have to observe, however, that the hymn is not ‘Therefore with angels,’ &c. but ‘Holy, holy,’ &c. The communicants consequently are to rise, and join, at the latter, not at the former, words.

Cleaver's Calendar, 'Companion for Churchmen,' leaves the *crux* above alluded to in happy obscurity, merely stating that on certain days 'one or more changes or additions,' without specifying what, 'are made in collects.' In other respects this publication is precisely the same as, only dearer than, the small almanac of the S. P. C. K. The least worthless of the set is that which costs least money.

'Annotations on St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, designed chiefly for the use of students of the Greek Text. By Thomas Williamson Peile, D.D., Head Master of Repton School, &c.' (Rivingtons.) This is the continuation of Dr. Peile's Annotations on the Epistles, two portions of which, (on the Epistle to the Romans, and the First to the Corinthians,) have been previously published. Like the former portions, this volume shows signs of great care and thought; though we could wish that the ancient interpreters occupied a more prominent place among the authorities cited.

The most important part of the volume, (as indicating the spreading of a leaven, full, as we believe, of danger to the true doctrine of the Church,) is an appendix, since, as we believe, expanded into a separate sermon, on the words *χάρις καὶ ἀποστολή*, Rom. i. 5. The learned writer—strangely enough, as it seems,—finds in the word *ἡμῶν* (*Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν*), the subject of the verb *ἐλάβομεν*, and discarding all idea of S. Paul's meaning either himself singly, or the body of the Apostles together, in the words *δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολήν*, proceeds to expatiate on the grace and Apostleship of the Collective Church. On this point he enlarges cordially, and not without eloquence, maintaining that the Apostolic 'function and energy' resides, not in any individual successors of the Apostles, but in the Church at large. It is somewhat difficult to appreciate the exact logical force of Dr. Peile's long and somewhat embarrassed periods; but as far as we comprehend his meaning, he seems to us to give way to the great Arnoldian and Bunsenian fallacy: viz. that the proof of the lofty Church-estate of the multitude of believers involves the disproof of the peculiar powers of the priesthood. He seems to think that if the Church at large inherits the great Apostolic powers, (which we allow—though not on the critical ground on which he rests it in this Appendix,) that it follows, in the way of inevitable consequence, that there cannot be a succession of persons within the Church, inheriting them also, and in a more peculiar way. We have argued this point in a recent Number, in reviewing Mr. Bunsen's own work, and we must here repeat that such an opinion seems to us altogether illogical and groundless. It is not only perfectly possible, but absolutely necessary, that the collective powers of the Universal Church should be administered by particular persons, acting therein as her representatives, (*'gerentes figuram ecclesiae'*, as S. Augustine not unfrequently speaks;) and, the Powers being themselves Divine, and continually imparted and kept up by Divine grace, there is no possible reason to be alleged, why these particular persons should not be chosen, empowered, ordained, in the way of perpetual succession from the Apostles themselves, so as in every generation to receive, by imposition of Apostolic hands, the grace which is to fit them for the due discharge of their Powers of Representatives of the Universal Church. We altogether accept and receive

Mr. Bunsen's and Dr. Peile's affirmative view of the glorious estate and Divine Powers of the Universal Church, the Body and Spouse of Christ: but we equally reject and wonder at the negative consequence which they draw from it,—that there cannot be another succession of individuals, inheriting of the Apostles, and in every generation authoritatively representing the Church. Dr. Peile writes: 'RECEIVE YE THE HOLY GHOST—the Lord Jesus Himself had said, at the same time *breathing on them*,—As MY FATHER HATH SENT ME, EVEN SO SEND I YOU. Was *this* transmission of that "life" which "as the Father hath in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have in Himself," such as one man should have power to transmit 'to another?' Will he allow us to ask him in what sense he understands the former of these sacred words, and the wonderful end which follows them, to have been pronounced on himself when he received Priest's orders? Does not the Church intend to use the words of Christ in S. John xx. 22, 23; and so intending, does she not believe that 'one man has power to transmit to another' the awful gift and authority which they speak of? And in truth to this the question comes. Is that awful saying, '*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*,' a reality, or a terrible deception? Are such powers imparted at ordinations to God's Priests, as the Church of God has in no generation denied or questioned,—the powers, we mean, which our Lord imparted by His Divine breath, as recorded in that verse of S. John;—or is our ordinal, and every Catholic ordinal from the earliest days, and with it the universal claim of God's Priests since the very beginning of Christian History,—a lying and blasphemous presumption?

Two of Canon Schmid's Tales have been translated,—was there not a previous translation?—'Henry of Eichenfels' and 'Christmas Eve,' (Cleaver.) It is the first of another series (!) of Children's books, to be called 'Vacation Volumes.' Schmid, while he admirably accommodates the simpler heavy cast of the young German minds, does not, we think, suit the quicker English apprehension. He is pious, but languid, diffuse, and unimaginative.

Among the works on which, having reached us almost on the eve of publication, we cannot pass a summary opinion, we may specify, as carrying some importance, 'Madvig's Latin Grammar, translated by Mr. George Woods,' (J. H. Parker;) 'The Life and Letters of Campbell, edited by his Executor, Dr. Beattie,' (Moxon;) 'The Acts of S. Mary Magdalene, by Mr. Henry Stretton,' (Masters.)

Mr. Baptist Noel's work, 'Essay on the Union of Church and State,' (Nisbet,) has been placed in our hands, while this sheet is passing through the press. Two passages struck us, in the hasty glance which is all that we could gain. 'I once laboured hard to convince myself that our Reformers did not and could not mean that infants are regenerated by baptism; but no reasoning avails. This language is too plain.'—P. 439. 'Of the 12,923 working pastors of churches, I fear, from various concurrent symptoms, that about 10,000 are unconverted men, who neither preach nor know the Gospel.'

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1849.

ART. I.—1. *History of Greece.* By GEORGE GROTE, Esq.
Vol. i. *Legendary Greece.* John Murray, Albemarle Street,
1846.

2. *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece.* By K. O.
MÜLLER, Professor in the University of Gottingen. Chapter
viii. *Hesiod.* Baldwin and Cradock, Paternoster Row, 1840.

‘WHENCE arises the evil which we see around us in the world?’ This must have been a startling question to the mind of a serious and inquiring Greek of the earlier age. He had no divine revelation to guide him; and the traditions he was familiar with, dim and feeble outlines of the truth as they were, could have suggested but an unsatisfactory solution of the momentous problem. Of the fact there could be no doubt. Evil, in its twofold character of sin and misery, was the subject of continual and bitter experience. It was clear that, in the majority of men, reason had become the slave of the passions, which she ought to have brought into subjection; and from the time of Homer *οἰζυρὸς* had been the ‘epitheton solenne’ of *βροτὸς*, as expressing the woe to which human flesh is heir. But how could the existence of evil be accounted for? The Nile, it was evident, had overflowed its banks, but what could have occasioned the swelling of its waters? could it be that the gods, the bestowers of good, (*δωτῆρες ἐάων*,) had also showered down their curses upon mankind? Or should the inquirer adopt a creed similar to that of the Manichees of later times, and of our own Saxon ancestors, and ascribe to an Arhiman or a Zerneboch a power for evil coextensive with that of the opposite principle for good? Or did evil arise from a necessity of nature, as being inseparable from the matter of which the world was composed? Or had man of his own free-will degenerated from the original rectitude of his nature, and, pursuing folly, reaped its harvest of misfortune? Or, finally, was there an all-controlling destiny, undefined, inscrutable, itself subject to no laws, which impelled at one time to good, at another time to ill, using both gods and men as mere blind instruments of its own? Origen, verily, with all the light

of revelation, found it difficult to explain the source of evil, for he says, (c. Cels. l. 4. p. 207,) *Εἴπερ οὖν ἄλλος τις τόπος τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐξετάσεως δεόμενος δυσθήρατός ἐστι τῇ φύσει ἡμῶν, ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἡ τῶν κακῶν ταχθείη ἂν γένεσις.* How much more then must the consideration of such a subject have bewildered a poor Greek, dependent upon his own meagre resources of conjecture or interpretation!

We find no attempt at the solution of this difficulty in the Homeric poems. The poet, like all bards of the earliest and least civilised times, is too much occupied in singing objectively the warlike exploits of old (*κλέα ἀνδρῶν*), to bestow much thought on the progress or deterioration of mankind. Miraculous interpositions of heaven, moving incidents by sea or land, the contest of the elements, but above all, the tented field—War, with all its circumstance, the delight of heroes (*χάρμη*), and their greatest glory, are the only themes to which his chords will respond. Yet, even Homer laments the degeneracy of his own day: but it is only when the spear of Achilles is to be hurled, or some vast fragment of a rock to be thrown, that the weakness of his contemporaries occurs to him. He also makes his hero allude to the distribution of good and evil, from the two¹ casks which stand on Jove's threshold—but very perfunctorily, without any reference to the law of their allotment—merely as a topic of consolation to the weeping and broken-hearted Priam.

But Hesiod,² with whose ideas we are now mainly concerned, was a poet of a far different temperament. We may probably assign as his date, the period between 750 and 700 B.C.,³ and with the most judicious critics consider him to have lived about a century posterior to Homer. In this interval, his countrymen seem to have lost much of their exclusively martial character, and the restless activity of the Heroic age had given place to the quieter pursuits of more ordinary life. The Boeotians themselves were not a very ambitious or distinguished nation; and although Peneleus and Leitus had found their way wrongfully into the Homeric catalogue, instead of their Cadmean predecessors, yet how tame is the part they play, compared with the Achæan

¹ *Iliad*, 24. 527.

² We use the name of Hesiod because no scholar yet has been found bold enough to question *his* individuality; although critics, in their everlasting strainings after originality, are constantly discovering that such and such passages are not from Hesiod's pen, but are interpolations by some pupil of the Hesiodic school. Goettling, with much critical acumen and philological research, is more liable to this charge than we could have wished. He supposes the passages v. 47—105, v. 109—201, v. 504—558, of the *Works and Days*, to be interpolations.

³ Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. i. chap. 2) places Hesiod shortly after the year 700 B.C. We should be inclined to give more weight to the opinion of Herodotus, that Hesiod preceded himself by about 400 years.

leaders from Thessaly and the Peloponnese! To quote the words of the late Professor K. O. Müller, whose recent death has inflicted a loss upon philology, which she will have long occasion to deplore;

'We find the Bœotians always remaining a vigorous, hardy race, whose mind can never soar far above the range of bodily existence, and whose cares are for the most part limited to the supply of their immediate wants—equally removed from the proud aspirations of the Doric spirit, which subjected all things within its reach to the influence of certain deeply implanted notions, and from the liveliness and fine susceptibility of the Ionic character, which received all impressions with a fond and impassioned interest.'

Hesiod himself had a mind very susceptible of external influence—keenly appreciating the corruption of his fellows, and viewing with feelings of bitter melancholy, their declension from the path of virtue. Add to this, that he himself had severely suffered from the unfraternal conduct of his brother Perses, and the injustice of 'the kings,' who by a warped sentence (*σκολήσι δίκησι*), as he emphatically terms it, had defrauded him of a large portion of his inheritance. In such a position, and possessed of such feelings, can we wonder that the Ascraean should mourn over the crimes of men, and reflect on the origin of evil? And Hesiod did 'intently think—intensely feel,' on a subject so fraught with awe and wonder. In his great didactic poem of the 'Works and Days,'—the earliest of subjective poetry,—which depicts, with such accuracy as might be expected from the infancy of thought, the intensive workings of the human mind, the main scope doubtless is to admonish his wayward brother of the ruin to which his bad courses were hurrying him—to represent the happiness of virtue and the misery of vice even in this world—to show him the means by which he might yet retrieve his shattered fortunes and become a useful member of the society he had outraged. But to all such admonitions it seemed but a natural preface to describe the causes of the villany and dishonesty which were every where apparent, and the origin of woe, disease, and death. And this object our poet hopes to attain, by selecting for his brother's meditation those legends of his country which seemed to himself most pregnant with meaning, and most truly indicative of the source of human misery. The myths he selected, alike conspicuous for their wonderful significancy and the beauty of their poetic dress, are the story of Pandora, and that of the successive Ages of the world.

And first, for the narrative of Pandora.

In subsequent times, the Greeks, and more especially the Athenians, prided themselves upon being autochthons, or sprung

from the land they inhabited, from their own mountains and their native woods; and the great, too, were enamoured of a pedigree which connected them with the gods, and assigned them for an ancestor a¹ Hercules or an Apollo. But in the earlier ages of which we are speaking, the tradition of the original *creation* of man had not wholly disappeared. The idea of a proper creation of heaven and earth, of such high antiquity among oriental nations, which supposed the Deity to have formed the world with design, was unknown to the Greeks, and could only arise in religions which ascribed a personal existence and an eternal duration to the Deity. Hence, they deduced heaven and earth from *generation* of Chaos² or the wide abyss of space. And with the external objects of nature, the original elementary religion of the Greeks was necessarily connected; and consequently the origin of their gods is by generation also, and from the universal womb of Chaos. But with man it was otherwise: in his production creation had a share, although it was not the only element.

After the twofold revolution in Olympus, by which Uranus and Cronus had been in turn compelled to retire before the arms of their rebellious offspring, Zeus had become lord of the

¹ Cf. Plat. Theætetus, p. 175.

² Hermann, in a most learned dissertation, 'de Mythologia Græcorum antiquissima,' in the second volume of his *Opuscula*, maintains that the ideas of the Greeks on cosmogony and theogony can be discovered from the signification of the terms they used. He applies this principle with amazing skill to the names in the Theogonia of Hesiod: e.g. *Χάος* is not 'rudis indigestaque moles,' as subsequently interpreted, but merely *space*, from *χαλω*. *Γαῖα*, the primeval offspring of Chaos, is matter, which contains the germs of creation in itself. But inasmuch as matter by itself would be inert and useless, *Ἔπος* (from *εἶπερ*, to connect) is assigned to *Γαῖα* as a brother, suggesting the adhesion of the otherwise scattered atoms, &c. &c. Notwithstanding, however, the plausibility of Hermann's arguments, we must record our concurrence with Mr. Grote's opinion about the unsoundness of allegorical interpretation. 'To resolve them (i.e. the divine agents in Homer and Hesiod) into mere allegory is unsafe and unprofitable; we then depart from the point of view of the original hearers, without acquiring any consistent or philosophical point of view of our own. For although some of the attributes and actions ascribed to these persons are often explicable by allegory, the whole series and system of them never is so. The theorist who adopts this course of explanation finds that, after one or two obvious and simple steps, the path is no longer open, and he is forced to clear a way for himself by gratuitous refinements and conjectures.' Plato, long before, felt the difficulty which Mr. Grote alludes to. In the *Phædrus*, p. 229, he makes his Socrates say, 'For my part, Phædrus, though I consider such (i.e. allegorical) explanations sufficiently pretty, yet I consider them the peculiar province of a very subtle, pains-taking, and by no means enviable person; if for no other reason than that he will be called upon, as soon as he has finished this subject, to set us right as to the form of the Hippocentaurs, and again as to that of the Chimera: and then he will have pouring in upon him a like crowd of Gorgons and Pegasus, and such a wondrous host of portentous and impossible creations, that if he were to disbelieve them all, and with a kind of vulgar acuteness apply to each successively the test of probability, he would require no small amount of time and labour for the task.'—*Wright's Translation*.

ascendant, and from wantonness of power, or regard to his own security, had punished his father with his brother Titans,

‘ ——— the band
That from his kingdom durst attempt to drive
The star-crowned monarch,’

by eternal relegation to Tartarus. Now two of the sons of the imprisoned Titan Iapetus (whom critics identify with Japhet,¹ son of the patriarch Noah), Prometheus and Epimetheus, are in a peculiar degree associated with mankind. No sooner is Zeus seated on his usurped throne, than we find Prometheus in the character of man's champion, engaged in a contest of stratagem with the father of the gods, and cheating him of his fair share of the sacrificial victim.² And when Zeus, in his wrath, had withdrawn from earth the fire which alone rendered life supportable, the undaunted Iapetid purloins from heaven in the hollow of a ferule, that inestimable blessing for his protégés. And it is for this second offence, that Zeus determines to send Pandora among mankind. Now the question naturally arises, Who are these men who are so indebted to Prometheus' patronage, and in whose behalf he ventures to disregard the laws of property? This is the real difficulty, which some attempt to evade by supposing that they were indigenous or autochthons; others again ascribe their creation to Prometheus himself. But neither of these hypotheses tallies with the Hesiodic narrative. The Theogonia comprises the generation of *all*; yet there is no mention of a single mortal. We would wish to offer a suggestion ourselves, which is, that none other than Prometheus and Epimetheus, with their less distinguished brothers Atlas and Menætiæus, were the mortals who strove with Zeus at Mecone, and to whom Pandora was sent. By his opposition to the great potentate, Iapetus had forfeited for himself and his descendants the prerogatives of gods. Henceforth, his children are to be the connecting link between the despots of Olympus, and the future race of men. Although, like Milton's Satan, they 'had not yet lost all their original brightness,' but merely felt 'the excess of glory obscured,' they were now doomed to move in a lower sphere, and to become the progenitors of an inferior race. Hence it is that Zeus addresses Prometheus on the occasion of their quarrel, as the representative of *men*, and when Pandora is sent as 'a plague to inventive *men*,' Epimetheus' house is her destination. And with such a notion the names of Prometheus

¹ Epimetheus is termed by Milton (*Paradise Lost*, iv. 716), 'the unwiser son of Japhet.'

² Hesiod. Theog. v. 535.

³ Lord Bacon, in his treatise '*de Sapientia Veterum*,' in chap. xxvi., entitled, 'Prometheus sive Status Hominis,' collects whatever accounts are given of Prometheus.

and Epimetheus (the one *provident*, and the other *wise after the event*) admirably harmonize, as in them are personified the intellectual vigour and weakness of man. And men are descended from Prometheus, though not without the intervention of the other principle (deduced from traditional truth) of creation: for it is not from a marriage between Prometheus and an immortal goddess, that Deucalion, the great ancestor of men, is born; but by his union with Pandora, the creation of Hephæstus by command of Zeus.

But to resume the thread of the narrative. When Prometheus had twice outwitted Zeus, the latter was naturally very indignant, and determined to play off upon him or his brother, (for it seems to have been a matter of perfect indifference to Zeus, who probably looked upon Epimetheus as an accessory after the fact at least,) a most ruinous stratagem—by sending to them a present they should be glad to accept, but the acceptance of which they should rue all their days. After Zeus had intimated this his magnanimous resolution to Prometheus, and had issued his orders to Hephæstus, the poet proceeds:—

‘He spoke, and they the royal Zeus obey’d:
Straightway Hephæstus made of earth a form
Like to a modest virgin, as Zeus will’d.
The stern-eyed Pallas girded on her zone:
Graces immortal and revered Persuasion
Fitted the golden chain around her neck:
The fair-tress’d Hours crown’d her with vernal wreaths.
Within her breast, Hermes, the Argicide,
Falsehood, and cunning words, and guileful arts
Implanted, at the Thunderer’s behest.
Anon, the herald of the gods bestow’d
The gift of eloquence, and gave her name,
Pandora; for th’ Olympian denizens

metheus by the ancients, and then most ingeniously allegorizes the whole. To epitomize the whole chapter would be too great a task, but we will select a portion of it for a specimen. Bacon tells a story from *Ælian*,—that after the theft of fire by Prometheus, men were so ungrateful as to betray their benefactor to Zeus. The god was much gratified with their treason, and in recompense bestowed upon them the gift of perpetual youth. With this present they foolishly loaded an ass, which being athirst, went to a well to drink, when, lo! a serpent forbade all approach to the water, unless he received the precious burden as a fee. The poor ass, in his extremity, was fain to consent, and in this manner was the renewal of youth transferred from men to serpents for the paltry bribe of a little water! Bacon then moralizes. The ingratitude of man, so acceptable to the god, implies the great merit of humility among mankind, and dissatisfaction with themselves and their arts; and the hatefulness in the eyes of heaven of the self-sufficiency and pride of philosophers and men of science. The mention of perpetual youth shows an opinion to have obtained, even among the ancients, that medicines for the prolongation of life had been once known, but lost through carelessness. The ass represents the slow progress of *experience* in the acquisition of dogmatic science. Finally, the serpent was added for the sake of ornament, or to shame mankind for not acquiring to themselves by art advantages which nature had bestowed on inferior animals.

Each gave a boon—a curse t' inventive men.
 The Father, when he saw the guile complete,
 To Epimetheus sent the Argicide,
 The gods' swift messenger, to bear their gift.
 But Epimetheus weighed not in his mind
 His brother's caution, never to receive
 A gift from Zeus Olympius, but restore
 The boon, for fear a curse befall mankind.
 He first received it, then its nature found.
 For erst the tribes of men upon the earth
 Lived far apart from woe and baneful toil,
 And dire disease, which antedates decay.
 But now a woman open'd wide the lid,
 The great lid of the cask,¹ and out they flew;
 Such evil she and pain to men devised.
 Hope² sole remain'd in her inviolate cell
 Latent beneath the margin of the cask,
 Nor fled abroad ere that the lid was closed.
 And now ten thousand griefs oppress mankind;
 Full is the earth of woe, and full the sea.
 Diseases mortal men, by day, by night,
 Spontaneously invade; and silently
 Bring evil—power of utterance Zeus denies.
 So vain th' attempt t' evade what Zeus ordains.'

Works and Days, ver. 59.

Such is *one* of the two Hesiodic accounts of the advent of evil into the world, and the narrative is clearly a compromise between the idea of its originating from the malevolence of the gods, and its being the actual consequence of man's own depravity. It is undoubtedly true, that Zeus commands the creation of Pandora, and that with the deliberate intention of introducing misfortune among men; but we must also remember his provocation—that Prometheus, the representative of

¹ It appears strange that in after times it should have been supposed that Pandora brought with her a casket containing these ills enclosed, which her curiosity tempted her to open when in the house of Epimetheus. Hesiod expressly calls it a *cask*, and speaks of its *large lid*, militating strongly against the idea of a casket carried by a lady as a marriage present. Keightley (*Mythology*, p. 296) suggests that Natalis Comes, a modern mythologist at the revival of learning, first gave this interpretation to the passage of Hesiod.

² About 'Hope' two doubts occur. If it was a good, how came it to be imprisoned with the evils? And if it remained fastened up in the cask, what good could it do to mankind? To obviate the former difficulty, it has been alleged that *ἐλπίς* meant the expectation of evil. It may occasionally have that signification, but never when used abstractedly, if we remember aright; and why in that case should it remain in its prison-house? In answer to the second question, Mr. Grote says that it was intended thereby that Hope should be ineffectual; the same mischief-making influence which lets evils out to their calamitous work, taking care that Hope shall still continue a powerless prisoner in their hands. But is it not clear, from the poet's remark, that Pandora closed the lid before Hope had been able to escape? that the prevention of her flight was a good and not an evil? We must therefore conclude that by her continuance in the cask man had Hope in his power, to use when he might wish; while the evils were abroad, and therefore beyond his control. We can offer no solution of the first-mentioned difficulty.

mankind, had twice most effectually outwitted him, in a manner most humiliating to his feelings as a god. Moreover men, in Epimetheus, were consenting parties to their own ruin. The poet connects man's calamitous condition with the malevolence of the supreme god by implication, but his piety recoils from the direct charge, and in its anxiety 'to assert eternal providence,' suggests two exculpatory pleas for that malevolence.

The ascription to a woman of the introduction of evil, while clearly derived from the Mosaic account of the Fall, strongly harmonizes with the tendency to depreciate the female character, which we discover in the early Greek poets. In addition to the disparagement of the sex by Hesiod, in the person of Pandora, Simonides¹ of Amorgos and Phocylides are well known to have had bad taste enough to abuse womankind, and in a subsequent age, the bias of Euripides is most notorious. The same misogynistic feeling displays itself in the legends which the early poets loved to dwell upon. Unlawful passion, and the bitter revenge attending its failure, were illustrated in the stories of Hippolyte and Peleus, of Sthenobœa and Bellerophon, of Phædra and Hippolytus; while the treachery and cruelty of the sex are exemplified in Scylla, Althæa, and Eriphyle, who betray to destruction respectively a father, a son, and a husband. And even in the laws of the refined Athenians, the expression in the marriage contract, that the bride was bestowed ἐπὶ γνησίῳ γόνῳ, declares sufficiently the low estimate in which women were held. All of which appears very strange to us, who entertain such exalted notions of the female character, that abuse of the sex is generally confined to some few justly discarded lovers, and over-precocious schoolboys.

The legend of Prometheus underwent many changes. Æschylus represents him as the self-constituted magnanimous protector of a race of beings already in existence, who lived in the depth of penury, barbarity and ignorance. For preventing the annihilation of these miserable wretches to make way for a new creation, and for furnishing them with the means of living in comparative comfort, by the gift of fire and the introduction

¹ 'Simonides derives the various, though generally bad, qualities of women from the variety of their origin; by which fiction he gives a much livelier image of female characters than he could have done by a mere enumeration of their qualities. The uncleanly woman is formed from the swine; the cunning woman, equally versed in good and evil, from the fox; the talkative woman, from the dog; the lazy woman, from the earth; the unequal and changeable, from the sea; the woman who takes pleasure only in eating and sensual delights, from the ass; the perverse woman, from the weasel; the woman fond of dress, from the horse; the ugly and malicious woman from the ape. There is only one race created for the benefit of men, the woman sprung from the bee, who is fond of her work, and keeps faithful watch over the house.'—*Müller's Literature of Ancient Greece*, chap. xi.

of the arts, the Titan god incurs the rancorous hatred of the upstart, whom he himself had been mainly instrumental in seating on the throne of heaven. To expiate his misplaced sympathy he is chained to a Scythian rock, where an eagle preys upon his liver the livelong day, but all to no purpose; for Prometheus proudly defies his oppressor, and glories that mankind are now beyond the reach of his cruelty. Prometheus in after times was looked upon, not as himself the first of mankind, but as the creator of the human race. Such is the account followed by Ovid, *Met.* i. 82:—

‘ Quam (terram) satus Iapeto mistam fluvialibus undis
Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum;
Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.’

Plato in his *Protagoras* (p. 320) makes the gods form men within the earth, from a mixture of earth and fire, and substances which combine the two, and assign to Prometheus and his brother the distribution of such gifts as they like to bestow upon men and brutes. But the silly Epimetheus expended upon irrational animals the gifts which were to serve for the whole creation. When Prometheus came to review his brother's work and found man left ‘naked and barefoot, unbedded and unarmed,’ to prevent such obvious injustice, he was compelled for once to forego all minor moral considerations, and *steal* from heaven fire and artistic skill, in order to supply his protégés with food and lodging. Akin to Plato's myth is the fable to which Horace alludes,¹ (*Od.* i. 16, 13,) that Prometheus, for the due supply of men, was necessitated to pare away from other animals their qualities, noxious it seems as well as beneficial; in consequence of which arrangement, the violence of the raging lion has provided itself a residence in the human breast.

But to return to Hesiod. Lest any should think that the history of Pandora makes the supreme deity, notwithstanding his provocations, evince too great an anxiety to compass the misery of mankind, and lest the piety of the Hellenic race, accommodating as it undoubtedly was, should sustain too violent a shock, our poet appends a new myth, in which the other element, viz. man's voluntary apostasy from justice and virtue, is more unquestionably prominent. Nor need we be alarmed

¹ ‘ Fertur Prometheus, addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
Desectam, et insani leonis
Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.’

for the bard's consistency. Mr. Grote, the successive volumes of whose history will be hailed with delight by every scholar, as the product of a mind philosophic and original, well stored with all the learning necessary for such an undertaking, and thoroughly imbued with the love of his subject, judiciously remarks :—

‘ Though this myth (that of Pandora) can in no way consist with the quintuple scale of distinct races, and is in fact a totally distinct theory to explain the same problem,—the transition of mankind from a supposed state of antecedent happiness to one of present toil and suffering,—such an inconsistency is not a sufficient reason for questioning the genuineness of either passage; for the two stories, though one contradicts the other, both harmonize with the central purpose which governs the author's mind—a querulous and didactic appreciation of the present.’

In the idea of the five ages, the analogy of the different periods of an individual's life are made to bear upon the age of the world itself. Old men, who by their frequent and growing infirmities have lost, either wholly or partially, their relish for sensuous delights, who have scarcely any enjoyment at the present, and none to look forward to (we would be understood, of course, to speak in a worldly sense), are constrained to revert to the pleasures of their earlier days, and become even to a proverb ‘*laudatores temporis acti*.’ And to such retrospect the failure of their memories to recall recent experiences necessarily inclines them. But pleasure, though a melancholy one, in contemplating the past is not confined to those who are on the confines of another world. Persons are rarely to be met with of that happy temperament and possessed of such external felicity as not, at middle age, or even earlier manhood, to dwell with regret upon the days gone by. A golden vista, brighter and brighter as the distance increases, seems to envelope the past. Our spirits were high and elastic, our perceptions vivid and untiring—we had nothing to fear, we had everything to hope—the world was before us, and its honours and pleasures apparently within our grasp. Is it then a subject for wonder, that at this distance, when the bitter realities of life have checked our hopes and blunted our faculties, the days of childhood and youth are reflected in our memories as arrayed in ten thousand charms? No, however reason may reclaim, we are convinced that external nature was then more beautiful than it is now—that the fields were clad in a brighter verdure, that the streams flowed more limpidly, that the birds warbled with a sweeter melody, that there were then countless delights now vanished and gone. And if we turn our thoughts from what is without to what is within us, did not our affections once flow more freely? Were we not once less contaminated

with guile? Were we haunted by jealousy, or withered by suspicion, or scorched by hatred, or crazed by care, as we have been since we were habituated to the falsehood, malice, and deceitfulness of our fellow men? Whether we regard our external impressions or internal feelings, we must perforce allow the truth of the poet:—

‘Optima quæque dies miseris mortalibus ævi
Prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus;
Et labor et duræ rapit inclementia mortis.’¹

And why should not what we conceive true of ourselves be not true also² of the world? Will not the analogy hold here too? The youth of the world may have corresponded to our own youth; and mankind, powerful and virtuous and blissful at creation’s first dawn, may have deteriorated through successive grades until they arrived at their present weakness, wickedness, and misery. Such an idea has suggested itself to many a mind; and a Turnus has longed for the might of men of old—an Ofellus regretted that his lot had not fallen among the simplicity of former heroes—a Milton wished to summon some Musæus from his bower to inspire the song his own contemporaries failed to raise.

We will quote Mr. Grote’s paraphrase of the Hesiodic account of the Ages, except the description of the fourth, or Heroic race, where we will hazard a homely but literal version of the poet.

‘First the Olympic gods made the Golden race; good, perfect and happy men, who lived upon the spontaneous abundance of the earth, in ease and tranquillity, like the gods themselves. They suffered neither disease nor old age, and their death was like a gentle sleep. After death they became, by the award of Zeus, guardian terrestrial dæmons, who watch unseen over the proceedings of mankind, with the regal privilege of dispensing to them wealth, and taking account of good and bad deeds.

‘Next, the gods made the Silver race; unlike and greatly inferior, both in mind and body, to the Golden. The men of this race were reckless and mischievous towards each other, and disdainful of the immortal gods, to whom they refused to offer either worship or sacrifice. Zeus, in his wrath, buried them in the earth; but there they still enjoy a secondary honour, as the blest of the under world.

‘Thirdly, Zeus made the Brazen race, quite different from the silver.

¹ Virg. Geor. iii. 66.

² Melanchthon, in his edition of *Hesiod*, has a curious remark about the deterioration of nature: ‘Majorum mores senes magis laudant, et recte quidem; nam semper degeneramus, et sic est in natura rerum, ut subinde omnia degenerent. Jam quoque boni viri queruntur de moribus adolescentiæ, neque pater filiis similis, neque filii patribus: πάντες γὰρ τοι παῖδες &c. ut est apud Homerum. Neque hoc tantum videre est in rerum natura, aut in moribus, sed in omnibus rebus. Nam nemo negare potest, olim Germanorum corpora fuisse robustiora, ac proceriora multo quam nunc sunt. Item semina a multis accipimus decrevisse, qui dicebant se pueris comperisse, multo majora et meliora simul olim semina frumentorum et leguminum fuisse quam nunc sunt.’

They were made of hard ash-wood, pugnacious and terrible; they were of immense strength and adamantine soul, nor did they raise or touch bread. Their arms, their houses, their implements were all of brass: there was then no iron. This race, eternally fighting, perished by each other's hands, died out, and descended without name or privilege to Hades.'

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,
αὐθις ἐτ' ἄλλο τέταρτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ποίησε δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων δῖον γένος, οἳ καλεόνται
ἡμίθεοι, προτέρῃ γενεῇ, κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.
καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνῇ,
τοὺς μὲν ἐφ' ἐπταπύλῳ Θήβῃ, Καδμηίδι γαίῃ,
ᾧλεσε μαρναμένους μῆλων ἕνεκ' Οἰδιπόδαο·
τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖμα θαλάσσης
ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγών, 'Ελένης ἕνεκ' ἡυκόμοιο·
ἐνθ' ἦτοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυψε.
τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ ἡβή' ὅπασσας
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης·
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναῖουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι, παρ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
ἄλβιοι ἡρώες· τοῖσι μελιηδέα καρπὸν
τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα.

'But when o'er the third race the grave had closed,
Again a fourth upon the fertile earth
The Cronian Zeus created, just and good—
The godlike race of Heroes, lately known
As demigods throughout the boundless earth.
E'en such ill-omen'd war and direful strife
O'erwhelm'd, for flocks of Ædipus contending,
Beside Cadmeian seven-portall'd Thebes.
Others in barks across the vasty deep
To Troy were led for Helen lovely-tress'd,
And death's allotted end o'ertook them there.
To them, apart from mortals, Zeus assign'd
A happy haunt on earth's extremest verge.
They by the deeply-eddy'ing ocean stream,
In the Blest isles, for aye, securely dwell.
Hail, happy heroes! whom the fertile glebe
Thrice gladdens yearly with its sweetest fruits.'

'The fifth race,' continues Mr. Grote, 'which succeeds to the Heroes, is of Iron: it is the race to which the poet himself belongs, and bitterly does he regret it. He finds his contemporaries mischievous, dishonest, unjust, ungrateful, given to perjury, careless both of the ties of consanguinity and of the behests of the gods. Nemesis and Ædos have left earth and gone back to Olympus. How keenly does he wish that his lot had been cast either earlier or later! This iron race is condemned to continual guilt, care and suffering, with a small infusion of good; but the time will come when Zeus will put an end to it.'

We will present to our readers the interpretations of the foregoing time-honoured and significant myth given by the most distinguished modern mythologists, and then append a few remarks of our own.

And first comes the exposition of Buttmann—a critic never

to be mentioned but in terms of the highest respect, as a profound thinker, an accomplished scholar, and—a quality not always discoverable in a German commentator—a man of refined taste. In every work of that great scholar there is an originality of idea and a freshness of style which are a source of the greatest pleasure and profit, even where we may be compelled to dissent from his views. Buttmann's hypothesis is, that Hesiod was indebted for his legend to the East, and that it is an offshoot of the first chapter of the book of Genesis. The object was not so much to represent the gradual deterioration of the human race, as to exhibit the view the gods were supposed to take of human wickedness. The poet gives two cycles of ages in a descending scale; one from the Golden to the Brazen, the other from the Heroic to the Iron. He evidently expects a recurrence of the cycle, when he expresses a wish that he had been born either in earlier or later times. It is clear that Virgil understood Hesiod in this sense (to whose poetry the 'Cumæum carmen' alludes) when in his *Pollio* he says,—

'Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo—
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.'

The mythologist proceeds, that originally the first three ages were not successive, but that the Silver and Brazen were contemporaneous (corresponding to the Iron as compared with the Heroic), and represented the different developments of the vicious principle in men—effeminacy the characteristic of the Silver, violence of the Brazen; that the Silver race were annihilated by the Brazen, who in their turn for their crimes were themselves extirpated by the gods. To this ingenious theory he adds, that probably in the oriental legend the three races, after their death, were transformed into celestial, terrestrial, and infernal dæmons, but that in deference to the opinion of his countrymen, who acknowledged no evil spirits, the poet omitted the transformation of the third race.

Mr. Grote, in the second chapter of the first volume of his 'History of Greece,' also propounds a most plausible hypothesis about the Hesiodic ages. The great difficulty lies in the appearance of the virtuous Heroic age in the midst of such bad company as the Brazen and Iron races. This difficulty Buttmann tries to surmount by the idea of a cycle, as we have already seen. Mr. Grote sees, in this want of symmetry in the progressive development of crime, two opposing sentiments in the mind of the poet. He is deeply impressed with the injustice and suffering which darken the face of human life.

'This ethical sentiment,' proceeds the historian, 'which dictates his appreciation of the present, also guides his imagination to the past: it is pleasing to him to bridge over the chasm between the gods and degenerate

man by the supposition of previous races; the first altogether pure, the second worse than the first, and the third still worse than the second. And to show further how the first race passed by gentle death-sleep into glorious immortality; the second was sufficiently wicked to drive Zeus to bury them in the under-world, yet still leaving them a certain measure of honour; while the third was so desperately violent as to perish by its own animosities, without either name or honour of any kind.

Such is the naturally querulous and melancholy temperament of Hesiod. But still he could not but be alive to the glories of the generation immediately preceding him;—

‘Thebes and Pelops’ line,
And the tale of ‘Troy divine,’

must have crowded in upon his mind and fired his imagination in spite of himself and his convictions. And if he could have forgotten his country’s mythical glories, his fellow-countrymen could not have so easily laid aside their poetical traditions and the songs of their rhapsodists. Never could they have forgotten Homer and the heroes he celebrated. Moreover, had they not been under the influence of their traditional poetry, as never were the Britons under that of the Druids, or the Scandinavians under that of their Scalds, yet they accounted themselves the immediate descendants of the heroes; and ancestral as well as poetical feeling would have been enlisted against the bard who omitted their fathers in the survey of the past. But there is little reason to suppose that the poet was influenced merely by the opinions of his contemporaries, without regard to his own feelings: for he describes the Heroic race with a pomp and sublimity which we are convinced he could not have evoked had his own mind not been impressed with the reality of their renown. Now these chiefs could not be identified with the first three ages, and the tradition of their descendants assigned them a position much nearer the present times. Hesiod, therefore, feels himself obliged to disturb the harmony of his series of races, by placing the interloping Heroes between the Brazen and the Iron age. With neither of these have the demigods the slightest visible connexion. Their warfare is a glorious one, and not of the savage, suicidal kind which is ascribed to the Brazen tribe; and further still removed are their magnanimous spirits from the meaner crimes of their successors. It is clear that the Iron is the legitimate successor of the Brazen age, and it is only the feeling above described that places the Heroes between them.

These are the two principal theories which have been propounded in exposition of the Ages, and very ingenious and plausible do both appear—imagination more prominent in the German, common sense in the English mythologist, as we

might perhaps have expected from the character of the two nations whom they represent. It is but fair, however, to say that Mr. Grote's explanation gives no significance to the poet's wish that his birth had been deferred to the succeeding age, with which the notion of a cycle wonderfully harmonizes.

Perhaps, after all, critics have been too much concerned about the sequence of the ages; for Hesiod probably only intended to give a poetical traditional record of the world's history—wherein some generations were prominent for their virtue and happiness—others, again, notorious for crime and misery—but not proceeding in any established order. Such is certainly the opinion of Proclus, the Neoplatonist (born at Byzantium, A.D. 412), the earliest and best commentator on Hesiod; for he says, Πᾶς οὗτος ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πολιτειῶν λόγος ἐνδείξιν ἔχει τῶν ἐν ταῖς ζωαῖς ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις μεταβολῶν εἰς κακίαν ἐξ ἀρετῆς, καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐκ κακίας. The traits of both the virtuous and vicious races are carefully distinguished from each other. The virtue of the Golden age seems to our view rather of the lethargic, plethoric and inactive kind, more suitable for shepherds or metaphysicians than to those who are destined to play a more energetic part in life's drama. The virtue of the fourth, or Heroic race, is completely martial, as the battles before Thebes and Troy are the only performances attributed to them by the poet—except, indeed, the long voyage to the latter place. The vicious ages, also, are differently characterized. Disregard for the gods seems the great sin of the Silver race, while murder and highway robbery give an unenviable notoriety to the Brazen. The Iron age exercises, and is likely to exercise more extensively, according to the poet, such a variety of fraud and villany that it is difficult to assign it any specific character. Evil, however, unfortunately predominates, as we have corresponding to one Golden, the Silver and Brazen, both bad; whilst the Heroic and the Iron age cancel each other. But still there was a tide in the affairs of man, even in Hesiod's days, and the increasing villany of his own contemporaries encourages an expectation in the poet, that as matters could not well be worse, they must soon mend; and therefore he deems that he does not make too large a venture when he hazards a wish that his life had been reserved for a subsequent generation.

The moral of the whole evidently is, that the evil found among men is of their own seeking, and not purposely assigned them by the gods. We think there is a great argument in favour of the position that the Ages are not intended merely to portray a graduated declension in man, in the fact that each of the races is a separate creation. This fact is entirely lost sight

of by the poets who imitated Hesiod, and has not sufficiently been regarded by critics. Each individual race is responsible for the course it adopts. They have none to tutor to crime their informed minds, for the earth has been cleared for their reception. They do not pay the penalty for the misdeeds of their¹ forebears, simply because they have none. They are free to stand or to fall of themselves, without any external constraint; unless, indeed, we suppose their creation to have imposed such and such characters upon them—*i.e.* the gods or fate to have made men wicked at one time, just at another; which certainly would amount to a gratuitous calumny against the Olympian conclave. We even think that we may infer from the narrative, that the Brazen race were annihilated in the *hope* a subsequent creation might reflect more credit upon the god who formed it.

Our readers will perhaps not deem it a superfluous addition to this notice if we append the different phases which Hesiod's legend of the Ages has undergone in the hands of succeeding writers.

A myth when once produced becomes, as it were, public property, and may be curtailed, expanded, altered, according as brevity, copiousness, or caprice be consulted. And the fate of the earlier legends has been usually not dissimilar to that of anecdotes transmitted through a series of narrators; in other words, they have become such as to defy recognition by their original author in the new dress they have assumed. Niebuhr has made us familiar with the truly magical transformation of the early Roman legends, and the same, we may be sure, was the case with those of Greece. There was the genealogist, or panegyrist, anxious to intrude his patron's ancestor into better company than beseemed him. There was the poet, whose aim was to add his own lucubrations to the productions of others; there was the pragmatizer, who longed by attenuation of the poetical features to make that appear credible which was never intended to be believed; and, finally, there was the philosopher, who allegorized everything into moonshine. Strange if a legend could preserve its identity under such various modes of treatment, where repletion and attenuation were alternately recommended, blood-letting and cordials indiscriminately applied. But the tale of the five² Ages stands upon a different footing

¹ It is doubtful how far in the age of Hesiod the principle of punishing the children for the crimes of the fathers was recognised. We have no traces of it in Homer. The first instance we remember occurs in the early historic time—the ban which hung over the descendants of Cylon's murderers.

² Of a similar character with the tale of the Ages is the description of the dead in the *Odyssey* (book xi.), which is followed in its main features by all succeeding poets.

from the usual *personal* legends, as being of an allegorical nature, and therefore affords less scope for alterations. But still even an allegorical story is liable to be misunderstood; and certainly particular features of it may be seized upon and expanded, to the neglect of the subject in its entirety; and such we shall find to have been the case with Hesiod's narrative.

The myth itself does not seem to have attracted very early notice. Pindar nowhere alludes to it, although he describes the happiness of the Hyperboreans (Pyth. x. 29), a people whom he calls unapproachable by sea or land, in terms not unlike Hesiod's picture of the Golden age. The Athenian tragedians also apparently deemed the legend unworthy of their notice.

Aratus, of Soli, a poet of the Alexandrine age, is the first express imitator. He seizes upon the idea of a gradual deviation in man from his pristine purity, as typified in the relative value of the first three metals, gold, silver, and brass. His ages are three in number, and succeed one another by generation, as is necessary for the development of his idea of degeneracy. Among those of the first and best race Justice deigned to dwell, assembling their ancients to council, and herself assisting at their deliberations, and bestowing on them innumerable blessings. With their degenerate descendants, the gentlemen of the Silver age, she was more coy and chary of her presence; never leaving her temporary refuge in the mountains to visit them, except when it was getting dark (*ὑποδείλος*), and then merely to upbraid them with their baseness, and to comfort them with the assurance that their progeny would exceed themselves in crime. When that progeny (the Brazen race) were born, Justice was so shocked at their doings, particularly their forging swords and slaughtering oxen, that she at once made up her mind to leave them for ever, and emigrate to the stars.

Ovid is the next poet, in order of time, who describes the ages of the world, superadding the Iron to the three of Aratus. In his account of the Golden race, he expands the Hesiodic ideas to suit his own views. Hesiod says that 'they were far from trouble;' Ovid explains this by saying that they were not incommoded by lawyers:—

'Pœna metusque aberant, nec verba minacia fixo
Ære legebantur: nec supplex turba timebant
Judicis ora sui: sed erant sine vindice tuti.'

Hesiod informs us that they spent their time in perpetual banqueting; Ovid describes their dishes in a manner which must be highly satisfactory to Mr. Brotherton and his Vegetarian Society:—

¹ Arbuteos fœtus montanaque fraga legebant,
Cornaque, et in duris hærentia mora rubetis,
Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbore glandes.'

But the three great sources of that primitive felicity were, the absence of war, commerce, and agriculture! The second, or Silver age (according to Ovid), was rather of a melancholy character; famous only for the introduction of the different seasons of the year, the severity of the winter obliging men to take refuge in caves, or huts constructed of the branches of trees. The Brazen was only remarkable for being the precursor of the Iron race, in whose days every enormity was perpetrated; for they actually parcelled out the land which before had been 'common as the light of the sun and the air,' and made other advances towards what Paley calls 'civil society.' They also first worked in metals, discovering (by the way) those substances which had given name to their predecessors; and the effects seem to have been most demoralizing, for the poet adds:—

'Non hospes ab hospite tutus,
Non socer a genero: fratrum quoque gratia rara est,
Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti:
Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercæ:
Filius ante diem patrios inquit in annos.
Victa jacet pietas.'

We have already alluded to the duress of the Titans in Tartarus, upon the victory and accession of Zeus. It seems that subsequently he released them from their confinement; for Cronus is represented as reigning in the Islands of the Blest, by Hesiod and Pindar. When the Romans had identified their god Saturn with the Grecian Cronus, they feigned that the scene of his reign was Italy, whither he had fled to escape from the resentment of his undutiful son, and that Latium derived its name from Saturn's concealment there. Virgil, who always prefers his country's legends to the exotic tales of Greece, makes the reign of Saturn in Italy the era of the glorious Saturnian or Golden age:—

'Primus ab ætherio venit Saturnus Olympo,
Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exul adeptis:
Is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
Maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
Aurea quæ perhibent, illo sub rege fuerunt
Sæcula; sic placida populos in pace regebat.'—Æn. viii. 319.

Virgil makes but two ages, for the Saturnian was succeeded by a 'decolor ætas' (Æn. viii. 326), possessed of all the unenviable characteristics of the Brazen or Iron race. With this

twofold division of time, into the blissful age of Saturn, and the wretched days of his son, Tibullus coincides (i. 3, 35):—

‘Quam bene Saturno vivebant rege, prius quam
Tellus in longas est patefacta vias!

* * * * *

Nunc Jove sub domino cædes, nunc vulnera semper
Nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae.’

Horace, in his 16th Epode, omits all mention of the Silver age, making the Golden to be corrupted into the Brazen, the Brazen deteriorate into the Iron—Jupiter the agent of the transformation:—

‘Jupiter illa piæ secrevit litora genti,
Ut inquinavit ære tempus aureum :
Ærea dehinc ferro duravit sæcula, quorum
Piis secunda vate me datur fuga.’

And in direct contradiction to the authority of Hesiod, Aratus, Ovid, and Virgil, (and we think more in conformity with the truth,) he insinuates (Epod. ii. 2) that the great secret of the happiness of the Golden age was a country life and the pursuit of agriculture.

Finally, the satirist Juvenal (with whom we will end our quotations), as if to compensate for the parsimony shown by his Latin predecessors, declares that the crimes of his contemporaries force him to believe that he is living in the ninth age of the world!—

‘Nona ætas agitur pejoraque sæcula ferri
Temporibus, quorum scelerei non invenit ipsa
Nomen, et a nullo posuit Natura metallo.’—Sat. xiii. 28.

We have thus endeavoured to show the views Hesiod entertained on one of the most momentous questions that can be made the subject of human speculation; and the different forms the tales, which were the exponents of his own convictions, assumed under the hands of his successors. We would fain say one word, in conclusion, about the poet himself. The works of Hesiod, we are convinced, attract less notice in the present day than their intrinsic merit demands. This neglect is principally owing to the greater glory and superior charms of the Homeric poems. But people do not generally undervalue the service of the moon because the sun happens to be a brighter luminary; and although it is most true that

‘Priores Mæonius tenet
Sedes Homerus;’

still, let the Ascræan have his due meed of praise accorded to him. The poem to which our notice has been mainly directed, the ‘Works and the Days,’ will well repay an attentive perusal.

Whether we consider the religious feeling of the poet, deprecating too curious an intrusion into holy mysteries, and ever anxious to prevent even accidental defilement—or the stern and yet tender rebukes he bestows on his brother's profligacy, and the imploring earnestness of his entreaties that he would amend his ways, with delicate allusion to the allowance he had already made for him, and the kindness he had shown him—the comprehensive view he takes of the duties and labours of a farmer's life—the sage and concise precepts (so much in substance as well as form resembling the book of Proverbs) he gives to regulate his brother's conduct towards his neighbours, his family, his domestics, and even his oxen—or if, again, we contemplate the picture he presents of the simple life of his countrymen in that early age, and the information he gives about their worship, their agriculture, their navigation—if we take these things into account, omitting all consideration of the beauty of the poetry, we must allow that the poem is of the utmost value to the mythologist and antiquarian, while it impresses us most favourably with the kindness, integrity, good sense and piety of the author.

ART. II.—*Essay on the Union of Church and State.* By BAPTIST WRIOTHESLEY NOEL, M.A. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1849.

A SINGULAR cycle of events has been lately completed at S. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. That place, the well-known head-quarters of a certain party in the English Church, has, during the last thirty years, been under the charge of three persons—Dr. Dillon, Mr. Sibthorpe, Mr. Baptist Noel. Of the first, the deputy and successor of the present Bishop of Calcutta, we wish to say as little as possible. So much only it is necessary to observe, that his popularity among his own party is a sufficient answer to Mr. Noel's assertion, that immorality would not be tolerated out of an establishment. Dr. Dillon found votaries as well as Mormon Smith; and we have seen sermons advertised, by which the era of his death was commemorated. Of Mr. Sibthorpe we should be sorry to say anything disrespectful. If for a time he revolted, like Dr. Dillon, from our portion of the Church, and, like Mr. Noel, published his reasons for doing so, he did not, at all events, wander beyond the precincts of the Church Catholic. He was evidently thirsting after a unity, which he could not find amidst that din of hostile sects by which the Exeter-Hall-goer is deafened. And now at length the third brother goes out upon his adventures: Mr. Noel sets forth after the 'Singing Tree, and Speaking Water;' but that he will prove as successful as the fated adventurer of the fable—that he will attain what his precursors have failed in—will be better satisfied than Mr. Sibthorpe, or better backed than Dr. Dillon—we greatly question.

In one respect he differs from them—in the weight of the ordnance by which he seeks to batter down the walls he is forsaking. Mr. Noel is not of opinion that 'a great book is a great evil.' Humane as he is said to be in general, we unfortunate reviewers are certainly excluded from his tender mercies. The public may shut his book at the 500th page, but our craft compels us to toil on to the end of it. But though we have been compelled to this adventure ourselves, we are by no means minded to carry our readers with us. Mr. Noel's partizans will say that we have stumbled upon arguments which we are reluctant to admit, yet unable to controvert. We have seen, it may be, the gigantic visions of coming reformers, whose near approach we are unwilling to announce to our unconscious countrymen.

Far from it. Mr. Noel's statements are, on the contrary, in some respects as favourable as we could desire to Catholic truth. He takes much pains to prove that the Church of England believes firmly in the reality of Gospel ordinances,—that she utterly despises the false and shallow notions which would evacuate her sacraments of grace, and deny the true efficacy of her Lord's coming; in short, he fights manfully against his own rationalistic partizans, and affirms that every one who subscribes our formularies in the sense for which they contend, is guilty, if he thinks thus, of falsehood, and if he publishes his sentiments is obnoxious to punishment. So far we can find no fault with Mr. Noel; and we should recommend his work (greatly condensed no doubt) to Dr. Addams, and others who are employed to promote a suit against Mr. Gorham.

Nor are we less disposed to accept much which Mr. Noel says respecting the encroachments of the Civil power upon the Ecclesiastical. Here again we heartily concur in the well-merited reproofs which he frequently administers. Why then do we complain of his book? Alas! it consists of above 600 of the dullest pages we have ever *perused*. Mr. Noel repeats himself *ad nauseam*: his arguments are often empty and commonplace; with an occasional vivacity of style; there is an utter barrenness of matter. We really regret this heartily. Had Mr. Noel compressed his volume to one-eighth of its size—had he given us in a concentrated form his proofs of the dishonesty of Puritans and the unfairness of Government, he would have produced a very readable and useful volume. Why has he failed of doing this? We were at a loss for some time to understand. His reputation as a scholar and a gentleman, educated at one of our famous universities, connected with the aristocracy of our land, would certainly have prepared us for something better. But we fancy that we have found the clue in the studies by which Mr. Noel has been preparing himself for the composition of his volumes. One of the Dissenting papers, (we forget whether the 'Record' or the 'Nonconformist,') says that Mr. Noel might have been supposed to have been a Dissenter all his life, so great is his familiarity with dissenting topics. Now we believe that it is this lean and flatulent food which has acted so unfavourably on his intellectual constitution. Jeremy Taylor reminds us that 'those creatures which live 'among the snows of the mountains turn white with their food, 'and conversation with such perpetual whitenesses:' and a similar effect has been produced on our author. But strange to say, he imagines that he can allure the people of England to the same experiment. He complains bitterly because the Presbyterian publications, which have been so noxious to himself, are

not a more common *pabulum* for English readers. 'Even Mr. Gladstone's less popular treatises,' he says, 'are read extensively: but Wardlaw, Ballantyne, Conder, Gasperin, Vinet, Baird, are unread and unknown,' (p. 286.) If Mr. Noel can bring the Bedford-row classics into vogue with his countrymen, we may indeed say, 'Then let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon.' But here he has undertaken what is beyond his strength. It will be long before

'Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek,
That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp.'

Let the Dissenters, therefore, who are used to such food, digest the present morsel. The solemn meetings advertised for the reading of this edifying volume made us sympathise with the Alderman who remonstrated with the hungry traveller at an eating house for wasting so fine an appetite on cold mutton. For ourselves, we shall not think it necessary to follow our author up and down in his devious track; it will be enough if we indicate the points which are likely to be of principal interest to our readers.

Mr. Noel's objections against the Church of England may be divided into two main classes:—first, he dislikes her laws; secondly, he demurs to the authority by which they are enacted. These two grounds of objection he puts in various lights, and considers under different heads—appealing first to reason and then to history, in proof of his positions. The history of Europe he seems to have got up as a lecture to the Evangelical Alliance; for every character and incident takes its place with reference to the question of Church and State, and Hildebrand himself might be supposed to have been rather labouring to prop up the civil power, than to work out the spiritual regeneration of Christendom. On this part of the subject, however, we will not touch. What appears to us by far the most important portion of the volume, is its distinct admission that a definite, well-understood system of dogmatic truth is enforced by the Church of England. Whether or not it be dogmatic truth which has driven Mr. Noel to his act of apostasy, he allows plainly that it is sufficiently decided to require his departure. We really think the following passage of so much value, that it might be advantageously printed by the Christian Knowledge Society on a broad sheet, and be hung up wherever clerical societies hold their meetings:—

'I once laboured to convince myself, that our reformers did not and could not mean that infants are regenerated by baptism; but no reasoning avails. This language is too plain. Although the Catechism declares that repentance and faith are pre-requisites to baptism, yet the Prayer-book

assumes clearly that both adults and infants come to the font unregenerate, and leave it regenerate; that worthy recipients of baptism are not regenerate before baptism, but come to be regenerated; that they are unpardoned up to the moment of baptism, that they are pardoned the moment after.'—P. 419.

This passage is the more valuable, because a plain avowal not only that Mr. Noel at present discerns Baptismal Regeneration to be taught in the Prayer-book, but that such a conviction was always entertained by him. He now tells us that he once 'laboured' to convince himself of the contrary. Those who continue to defend the untenable position which he formerly occupied, assure us that they find no difficulty in swallowing the statements which their subscriptions have admitted. The same assertion was made once by Mr. Noel likewise; but now that he has abandoned the fortress from whose walls he once joined them in declaring that his position was well supplied and defensible, he admits that the food he was swallowing was throughout nauseous and loathsome to him. And how, then, are we to believe the assurances of his brethren who remain behind? Is he not at present an indisputable evidence respecting their common sentiment? Does he not indicate the real state of such of his brethren as still maintain that they are putting no force upon the plain words of the Prayer-book? Does he not teach us what is meant by that request for a new standard of doctrine, for which they last year petitioned parliament? Like him, they are labouring to convince themselves of a fact which they are conscious that they do not thoroughly believe. Were greater latitude allowed them, we should have the same full confession of unbelief; and we should have as distinct a denial, as we find in Mr. Noel's pages, of the fundamental verity of the Gospel, that pardon and grace, with all their blessed consequences, are not built upon the processes of men's intellect, nor upon the mere alteration of his will, but rest on that union with Christ Himself, to which it is plain that we can only be admitted through His appointed ordinance. The Church's view on this subject Mr. Noel has plainly conceived with clearness, and expressed with precision. And though 'he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so,'—though our author unhappily has fallen into the Pelagian error which S. Austin so happily exposes, and looks to man's reason and will as the real spring of action, yet we may well accept his words as conveying a truth beyond his thoughts—as seed graciously scattered by an unconscious hand, which may some day grow and be prolific.

We would in like manner call attention to the distinct testimony borne by Mr. Noel to the reality of Ordination, as being

a rite in which the Church affirms that a positive gift is bestowed upon men, whereby they become other than they formerly were. 'The power communicated by the Almighty Saviour to his Apostles through the gift of inspiration, is thus stated by the Prayer-book to be given by all Prelates to all Priests.' (p. 403). And our author quotes with approbation the striking words of Bishop Wilberforce—'All this is blasphemous frivolity, if it be not the deepest truth.' Here then, as in the case of baptism, we have a solemn witness that the Church of England affirms the reality of a great work; that she does not look upon her ordinances merely as signs or lessons, but supposes Christ her Master to be with her in truth, blessing by the laying on of hands, and receiving His young members into union with Himself. Of all this mysterious system, with its deep influence on the hearts of men, we fear that our author has a most imperfect apprehension. Indeed, he speaks in the most irreverent, or at least the most defective manner of that great event, whereby the Church's great Head transferred His gracious action from the lower stage of familiar intercourse to the higher regions of a mystical presence. It would be in place to say of Socrates, '*After his death* his disciples preached every where,' (p. 198); but this is not the manner in which a Christian should express that wonderful event whereby the Head of our race was glorified.

We turn now to the second main head of Mr. Noel's argument. His first series of objections is built upon the fact that the Church of England affirms the dispensation of the Gospel to consist of real acts, that the Gospel is come 'not in word only, but in power:' he objects, secondly, that her system is based upon civil laws, and enforced by temporal penalties. These two will be found to be the only real points which are discussed throughout this lengthy volume: first, that the Church every where takes it for granted that something is *done* by prayer or sacrament, in ordinance or worship; secondly, that her authority is derived from the State, and not from the Gospel.

Now here, likewise, we agree in much that Mr. Noel says, and therefore we the more regret that he should weaken his argument by false statements and untenable exaggerations. In all his complaints of the encroachments and usurpations of the State we heartily concur. But surely our author is capable of discerning that a thing may be enjoined by the State, which yet has an authority which the State never gave it. Will his Scotch friends of the Free Kirk admit that Queen Victoria made the Sabbath, because the Scotch laws enabled them to prevent her Mistress of the Robes from travelling to her dying father? The original authority of the Sunday is one thing,

the sanction subsequently bestowed upon it by the State is another. Surely, the single case of the Lord's Day overthrows the whole fabric of Mr. Noel's reasoning. When a Bishop ordains Presbyters, 'He is obliged,' our author says, 'by the State to say to the kneeling candidate, "Receive the Holy Ghost,"' (p. 255). But is not the same thing said by the Scotch bishops, whom the State only tolerates, or (as is the case at present with Bishop Skinner) even refuses to tolerate? The whole of our author's reasoning proceeds on this principle. Lord Bexley once proposed to the House of Commons, to enact that the guinea was worth only twenty-one shillings. 'Why, it is everywhere selling, it is said, at seven-and-twenty. You cannot alter the fact: your laws must follow, not create it.' So has it been with Ecclesiastical legislation. The Church was found by the English law in possession of her spiritual empire. This form of ordination, and the consequent power with which her ministers were divinely invested, was a *fact* anterior to the existence of any of the thrones of Europe. This fact is witnessed to by our present law, not occasioned by it. She takes those who happen to possess a right so bestowed, just as she adopts the inheritors of the thrones of Oude or Travancore, and builds round them the fabric of her subsequent legislation. That this was the system on which civil law associated itself to ecclesiastical, was plainly witnessed by Constantine, whom Mr. Noel most unfairly states to have been the *summus episcopus* of the ancient Church, and to have 'appointed' the judges of her 'religious controversies,' (pp. 38, 39.) It is well known that the Bishops who assembled at Nice did but witness to the truths which their several Churches had always received; and Constantine expressly disavowed any right to interference in their internal system, when he stated himself, as Eusebius relates, to have authority as an ἐπισκοπος τῶν ἑξῶ.

We really regret that Mr. Noel has not argued his case in this part of his work better, because what he says on the many evils of our present system is proportionably weakened. Now we are by no means insensible to the great encroachments which the State has made, and is still making, on the Church's liberty. We deplore the impious results which follow from the overstrained application of the Præmunire laws as heartily as our author. We are deeply wounded by the worldly tone which is to be found in numbers of the Clergy,—and not least, unhappily, in that highest rank, where there is the greatest measure of responsibility. To risk such a step, indeed, as a forcible abruption of the time-honoured relations of Church and State, is a hazard for which we are not prepared. But, supposing such a course forced upon us, either by the growth

of democracy or the usurpations of a corrupt government, we are by no means disposed to think that, so far as the Church goes, it would be any great evil. The Church's worldly prosperity (such as it is) is no doubt a signal blessing to this nation. For in every one of its most remote hamlets, where intellect has made little way, and communication has not yet extended itself, are those life-giving ordinances administered, whereby Christ communicates Himself to His people. Who can say that to break up such a system is not an awful thing to our native country? Yet, on the other hand, to obtain spiritual rulers who shall be deeply sensible of the gifts with which they are entrusted, to secure truth of doctrine and significance of practice, are points of so much moment, that if these are ever hazarded, no sacrifice can seem too great for their preservation. We are by no means sure, whether at present the Church would not gain by a diminution in the outward pomp of our Bishops—whether they would not better discharge their office as successors of the Apostles, if they ceased at once to be Lords of Parliament. The loss which the State would certainly undergo by such a change would be more than compensated, we are apt to think, by the advantage which would accrue from it to the Church.

With these feelings, then, we go a long way with Mr. Noel, and regret that he should ruin a good cause by burlesquing it. His argument depends, of course, on the supposition that all Church authority is derived from the State.

'This right,' he says, 'is asserted in the following statutes, which are still in force:—By 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, "the king, his heirs, &c. shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and shall have power from time to time, to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, restrain and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction may be lawfully reformed."'

He then proceeds to quote 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17, by which the marriage of ecclesiastical judges is admitted, and 1 Edward VI. c. 12, by which any one is punishable who denies that the King is head over the Church.

Now, in the first place, it is to be observed, that while these laws speak in general of a spiritual power as residing in the Crown, and derived from it by its officers, the form of Ordination, which is also a part of the common law, and which has received such subsequent sanction as to supersede any previous enactments by which it would be contradicted, expressly recognises the existence of a power in the Episcopate, independently of that which is derived from the Crown. The bishop is ordered to act by that power which he has by God's law, as well as by that which he has from the 'ordinance of this realm.'

Supposing then that these Acts, as Mr. Noel says, were in force, they must be construed by the interpretation supplied by the subsequent declaration. Thus understood, they must be taken only as one-sided assertions of that authority in things external, which the Queen's courts exercise over the Wesleyan Methodists as decidedly as over the Church of England. But what can be thought of the accuracy of a writer who rests the force of a lengthened and weighty argument on three Acts of Parliament, two of which have actually been repealed, while the only one which at all remains, is that by which the main topics to which he refers are introduced only *obiter* and by way of argument? The legality of employing married judges in Courts Ecclesiastical, is the professed object of the 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17; and what it says of the king's headship cannot be supposed sufficient to support the weight of such a dogma; more especially when it is on record, that such a pretension was designedly abandoned by Elizabeth (as Strype tells us). The words in which such a declaration is made, however objectionable and untrue in themselves, are harmless enough if they mean merely that the title of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust may be legitimately transmitted. But for the other two Acts, on which Mr. Noel builds the fabric of his whole volume—strange to say, they have been formally repealed, and never re-enacted. We ask, What confidence can we have in statistical details (so open to mistake), when they are avouched only by a writer who errs in a point thus simple and fundamental?¹ Had he taken the trouble to refer to 'Gibson's Codex,' he would have found that these Acts are printed in the peculiar type, which marks that neither of them are in operation. The 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, was repealed by the 1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 8. s. 13 ('Gibson's Codex,' p. 34); the 1 Ed. VI. c. 12, was in like manner repealed by 1 & 2 Ed. VI. c. 8, s. 24; neither of them has since been revived, and with them, therefore, falls the main fabric of our author's argument.

And yet we must admit that one class of persons exists, by whom, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, some part of his subsequent reasoning must be felt to be effective. For Mr. Noel dwells much on the plain commands of Scripture, to hold com-

¹ Mr. Noel abounds in mistakes of fact. It might have been expected, that he of all men would have got up the Bishop of London's Clergy Discipline Bill, on the same principle that London thieves used to discuss (it is said) the decisions of the judges. Yet his account of it is singularly inaccurate. 'The public,' he says, 'are excluded from the investigation, and the Bishop's sentence has the force of law,' (p. 446). The Act particularly provides, that the public shall *not* be excluded, unless the accused party desires it; and the Bishop's sentence has *not* the force of law unless his decision is voluntarily solicited.

munion with all those whose doctrines and lives approve themselves to be Christian. Now how, he argues, can persons who profess that they are separated only by minor points from, what they term, orthodox Dissenters, refuse to join in Christian fellowship with parties from whom in creed they are not divided? The excuses which are made on this subject by many of our brethren in the Church of England, appear to us, we confess, to be neither straightforward nor charitable. Dissenters, they say, abuse the Church behind the curtain; as if this were a legitimate ground for separating in things divine from those who were willing to unite with us! It may be wrong in a neighbouring family to criticise our dress, or to find fault with the economy of our household; but should we be justified in refusing to approach the Lord's table, because it was frequented by those against whom we had such ground of complaint? We must honestly avow, that a great deal of the pride of caste mixes itself with the feeling with which many Clergymen, whom we could name, speak and think of dissenting teachers. Though no real difference of doctrine divides them, though they are only withheld by external constraint from uniformity of practice, they feel a dislike for their dissenting neighbours, which leads to a total absence of social intercourse. Of this Mr. Noel very naturally complains. 'Why is there almost 'no friendly association in private between Anglican ministers and the ministers of every other denomination?' (p. 489). It is clear enough, that there must here be either a fault in charity, or a fault in doctrine. If the distinction between the Church and the various sects be merely external, trivial, secular, it ought not to interrupt that unity of spirit by which Christians are plainly commanded to be united. There should be that united communion which Mr. Noel recommends; there should, at all events, be that friendly intercourse, by which the way is to be paved for it. 'The Anglican 'Churches,' as he says, are 'bound to respect the Christian 'liberty [of Dissenters], and fraternize with them, churches with 'churches, ministers with ministers, and members with members,' (p. 486.) We confess, we are wholly at a loss to understand how this plain obligation is to be evaded. If the commands to Christian unity mean anything, they surely require that trivial differences should not divide those who make up the one body of Christ. To be 'perfectly joined together,' to have 'fellowship one with another,' is a duty than which none is more pointedly insisted upon in Holy Writ. But we could produce abundant proof that far more charity—more genuine goodwill—is entertained towards Dissenters by those who are severed from them by the real bond of doctrinal divergency

(as is the case, of course, with Catholic-minded persons), than by those who have no other ground of distinction than that they preach to persons of a higher class, and are patronized by the civil government. We rather wonder that Mr. Noel's high eulogiums of his evangelical friends have not been tempered by the observation, that in this particular, as well as in their adhesion to a Church whose doctrines (as he has himself declared) they do not believe, they are far inferior in honesty to the unfortunate Anglo-Catholics, of whom he speaks with so much contemptuousness. But it is his own friends plainly whom he has in view, when he describes the wretched expedients by which the formularies of the Church of England are rendered tolerable to those who disbelieve them:—

‘ Few men have the courage to plunge into such an abyss of troubles, and therefore *they must adjust their belief to their circumstances as best they may.* To expose the errors of the Prayer-book, or to renounce unscriptural practices, is out of the question. In either case, a minister would be at once suspended or deposed. What must he then do? First, he may make desperate efforts, by exclusively reading on one side, and by living solely with ardent conformists, to persuade himself that all the doctrines of the Prayer-book are true, and all the requirements of the State are scriptural.’—P. 282.

Mr. Noel has not, evidently, a high estimate of the practical honesty of those with whom he has acted for the last quarter of a century. For he proceeds, after observing that the safe course for an enlightened Puritan is such ‘concealment of the ‘truth’ as is ‘at once an infidelity to Christ, and a wrong to ‘the world:’—

‘ Silence, too, is almost impossible. Occasions must arise, when to say nothing, would be equivalent to an avowal of dissent from the Prayer-book; and in such an emergency he would be strongly tempted to defend himself from the suspicions of zealous conformists by professions not entirely sincere. To avoid this pain, however, there is another course which the pious Anglican pastor may take. He may exaggerate the importance of the union, extol “the Church,” as the purest and best in the world, persuade himself that it is the chief bulwark of Protestantism: he may fill up his time and thoughts with the duties of his ministry, and may resolve not to read, speak, or think on those disputed topics. Thus he may strive to hide out the errors of the Prayer-book, and avoid every conclusion respecting the legal fetters of his ministry, shielding himself under the thought, that many excellent men do all that he is called to do, and that matters so trifling ought not to endanger an institution so venerable and so necessary.’—P. 283.

We fully agree, on abstract grounds, with the conclusion which Mr. Noel deduces from a practical familiarity with the feelings of his partizans. He says, ‘*Symptoms of this state of mind are, I think, common.*’ How, indeed, should it be otherwise, when men are compelled to acquiesce in the lengthened formularies of the Church, who yet openly deny to her that

authority on which their validity is dependent? Suppose a person to begin by disbelieving the inspiration of Scripture: is it likely that every sentence in its multifarious contents will approve itself as true to his mind? Will not the facts of the Old Testament be pronounced extravagant, the arguments of the New be thought inconclusive? But let the wisdom of God be first appreciated, and the feebleness of man; let Holy Scripture be felt to be His communing with His erring creatures; and the mind will approach these topics and events in the attitude not of a judge but of a disciple. So is it respecting the doctrines of the Church. Let the weakness of men's reason be admitted, let us learn that God's Spirit has mercifully been pleased to be present with Christ's mystic body; and the Church's statements will be admitted with docility and subscribed with reverence. Each part of her teaching will receive its proper estimation; the Creeds in which the universal Body of Christ has expressed its perpetual acquiescence will supply our main guide in the interpretation of Scripture; while smaller synods in subordination to the general voice will yet be received as the expression of the Spirit's judgment, in preference to such private statements as rest only on individual penetration.

We are prepared, therefore, for supposing that those who deny the Church's reality, who have no perception of that Divine Spirit which dwells within her, should be unable to maintain their assent to her declarations, except by 'silence on many important subjects which claim a decision,' and by 'exclusive reading on one side, when no fair judgment can be formed but by a full investigation of both sides,' (p. 286). But it is certainly not unimportant to know, on Mr. Noel's authority, what is really meant by exaggerated statements, that 'the Church' is 'the purest and best in the world,' because 'the chief bulwark of Protestantism;' especially when accompanied, as he adds, with 'strong and even violent denunciation of Popery, which requires no courage, because the thunderer launches his bolts against a despised minority, and is echoed by admiring multitudes,' (p. 284.) No man is better qualified than Mr. Noel to tell us what these things really mean. We must say that we honour him highly for the sincerity which has led him to renounce so good an opportunity to 'strut his hour' on a stage where so many empty minds are puffed up by the breath of an idle popularity. We can hardly doubt that the same forms rise up to our minds when we read, which were familiar to his when he penned this passage. We can fancy his appreciation of the pompous port and sonorous sounds which, it is obvious to those who understand the real course of things, are a mere trick of fence for the purpose of misleading the auditory. 'Quid dicam?

‘*Clamores. Nosti istos Λέκυθους.*’ But we will not further pursue a subject into which we have been led by the wish to bear our testimony to the honesty which we think that Mr. Noel has displayed in renouncing a station which he has evidently long felt that he ought not to have occupied. We are not ultra-Protestants. We do not, therefore, hold the test of truth to be private opinion, or admit that a man bears testimony to the most precious article of the faith by subordinating the Church’s judgment to his own. When some members of the Anglican Church renounced her for the Romish Communion, we could not participate in the satisfaction which the Liberal party, if they were consistent, ought to have testified at so signal an example of independence of judgment. We cannot profess, therefore, to feel approbation at Mr. Noel’s apostasy; but we are ready to bear testimony to the fairness with which he has carried out his own convictions.

And here we might suspend our consideration of this work, were we not desirous of taking some brief notice of the probable effect of those tendencies on which our author has himself acted, and for which he evidently anticipates the most extended popularity. We expect, for the present at least, no such result. The ancient principles of our Church and State are too firmly rooted to be lightly shaken. But, looking at the history of opinions as a whole, considering that lengthened chain by which the thoughts of one generation are connected with those of another, Mr. Noel’s defection exhibits one of those many impulses under which the Puritan party has for some years been gradually breaking up, and which will soon lead to its total annihilation. Like the Pietists of Germany, those who advertise for curates who share the opinions of Scott, Venn, and Cecil, must either attain a higher tone of Church feeling, or they must sink into the stronger stream of a logical rationalism. And they have certainly this advantage over foreign Pietists, that their progress to Catholicism does not involve that rude transition which must needs find place, when there remains no alternative but Lutheranism on one side and the Roman Communion on the other.

What will be the probable result, then, of such opinions as Mr. Noel advocates, in this country? On what is their attractiveness dependent? In what dogmatic system will they terminate? Mr. Noel’s principle is complete independence for the individual mind—a perfect immunity from any restraint or direction on the part of an external power. Were such absolute liberty allowed, he anticipates the most rapid success for the views which he has adopted,—truth, he thinks, would soon triumph in the region of the intellect, and virtue in that of the heart. Suppose

it so. And would not then the public institutions of a people so happily constituted partake of the same impulse which swayed their private being? Would they not elect members of Parliament, who in this most important particular of religion, reflected their own sentiments? Would not Mr. Plumtree be member for Westminster, and Sir Culling for the West Riding? Would not the Speaker of the House of Commons be *ipso facto* chairman of the Protestant Association? And when this end was attained, would not public and private acts run together, so that the result which Mr. Noel anticipates would be the Euthanasia of the very principles for which he contends? There is in fact this inconsistency in his theory, that its success would be fatal to itself. For so soon as the whole nation was of one mind—when that millennial state which he anticipates was once attained, who can doubt that it were unnatural for the public acts not to give life and expression to the thoughts which were predominant in every private mind? And if this would be the case so soon as the whole nation were of one mind, why should not the same principles have their partial effect in each preparatory stage of progress? Mr. Noel supposes that the many, if left to themselves, would arrive at the happy goal of Christian truth: why then should not Queen Victoria and her Legislature attain to it at present? What immunity from error have Mr. Noel and his friends, when free from restraint, which is not now enjoyed by those ruling powers, whose influence restrains them? This Queen's Chaplain is surely a very uncourteous servant of Her Majesty. Writing under a Queen regnant, he takes particular care to affirm that Queens have no political power (p. 108). He would say, Queen Elizabeth was no case in point, because then there existed no king; but what says he to the two Maries? But we ask him what security he has that truth of doctrine will be more surely maintained by the independent crowd, than by their present governors? Does not her present Majesty profess to be a Christian? Do not her actions accord more with the Gospel than those of Dr. Dillon? We want to know the principle, then, for which Mr. Noel is contending. We quite agree with him in objecting to the usurpations of the State; but we ask why *he* objects to them? If we had no better security for truth, than the many congregations of Protestant Dissenters which have now hoisted the flag of Socinus, we should see little reason to rejoice at emancipation from the yoke of the Præmunire laws. And in Geneva and Lausanne, where such principles have been carried out most consistently, and on the largest scale, they have neither secured the advantages of Gospel truth, nor of civil liberty. For in truth, the real feeling which has got possession of Mr. Noel's mind is

the love of *Democracy*. If we were asked who lighted the fire which puffed up in those strange sparks at St. John's Chapel last December, we should say, Pope Pius IX. That unexpected reformer let loose those whirlwinds of democratic violence, by which Europe was shaken all last year. The same storm which threw the whales on the coast, was fatal to the little periwinkles on the rocks. After wrecking Louis Philippe and Metternich in the mid ocean of European life, it washed Smith O'Brien out of the Rotunda, and Baptist Noel out of the crannies of Bedford-row. For what in fact is the present manifesto, but an assertion of the intellectual rights of men? It is a claim for all men to adopt their own view of truth, under the guidance of that Spirit of the Highest, by which they profess to be directed. It is an assertion that, so guided, they will needs attain to truth. For our part we feel persuaded that Queen Victoria and her Secretaries of State are just as likely to attain to it. For what is this theory in truth but the perfection of Rationalism,—a conviction, that is, that the study of Scripture, working upon the minds of mankind at large, will necessarily result in the attainment of purity of doctrine? Why else should independence be claimed for all men? What use is there in vindicating their inherent rights, unless they will lead men to a good issue? It is one thing to say that it is inexpedient or even unjust to exercise coercion over men's persons, another to affirm that in the freedom of the mind is bound up an inherent right to exercise an individual judgment, which makes each man's convictions a *safe* guide to his own conduct. This last feeling runs through Mr. Noel's book, even when he does not openly express or apprehend it. It is not without significance that he throws off the title by which the courtesy of the nation distinguishes him, and strips himself in his title-page for the contest, like a common man. The papers have just been detailing the disgraceful fact, that a young nobleman is desirous to rank as a plebeian, to gain immunity from his debts. Our author offers himself to our sight plain Baptist Noel, just as we read of J. Harbord, horsedealer, commonly called Lord Suffield. And in this case, there is as plain a bankruptcy of those ancient associations, by which the English mind has hitherto been guided in its pursuit of truth. Henceforth we are thrown upon the feeling that each man's own apprehension, aided by such guidance as God bestows upon him by private and individual impulse, is the real enlightener of his path. And in the recognition of this dangerous principle we see a plain descent towards those rationalistic theories, by which a large part of the Puritan body will finally be engulfed.

But what alternative have we to present to those who startle

at this precipice? Is there any better guide to be found? If we leave Mr. Noel and Geneva, must we swallow Lord Denman and the *Præmunire* laws? Far otherwise; what endears the Church to her sons is, that the reality of a Divine guidance is the sure road opened to their feet. For what was the very purpose of that participation in man's nature which our Lord mercifully vouchsafed, but that in Him might be the commencement of that law of truth, which has been the perpetual inheritance of His servants. This it is, which distinguishes them from the rationalist, who looks to individual wit or illumination (for the two come in the end to the same thing), as well as from the Erastian, whose conscience is controlled by his ruler's sword. It would lead us too far afield to say anything in explanation of those well-known principles to which we advert, — enough that they leave room for individual conscience, and yet keep close to those great principles of the Faith, which alone supply a standing-place for the intellect. And these maxims, and this system, did our ancestors wisely and happily adopt in days of yore. To it they fastened the noble flag of British nationality, which it has borne so freely and fortunately through every quarter of the earth; and our complaint against the Russells and Palmerstons is only for their infraction of that happily-tempered law by which the free action of the Church was harmonized with the State's authority.

Such is the system which our author would abandon for the uncertain promises of a Puritanic Rationalism. Will his system have any success? Sooner or later we should not wonder if it gained partial influence. The course of the world seems to indicate that a democratic apostasy may not improbably be the error of the last days. Should such an issue await us, our author's arguments may perhaps have their weight, and his authority be cited. They may supply the same stair of descent towards infidelity which was offered by the successors of Spenser to the hardier and more consistent Deism of Kant. Should such be the prospects of the world, we may no doubt anticipate a wide and popular avowal of the dogma, that every man's judgment is his own; that so long as he holds to it, he cannot really be in error; that each man's conscience is the voice of God, and that inward conviction is the only inspiration. God grant that neither Mr. Noel nor his children's children may witness the unlovely results of the system which he upholds! But should it be indeed God's will that the one Catholic truth should suffer temporary eclipse, that the Judge when He comes should find faith obliterated, what more probable course can be imagined than a wide consent of men to those principles, which flatter their pride and offer small resistance to their passions? Meaux-

while, let a keen perception of present interests lead to such enforcement of temporal laws as may secure the worldly safety of the community; let knowledge continue to extend its mastery over the physical creation; let such a decency as the convenience of the moment sufficiently dictates be recommended by an increasing perception of the present happiness of men:—but with all this, let that true bond which unites all men to God, through the mediation of His Son, be forgotten; let those great principles, which only are able to regenerate the world, be abandoned by common consent, because not friendly enough to the liberty of mortals;—and what believer in the power and majesty of God, but must think such a state of things the more frightful, just in proportion as it is glossed over by the solemn plausibilities of life? For there would lie beneath it the deep yawning chasm of hell, which must in time swallow up and destroy the wretched delusion. For a time such a system might indeed prevail; men would flatter themselves by the thought of national improvement; the agreement of their claim to independence would be supposed to establish its truth; the presence and nearness of an unseen world would be laughed out of countenance, till at last the long-reserved anger of Heaven would burst forth in the thunders of the final doom, and the Being whose existence and laws they had forgotten, would reveal Himself too late to a rebellious generation!

ART. III.—*The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its relation to Mankind and to the Church.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M. Archdeacon of the East Riding. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1848.

THERE is a course and order in the learning of Truth by churches and nations, as well as by single minds. No doubt it is even more interrupted and varied by the different dispositions, powers, and circumstances of successive individuals, than by the different temporary impulses in one and the same. Still, such a course may be traced, and the marking of its several stages is of the utmost importance in judging of the state of religious opinion and controversy at any given time. In England, from the very nature of our institutions, there must be usually a number of parallel or interlacing lines of thought, and yet there may be a growth or decline in the knowledge of a particular Truth, which may pervade the mind of the Church, and materially affect the public opinion of the nation. And as there is a general advancement in any tolerably well-ordered individual mind, so is there likely to be advancement in the collective mind of a particular church, unless any of the essentials of faith are neglected and forgotten.

And as in the individual mind advances are made by the strong apprehension and frequent contemplation of objects related to a particular idea, so in a community single truths take firm hold on a number of minds, and carry them through the various stages of enthusiastic advocacy, persevering maintenance, reflection, comparison, and combination, to an enlarged view of some portion of the faith. As in the one case, so in the other, the first notions formed are disproportionate and crude; and as in some single minds, and in separate and partial acts of almost every mind, so in some portions of the general mind, aberration is the final result; yet the average upshot is improvement, since minds, though fallible, tend to truth when they have its materials. And in a Christian Church, so long as it is true to its principle, and really aims at thinking according to Holy Writ, and with the Church Catholic from the beginning, we may confidently reckon on the aid of a Higher Power, overruling the imperfections of men, as of old It overruled the misapprehensions of Judaizers, and no less dangerous

Gentilizers, to the right fixing of the Catholic faith and practice.

How far any such influence may extend to communities of Christians to which their constitutions forbid us to give the name of churches, it is too early in the course of history to define. But it may at least be allowed as probable, that there are portions of them which are preparing, amidst the decay and corruption of the rest, for reunion with the Catholic body, by an advancement at once regular and consequent in its procedure, and supernatural in its origin and maintenance. Much more may, in the same way, be affirmed of those who, continuing within the pale of a Catholic communion, take up any particular point of religious belief with a disproportionate earnestness, so as to form themselves more or less into a party, and to incur the danger of degenerating into a sect. A portion of such a party will often be led on into secession, and either join itself to some existing sect, or form a new one, like Wesley and his companions, for itself. But another portion will advance in due time to that stage of improvement in which it is able to reconcile its own enlarged views of its favourite doctrine with the traditional belief of those who have not shared its excitement, and perhaps to infuse new life into the general body, by communicating to others its now true, rational, and consistent views of Divine truth, and the impulse of its practical energy.

Such has been the history of the Evangelical movement in England. It originated in a strong religious impulse, partly traditional, partly reactionary in consequence of the cold formalism which prevailed in the last century, and partly arising from a few powerful and energetic minds, amongst whom the late Mr. Wilberforce held a distinguished place. It was, on the whole, real Christian truth to which these men recalled the attention of all who would listen to them, though in several instances tinged with Calvinistic error, or with a general dislike of order and authority, and in all needing the addition of some elements of thought and of doctrine, the truth and importance of which were thrown into the background by their circumstances. And this movement, as every one knows, has had its seceders, some finally lost to the Church, others parted for a while, but only to return with a firm conviction of her authority and truth. It has had its wild enthusiasts, its clever theorists; it has had its cautious, steady, and improving Churchmen; it has risen to occupy high places in the hierarchy; and in some minds, finally, it has admitted and combined with all the true and holy impulses that could be gathered from extended study and extended sympathy. In them it attains a kind of Euthanasia, and, so to speak, Apocatholycosis, such as appears in

Archdeacon Wilberforce's treatise on the Doctrine of the Incarnation.

Those who can remember with any degree of sympathy the struggles of the Evangelical mind twenty years ago in the trammels of a narrow system, will readily discern in that treatise the traces of its author's education. The principles he assumes, the cravings of the soul which he feels it needful to satisfy, are just those which might be expected from one who had learned Christian truth in the Evangelical school, but who could not be satisfied with anything short of its full proportions, and whose earnest thought would not fail to detect a deficiency where any important doctrine had been omitted.

All thoughtful minds long for a kind of completeness of view, and will satisfy themselves in one way or another. But some are so superficial, that they will readily take up with a single idea, which they perhaps dignify with the title of the 'leading idea of Christianity,' and present it repeatedly in all varieties of illustration. Many such were to be found in the school in question, who would ring endless changes on the notions of legal fiction and vicarious punishment, and dwell with uncontrolled exaggeration on the utter depravity of human nature, the impossibility of obedience, and a sort of stoical paradox, which equated in an overwhelming condemnation the heaviest and the lightest guilt. But those who looked closely and practically to their own hearts and ways felt that some further truth was needed to give them an intelligent apprehension of what is revealed of the ways of God toward man. More than this was needed to afford that sequence which we justly expect in theology, and without which we know not what we worship. And especially in that great article of man's salvation, the doctrine of the Atonement, was there a strong under-current of thought, searching every way for some outlet from the barriers by which it was pent up, and unable to find free course except by that opening which leads directly into the full stream of Catholic Truth. In vain did idle declaimers declare all other doctrines unimportant; in vain did even sober and orthodox divines propound schemes of the Gospel which an Arian might subscribe, and a few able teachers insinuate, on the other hand, theories that declined toward the moral teaching of Socinianism. Those who had been nourished with the sincere milk of Holy Scripture were convinced that there was in the Atonement a real mystery, and one of which we were meant to have a deeper sense than any of these statements or theories could give, and that it was certainly connected with those cardinal points of faith for which the Church had striven and suffered in ancient times. They felt that it was indissolubly connected with the Divinity and

Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, and that the theories commonly set before them did not sufficiently acknowledge that connexion.

It is well when earnest thought and inquiry light on such a fruitful field. It is well when men are awakened to a want, for which there is such satisfaction provided. 'Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.' It was an inquiry prompted by the love and fear of God, and directed toward the knowledge of His truth and the means of pleasing Him. And it was destined to issue in a fulness of satisfaction, and a richness of collateral advantage, beyond the utmost hopes of the anxious and bewildered mind in the first stages of its progress. Undoubtedly there were those all along who realized more or less definitely the true order and connexion of their faith, and were the less to seek because they had never taken up with vain shadows. Souls of extraordinary simplicity and holiness, or those on whom Catholic Truth had originally a strong hold, and who were drawn into the movement by sympathy with earnestness, rather than by the adoption of theory, might rest in their original apprehension of that mystery, without feeling the void which was so distressing to others. And these, too, pointed the way to the more intellectual and searching spirit of their successors or their companions, where they might find instruction on this great point, such as would unite and harmonize their thoughts, and give them rest and peace. It was not that such a truth had yet to be discovered, but that what has been said and thought of old is not therefore present to the mind of every man now, and truths which have been at times the common inheritance of the faithful are at other times generally obscured, and seen but indistinctly by a few.¹ No doubt there were other questions, such as,

¹ The following extract from a sermon written some thirty years since will be recognised as being of a character somewhat unusual at that time. It places Justification on a ground far deeper and more solid than that ordinarily assumed by Evangelicals, while it boldly puts forward a mystery which the opposite party, in general, scarcely dared to express in Scriptural terms:—

'Will you say, then, If religion consists of mysteries, who is to understand it, especially among the poor? To this I reply, that those mysteries, which are essential to a right view of religion, at the same time that they defy the skill of the wisest and most learned to unravel them and sound their depths, are stated with sufficient plainness for all the practical uses of the commonest understandings. Let either the philosopher, or the unlettered rustic, gaze upon the sun, and the eyes of each will equally be overpowered by his brightness; yet both may derive from him the common benefits of light and heat. Set the wisest, and the most unlearned among men, to explain the union of Christ with his members, and each of them must soon arrive at the same conclusion, and exclaim with St. Paul, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" Yet each may know enough of this high doctrine, to draw both light and heat from it; to be

‘What might be that efficacy, which the Church, in her Catechism, and in the Baptismal and other services, and even Holy Scripture, in certain passages, certainly does attribute to the sacraments?’ Or, ‘What is the ground of that necessity of obedience to the moral law, from which it would be absurd to say that Christian men are free?’ No new questions these, but such as were in fact common to the movement now under consideration, and to other religious movements from which it derived a portion of its character. But all these questions, in their thorough and impartial investigation, tend strongly to a true and catholic result. And minds that have faced them with too much honesty to take up with a downright error, have often been left by them disheartened and disabled indeed, and, for want of the truth, forced to put up with a miserable compromise, but still far advanced toward release from the trammels of party, and cleared of the extreme bitterness of the controversial spirit. There may be some difference in the course of thought in different minds, but the main points have certainly been, with many, such as these; and even where the ground has been different, there has been a similar progress toward the truth, through the problems which it alone can solve.

Archdeacon Wilberforce himself notices the connexion of his present work with Evangelical principles, and he may do so with perfect honesty and truth; for it contains the true development and exposition of almost every point of doctrine on which that school was in the habit of insisting; and harmonizes it with Holy Scripture, with primitive tradition, and with the indestructible instincts of humanity;—a work which had indeed been rendered needlessly difficult by the system of paradox, and

guided in their path to glory by the light it throws on the whole plan of the Christian dispensation; and to be warmed, cheered, and refreshed, by the bright encouragements and glorious consolation which it affords to those who have a lively sense of their own weakness and insufficiency.

‘What can be more plain and simple, more on a level with the commonest capacity, than the beautiful and striking illustration of this union contained in the chapter before us? “I am the vine, ye are the branches?” And yet who can explain how, and by what mysterious process, beings so infinitely beneath him can be thus intimately united with Christ,—as closely even as the branch is with the tree? But though you cannot explain it, you may believe and rejoice in it, if your eyes be opened to a spiritual view of it. The holiest of believers must find too much of evil, and too little of good, in looking back to his past life, to draw a comfortable assurance of standing in the day of trial, while he regards himself as standing alone, though looking as from a distance to his Saviour for support. But how his fears must diminish, yea, dwindle into nothing, when he is enabled to see with clear and undoubting faith, and on sufficient evidence, that in fact he cannot be standing alone; that, as a true believer in Christ, he is as much a part of him as the branch is of the tree; and that, abiding in him, he must in the end partake of his happiness and glory! There appears to me to be no other consideration, in the whole circle of religious truths, so animating, so encouraging, so precious to the soul.’—*Sermons by the late Rev. J. Marriott.* Hatchard. 1838.

haughty overruling of the highest authorities, which had naturally become popular with those who liked the excitement of strong language, and had, consequently, dinned the ears and confused the understandings of many humble and earnest inquirers after Truth. The vagueness and inconsequence of Theological thought in the multitude is known to all who have the courage to face and own a difficulty; but to most men the power to escape from the mazes of prejudice and inaccuracy must come from without, for they can make but little way by their own powers of criticism and combination: it is well if a true heart keeps them from fatal error, and makes them rest in practical truth, in default of intellectual clearness of view. If the name of Wilberforce should still have so much weight with any of this class, as to induce them to look and see whether the son has quite fallen away from the religion of his father, they may chance to learn that he can still consistently profess his faith in a Divine Redeemer, and need not be classed with those who 'have not heard whether there be any Holy Ghost;' nay that, perhaps, he has all the while had as clear a sight and as devout an appreciation of the very truths they insist on, as those whom they have considered exclusively the preachers of 'the Gospel.' The following extract gives a pledge, and it will appear in others how it has been redeemed.

'When the minds of men are roused from any protracted apathy, their first inquiries will, of course, be of a subjective character, because they will begin by taking a survey of their own state, before they pass into the world around. And this accounts for the subjective tone which marked the great reaction of the sixteenth century, as well as for the predominance of the same temper in the last generation. In the last age, the first object required was to provoke men to a seriousness which was too often wanting, and thus to call them to an examination of their own hearts. But it is time that the *subjective* revival of the last age should assume also an *objective* character. If this be neglected, it will gradually die out, like so many other religious revivals; and the real earnestness which dictated its growth, will evaporate in a system of empty phrases and party watch-words. And the sure consequence, if men fancy themselves deluded by a phraseology, which has no counterpart in the external world, will be the growth of open or covert infidelity. Such has been the result arrived at by a popular writer, who tells us, "that all genuine faith is—other circumstances being the same—of about equal value. *The value is in the act of faith, more than in the object.*" And though admitting that "it is of very high importance that the objects of faith should be the loftiest and the purest that in any particular age can be attained," the authoress cited appears to consider all religions upon a par as regards their abstract truth, and observes, that "men afflict themselves needlessly about one another's safety, as regards points of spiritual belief." This were doubtless true, if man's life resembled a mere soliloquy, in which the purpose was to give vent only to the feelings of his own mind. But if we be truly surrounded by a world of unseen beings, if we have actually "come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of

the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God, the JUDGE OF ALL, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, the MEDIATOR of the new covenant," then, surely, it cannot be immaterial whether we rightly apprehend those mighty realities which press upon us so nearly, and whether our acts and language are fitted for that hallowed intercourse to which we have been admitted. Otherwise, we are intruding, like unconscious dreamers, into the sacred presence of the Great King. Hence the desire of the present writer, as being bound by education and hereditary attachment to those *evangelical* principles in which he was nurtured, to call attention to the external truths, on which the *doctrines of grace* are dependent. For it is no system of idle words which is made known by the holy Apostles, "concerning Jesus Christ Our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power."—Pp. 6—8.

This book is, perhaps, best suited for the reader of mature age, whose mind has been kept open to instruction and conviction, while it has worked patiently on the known truths and the remaining difficulties of religion, and continually stored itself with gleanings from Holy Scripture and the writings of the best divines. It is not always full enough in the accumulation of material, though sometimes a little overburdened with quotation, from the author's desire to show that he is introducing no new doctrine. Proofs are sometimes omitted where they would be valuable, and the candidate for holy orders will perhaps desiderate a more decidedly scholastic character, such as prevails in Pearson's Lectures on the Creed. Should the writer ever by any chance be appointed Bampton Lecturer, a condensed didactic abridgement of this Treatise, enlarged in a few parts with 'distinctions' and arguments, would be a better and more acceptable *τράπεζα* than is commonly presented to the Academic audience of Oxford, and would probably remain in use for centuries as a manual of instruction. Such indeed may be the destiny even of the present book, unless superseded by some equally comprehensive and thoughtful work; for mere compression and precision will not supply the place of the constant presence and action of a vigorous mind. And most of our doctrinal treatises are, like the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' controversial in their origin and character, and only indirectly applicable to purposes of general instruction. Indeed Truth becomes less interesting to most minds in a mere scholastic digest, though it is more readily acquired and stowed in the commonplaces of the mind when reduced to such a form. Here, there is enough of the vivacity of controversy to give a zest to the reading; and many, perhaps, will even skim over the whole as if it were a popular volume of sermons or essays, not without profit, though without a thorough apprehension of its solid worth.

Such is our state with respect to Theology, that there will still be some found to say 'Why should we have five hundred

pages on the Doctrine of the Incarnation?' But a moment's real thought will show that that Truth, simple as it is, has innumerable bearings, and is a kind of centre in which all the lines of Christian doctrine unite. It is by this doctrine that we know who and what is our Lord, our Redeemer and Head. And, therefore, every doctrine concerning Him, and concerning what He has done for us, bears at once upon it, and takes a character from our view of it. It is the doctrine selected by S. John as the great test of agreement with or opposition to Christianity, and in all the early history of the Church its defence and definition is the point of prevailing interest. For the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, although it may be separately considered, is yet involved in the doctrine of the Incarnation, since without it we know not Who became Incarnate; and it was clearly through the Incarnation that the Holy Trinity was revealed. Of course, in a Treatise on the Incarnation the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity must be either assumed, or only summarily discussed; and at this time it has become important to pay a good deal of attention to the consequences and bearings of the Incarnation with respect to the Mystical Body of our Lord. And a considerable part of the present treatise is devoted to that object. The connexion is closer than many readers will have supposed; and perhaps the greatest value of the book consists in its clear and systematic exposition of that connexion which all sincere Christians must feel, but which very many would be at a loss to explain in words. Mysteries, indeed, it is, and ever must be; but mysteries may be indicated though not fully explained. And while a great help is afforded to the simple student, or devotional reader, toward the full apprehension of Christian Truth, another important purpose is answered in showing the value of those ancient and venerable safeguards of the Truth, which some have of late unduly depreciated. Nor is it only the importance of the points that comes into view, but likewise the extreme weakness, or rather nullity, of the arguments by which the Church's statements of Truth are disparaged. In such a serious review of the Doctrine as is here taken, we are brought into contact with the *things* which Holy Scripture and the Church intend to insist on, and are put thoroughly out of conceit with such quibbles as those about the word 'Person,' which have been of late paraded for unanswerable logic. If Archbishop Whately only meant to tell us that we did not know exactly what the term Person meant when applied to the Divine Nature, we could have told him the same before. But if he intended us to imagine that it could only be applied to the Divine Nature in the sense of an assumed character, he meant what would utterly

confound all Christian doctrine, and would set aside many plain statements of holy writ. Such will be the conviction of any reader who fairly considers the evidence alleged by Archdeacon Wilberforce, not indeed for the first time, nor with anything like the fulness of which the subject is capable, but with that clear sight of the bearings of the question, which is the chief requisite in controversy as well as in teaching.

It might be equally said of the author of the late much controverted Bampton Lectures, had he not already eliminated himself out of the 'nature of things' by his plus-minus explanation of the principal term in his theory, that in reading this treatise one 'passes by, and lo, he is gone, and his place can nowhere be found.' Here, on the contrary, we feel that we are conversing with no mere abstractions, but with living realities, while still using the old and authorized language of theology. And especially in that field of mystery which contains the whole range of doctrines of Divine influence, implied in the terms *grace, sacrament, regeneration*, and the like, the criticism of such speculators is shown to be utterly false and nugatory. Of course, there is a vagueness and inadequacy of language where the ideas to be expressed are so imperfectly comprehended; but still the communications of inspiration may be shown to have either one intelligible meaning, or none at all. It may be that we cannot define that meaning with precision, much less analyze it into its implied elements; but we need not pretend to do so, nor did good old Peter Lombard, when he followed the track of S. Augustine, 'the love of Christ driving the pair, his tongue and pen,' where the schoolmen were to follow with their endless 'distinctions,' dream that he comprehended the nature of every being and operation that he named. Our chemists do not know what oxygen, or chlorine, or calcium, or the galvanic current are, except by certain appearances and properties; but they have much undoubted knowledge about these things, and can identify them, and reason about them with well-founded confidence, though another ten years may possibly open to them some entirely new views of their intimate essence.

Theology, so far as we can thus speak of what admits but a remote comparison, is in a similar stage. We await the experience of death, and the end of time, and are well aware that this may be expected to enlarge our views; but we have recorded experience, and authoritatively delivered principles, which are not like the alchemy of the age of Bacon, chance-formed and chance-guessed, but which come from Him who knows all, and reveals what He pleases, and what we can bear. And He has given us a kind of middle science, not extending

to the ultimate analysis of all Being and all Life, but yet sure of many important and fruitful principles, and of many great and pregnant facts. It is true that some have been too eager to make it a complete human science, and like other sciences, and linked to them, imagining perhaps that they were seeking for it its due place, while they were rather seeking to subject it to themselves, and to force it to be contained in a world which it ought only to penetrate while it transcends. But such an error belongs to particular minds and classes of minds, not to the systematic theology of the whole Church; it may be corrected while her creeds remain not only untouched in their words, but undiminished in their hold on her belief and veneration.

In a few important points direct controversial collision with Dr. Hampden was unavoidable in this book; but in the main line of doctrine it was only necessary to assume the principles he had rejected or neglected, and to state the truth in accordance with them. In so doing, the error is superseded, and left beside the way, in a region where no one need care to look for it. But in the matter of grace, and Divine influence in general, as well as in the cognate subject of original sin, it was necessary explicitly to contradict, and natural and proper to name the writer whose views were contradicted.

Setting aside all merely verbal disputes, and all that are merely philosophical and scientific, there remains a real, plain, common-sense question, which is the same to simple minds, state it how you will—whether there be in mankind any inherent hereditary corruption, prior to all acts of will in the individual? No doubt the term ‘nature’ has been both incorrectly, and one might almost say impiously, applied in statements on this subject. There have been those who have not scrupled to make God the author of sin, as well as those who have supposed man to be brought into the world under conditions which would divest sin of its responsibility, and which could in no fair meaning be termed ‘natural,’ though by them declared to belong to his ‘nature.’ But the question about this term must be decided on its own grounds, while the Christian doctrine, and the fact in natural history, are maintained in whatever form of expression. Of ‘nature,’ strictly so called, St. Augustine truly says, ‘Nullam esse naturam mali,’ that ‘Evil has no natural being,’ or, as would follow, that ‘no nature is in itself evil.’ But a particular nature, *existing in a particular stock*, may and does receive, *in that stock*, certain conditions of being, which are in common speech said thenceforth to belong to that nature. They do not belong to it by creation, it is true, but they are universally connatural with the indi-

vidual beings to which such a nature belongs. And again, any such particular stock may be placed in relations to other beings, which become common to all individuals of the species, from some common cause, the effect of which reaches them owing to their common descent.

Archdeacon Wilberforce goes at some length into the question of Nominalism and Realism, and may, perhaps, be misunderstood as unduly favouring the latter theory. But what he asserts is only this, that besides those classifications of organized beings which men make by comparison of their properties, there is a divine system of classification by *kinds*, and that the Creator knew he was making *kinds*, and intended to make them. We are told that God created each of them *after his kind*, and we have an instinctive sense that a man is a man, a horse a horse, and a dog a dog, independently of any judgment of our understanding. And mankind is a class undoubtedly marked out in this manner, and known in its individual existence prior to any sort of definition by properties; known with certainty as a fact, while the apprehension of those properties by which it might be described is in the utmost vagueness. Each man knows that other men are *of his own kind*, and that tells him more than a long enumeration of properties can teach, or, thank God! can unteach him. To this extent certainly a species or kind has actual and objective reality, and any want of clear apprehension of that reality is likely to confuse the mind with respect to the meaning of the doctrine that our Lord took human nature upon him. However, if any one is unable to enter into the metaphysical theory, or even prejudiced against the terms in which it is expressed, there is a merciful provision for his case in the manner in which the doctrine is conveyed in Holy Scripture, namely, that he 'took on Him the seed of Abraham,' and 'was made of the seed of David after the flesh.' The actual descent from our own human progenitors covers at any rate the point of real homogeneity. If we do not know what it is to be of our own kind, we yet must know what it is to be a lineal descendant of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and David.

Some schoolmen may have spoken too strictly of the common nature of a class, as if it were a thing existing by itself, independently of such a class of actual beings. But what has this to do with the plain fact, that a stock may be deteriorated or improved, or may be placed in better or worse relation to other beings? We may and must have a name for the common essence of the stock, which each individual receives from his progenitors under conditions up to a certain point similar. The progeny of the domestic animal is born with certain habits of body now impressed on his race, and subject to the ownership

of a master. The progeny of sinful man is born in the image of his fallen father, alien from the God whom his race have forsaken, and subject by birth to the master whom that race has chosen. It is true that God will not leave his own work under such conditions, but in his mysterious providence he has suffered it to come under them, in hope still of a remedy; nor can any objection be made to this statement, except on merely verbal grounds, that does not apply with equal force against the existence of any evil at all.

It is not for us to say why it has pleased the Almighty to make man what he is, but the fact is plain, that man is a creature that cannot be perfect without a right relation to That which is above him. He was made for communion with God, for he can entertain the idea of God, and being capable of that, he cannot satisfy himself with anything short of God without making in himself an idol-god. This, or something like it, has so often been said, that we are apt to pass it by as mere common-place; but it is, nevertheless, sober truth, and what any man's experience will verify, if he fairly considers what are the affections of which the Supreme alone can be the proper object. That is, viewing man in himself, independently of *what* is supreme, there are certain regards which can only belong to that which is to him supreme, be it what it may. If he makes self supreme, when his mind is capable of conceiving of the Godhead, he invests self with some portion of that regard which is due to Godhead.

If pleasure, if fame, if wealth be his favourite pursuit, it becomes still an idol, and takes up thoughts and affections which are too large and high to be its right, and which can have no proper end but in a being who is all that we can conceive our God to be. For we have affections and regards to suit our highest conceptions, and they cannot be rightly fixed save on the true object of those conceptions.

Now, it appears from the sacred history, that man was created and originally placed in the actual exercise and enjoyment of these regards and affections toward the Most High, and that the power to exercise them was maintained in him by a certain continual act of Godhead, such as we term grace, by which his nature was enabled to abide in the conditions necessary to its perfection, as necessary as air is to our lungs, or to the wings of a bird. There are few things in the whole range of theology more clearly and convincingly drawn out than is Bishop Bull's statement of this point, in his 'Discourse on the State of Man before the Fall.' Archdeacon Wilberforce adopts his view, as indeed he must do, in the main, if he would escape error and be logical, and states enough of it for his purpose; but the discourse

is far too valuable for the student to pass by, because he has picked up its leading point elsewhere. Such then being the nature of man, existing in a particular stock, it is surely conceivable in itself, and the most natural interpretation of the Scripture history, that that stock is fallen, by the act of its 'first father,' from the fixed and covenanted enjoyment of that Divine influence or grace; and is, for want of it, in divers ways further debased and deteriorated, and tends without it naturally, and in a manner necessarily, to evil. For tendencies naturally good, provided they had their proper object, become evil as applied to wrong and inferior objects. How this fact stands in relation to the Divine justice, is not a question for man now to solve. It may please God to 'wink at' times of ignorance; our business is to learn what is good for man, how he may return to it, and how much he may do toward it in any given state of knowledge. We know that in fact, although the original covenant of grace was broken by the fall, a promise of mercy and restoration was at once given, and a remedial dispensation commenced, not only in that a deliverer was foretold, but also in the strivings of the Spirit with sinful flesh, in the merciful presence of God, in the grace vouchsafed to Abel, in the acceptance of his sacrifice, nay, in the very judgment of Cain, for temporal judgment is a mercy to mortal sin. But the dispensation was *remedial*, and gives us even a further testimony to the fact of the degradation of the whole race of man, from the state of grace and original righteousness. No particular theory of that degradation is matter of Christian doctrine, but the universality of the fact as applied to the whole race, and belonging to it as a stock derived from one progenitor, so as to be *by the law of nature* the lot of every individual begotten of the race of Adam, and in his image and likeness, prior to his own will. It is difficult to express the doctrine in terms so general, as to exclude the appearance of leaning toward some particular theory of it; but the universal sinfulness of man is unquestionably asserted in Holy Scripture, not merely as an isolated fact, but as one connected by some law of dependency with the sin of Adam. 'We were *by nature* children of wrath.' Not that nature, as it came from the Creator, could be evil, but that a law in that nature which was created good, perpetuated the evil state of man once fallen, not absolutely and irreversibly, but still naturally, until grace should be supernaturally renewed. For nature, though not in any sort evil in itself, is capable of receiving evil into its order by its mere law of perpetuity, in that it continues and repeats its own forms when deprived of that which is essential to their well-being. We can see that this serves the purposes of mercy where restoration is possible,

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and of justice also when the opportunity of restoration is past, although we cannot pretend to give any complete account of the counsel of God in permitting evil at all.

As man now comes into the world, the strength of his different propensities bears no proportion to the right they have to sway his conduct, and the faculty which is *jure Divino* supreme has no effective power of control. If such power is in any degree granted, it is by a gift beyond mere nature. And this is the case even prior to any physical disorganization of the brain, or any otherwise morbid condition of the particular faculties and affections. The nature of man is one that cannot subsist in goodness and righteousness apart from God, because it was made for intimate union with Him; and the only way by which it can return to good is by returning to Him, for which, according to the Church, and not less according to Holy Scripture, it needs His preventing and assisting grace.

Of grace it is enough to say, in opposition to the false criticism of those who depreciate the theology of the Church, that in itself it is a Divine act, and not a thing of any other kind. The effects of such act are, no doubt, more or less permanent states of being, impressed on particular persons, which may again be the causes of the like or even different states of being in others, and to these the name of grace is sometimes extended. The effect or gift of grace is called by the name of grace itself, and that without any real confusion of thought, since it is easy to know whether one is speaking of an act or an effect. Again, the act may be spoken of in a kind of habitual or continued sense, when it pleases God to favour a person with continual help. And in this sense it is difficult so to speak of it, as not to seem to be speaking of 'something infused' in a quasi physical manner. But we know what we mean by such imperfect and analogical expressions, and are aware that grace is throughout and in every point a Divine act, though it may be so attached to and continued in a particular person, as to appear like a thing put into him, which indeed is true of its effects. These are designated as 'grace' by S. Thomas, certainly without any notion of their being more than 'qualities produced by a Divine act,' by which a man is disposed to act rightly in his spiritual relations, as by the natural virtues he is disposed to act rightly in human and earthly relations as a natural man. Surely there is nothing in this beyond common sense and plain fact, and the charge of superstition, and supposition of imaginary entities, evaporates into something very difficult to fix and contemplate as intelligible. For, if it is meant that no qualities are infused into man by Divine grace, it is difficult to say what is to become either of Holy Scripture, or of the doctrine of any

portion of the Catholic Church, and the attack is not upon fathers or schoolmen, but upon Christianity itself.

How these points bear upon the doctrine of the Incarnation, and its immediate consequences, will presently appear. Perhaps some readers will be startled at finding so very early in the Archdeacon's book two chapters on 'Christ the Pattern Man.' They may think it would have been more natural to begin with his Godhead, and having shown What he was before all worlds, to proceed to What he became in the world. Others may be ill pleased with the phrase itself, and think it too mean and common-place. However, a careful reading will reconcile the reverent and thoughtful reader to the most natural *English* expression of a great truth, unless indeed he can find a better English word for 'Archetypal' than 'Pattern.' The latter indeed comes nearer home to the right meaning than its Greek counterpart, because that has come to be referred rather to an idea than to an existing thing. Let who can furnish us with a more suitable expression; till we have one, let us use the homely one we have with reverence, as we would any other metaphor applied to so sacred a subject. At the end of Chapter II., 'Christ's Office in Ancient Scripture,' the following passage introduces the idea:—

'These passages look to the exaltation of man's nature, in the person of some favoured representative, who should obtain blessings for his whole race. And, therefore, the right of representing the root itself is attributed to this prosperous branch, in which the parent stock is resuscitated. For that which had been spoken of as a Branch, is immediately afterwards declared by the Prophet to be the Root itself: "In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious." And thus was the prophecy interpreted to the beloved Disciple, since the "Lamb as it had been slain," by which is plainly indicated Our Lord, regarded according to His human nature, is declared to be the "Root of David." Indeed, the word which our translators have understood *stem*, indicates the same conception; its literal meaning is that of a stem which has been cut down—a *stool*, as woodmen technically express it, which may serve the purpose of supplying a future plant. And thus are our thoughts led to the notion, which is otherwise given by Isaiah, in his fifty-third chapter, where the dry ground of man's nature is spoken of as germinant with the plant of our salvation: "He shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground." This is He, then, of whom it is further spoken, "unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given." "Weigh the words," says Bishop Andrews—"child is not said, but in *humanis*, among men." Here, then, we have so many predictions of a personal inheritor of humanity, whose *office* should be to redeem and restore His race. Thus are we led to the contemplation of Him as that "Son of Man," which He is called in the New Testament—as the representative, that is, of man's nature, growing out of it to a glory which in no other instance it had acquired, and becoming a Head and Pattern, not only to the Jewish, but to the whole human family. For "to it shall the Gentiles look, and glory shall be its dwelling."

'To follow up this subject, as it becomes manifest in the New Testament,

would be to anticipate future parts of our inquiry, since it is impossible to separate the statements of Our Lord's Office from the consideration of those blessings which He conferred in its discharge. Here, therefore, it is enough to say, that He is expressly declared to be "the last Adam;" and that what was gained in Him is set against what was lost by His predecessor: "for since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead." He is stated, according to His earthly nature, to be "the first-born of every creature;" a passage which bears out the opinion of St. Athanasius, that the reference to the creation of wisdom in the Book of Proverbs is designed, among other things, to set forth the Incarnation of Our Lord, as the head or pattern of humanity. St. Athanasius, following the Septuagint, and expressing the Hebrew with more exactness than is done in our Translation, renders Proverbs viii. 22, "*The Lord created me a beginning of His ways*, which is equivalent," he observes, "to the assertion that the Father prepared me a body, and He created me for man, on behalf of their salvation." And again, "because the Son says, when He took on Him the form of a servant, *the Lord created me a beginning of His ways*, let not men deny the eternity of His Godhead." By putting on our nature then did He become the type on which it was moulded. His discharging the function of priest, therefore, and His submitting to be our common sacrifice, are set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as consequent upon that undertaking for mankind at large, whereby the predictions, which had been uttered respecting the whole race, found their completion by being concentrated in His single person. "One in a certain place testified, saying, What is man, that Thou art mindful of him; or the son of man, that Thou visitest him? Thou madest him a little lower than the angels; Thou crowndest him with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of Thy hands: Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet. For in that He put all in subjection under him, He left nothing that is not put under him. But now we see not yet all things put under him: But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour; that He by the grace of God should taste death for every man." Thus do those things, which were spoken of humanity at large, find their completion in Christ, because He, who *by office* is the Pattern Man, has a right to represent the rest. —Pp. 28—32.

In the further investigations of Chapter III., 'Christ, the Pattern Man by Nature,' the question of course occurs, What is meant by human nature? and it is well answered, in the language of plain men, without trespassing needlessly on metaphysics:—

'This subject needs more close consideration, because it has been supposed by some persons, that the belief in such a thing as *human nature* is essentially connected with the erroneous notions of the schoolmen, and implies that every class has, as its counterpart, some actual thing. "Each man," it is said, "is born with certain powers and dispositions, which constitute his own nature; and the resemblance of them in all his fellows produces a general idea, or a collective appellation, whichever we may prefer to say, called the nature of man." And, therefore, Pascal is censured by Mr. Hallam, because he "seems never to have disentangled his mind from the notion, that what we call human nature has not merely an arbitrary and grammatical, but an intrinsic, objective, reality."

'Before we consider the justice of this objection, it will be well to state more exactly the position of those who believe in the reality of that which

is called *human nature*. It is not affirmed, then, that we can trace the connexion by which one man is bound to another, or analyze the mysterious principle of transmitted life, upon which it is dependent. Still less is it asserted, that there is any independent force in the material substratum of man's being, which, by virtue of its innate efficacy, has the power of propagating life. It is probable that matter depends for its existence upon the constant efficacy of God's power and presence. Were not he constantly present with the whole creation, it would seem that "its instant annihilation could not choose but follow." The continuity of our race does not depend, any more than the identity of an individual, on the sameness of the parts, which at any time make up man's body; indeed, one characteristic of it is, that the same portions of matter may pass successively through the whole series of the animal kingdom, without affecting the transmission of that impulse of life, which is handed on from sire to son. "Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bung-hole?" Again, it is not implied that there is any reality in human nature, distinct from the personal characteristics and conditions of the individuals who bear it. It is a principle which shows itself in many types, and exists in the varying types in which it shows itself. We cannot separate off anything, distinct from the constituent parts and qualities of each man, and say that this is the nature which is common to the race. What is it, then, that we affirm? On the fact that the same form continually appears, we ground the probability that its re-appearance depends on some unknown principle of connexion.

Appearances lead us to imagine that the whole series of man's race is in some sort an organized whole; its several possessors having an actual relation to one another. As the life of the foot is the same with that of the hand, because they belong to the same body; so, because all the children of Adam are members of one race, they are the channels through which is transmitted a single nature. The scriptural authority for this opinion shall be noticed shortly: at present, we consider its natural probability. Those who deny it, object to the assertion, that man's race is to be looked upon as possessing a common organization. Though they may admit, therefore, that all men are corrupt, yet they appear to exclude the notion that original sin is a transmitted corruption. "Man's nature, as it now is," says Mr. Hallam, "that which each man and all men possess, is the immediate workmanship of God, as much as at his creation." On this principle, "the corruption of human nature" is stated to be a phrase which is "analogical and inexact." Now, while acknowledging freely that every individual specimen of humanity is God's creation, we affirm that it is His pleasure to exercise His creative powers according to the law of a natural interdependency. The foot and the hand are His work, as much as the whole body; but they are not endued with a separate life, but with a life which is relative to the whole. In like manner, the preservation of the race of man is made to grow out of that quickening impulse, which we call the life of humanity. This notion, which was called Traducianism by the schoolmen (the system opposed to it being termed Creationism), has on its side an overwhelming amount of probabilities. If we throw dice several times upon a table, the determination of every cast is in God's hands; but because there is no law of interdependency in the action, the issue in each case is wholly uninfluenced by the case which preceded it. Every time we throw, the chances are the same that they were the first time. Now, unless there be some principle of interdependency among organized beings, why is not the same variety apparent? Why should not such anomalies as Virgil attributes to culture, be the ordinary law?

Castaneæ fagos, ornusque incanduit albo
Flores pyri, glandesque suos fregere sub ulmis.

' Unless some reason, therefore, can be assigned for the contrary, there is an infinite improbability in the application of Creatianism to the case of organized nature. And yet there is one case in which it seems necessary to admit it. There is one part of man's nature, the very existence of which depends so completely on its individual, uncompounded, independent action, that it seems impossible to refer it to the co-operating influences of human parentage. The *spirit* of man, consisting in the principles of will and personality, we must admit to be an immediate work of God's creative will; although it be His will, in man's nature at large, to work according to the system of Traducianism. St. Augustine, indeed, expresses himself as uncertain to the last, whether even the soul was an immediate creation; but the great majority of later writers, agree in the opinion expressed by Günther: "Traducianism has its function in respect to the animal (psychische) life of man; on the other hand, the province of Creatianism is with his soul, and it would travel out of its province if it extended the immediate creative action of God to that animal life, which is the principle of his body's existence."—Pp. 39—44.

Further arguments follow, but it is better to proceed to the application, the character of which may be seen in pp. 57—60.

' II. We conclude, then, that there is such a thing as that common nature of man, which is handed down through an innumerable series of personal inheritors; and further, that He who was personally God, took His place in this series by Incarnation, and thus assumed a common relation to all its possessors. It remains to show, in the second place, what was that peculiarity in His manner of taking manhood, which rendered this divine partaker of our nature, the proper head and representative of the rest. That He would be greater, wiser, purer, than others is manifest. But why was He their natural representative? What fitted Him to answer for the rest? The nobler member who is adopted into an earthly fraternity, has more influence than his brethren; but he does not become their representative, unless so constituted by their voluntary act. What was there in Christ's manner of adopting our being, which marked Him out from others; so that when He was pleased to introduce Himself into the family of human beings, He became at once "the first-born of every creature," "the beginning of the creation of God?" Now, this question is answered in Holy Scripture, when the name of "the last Adam" is bestowed upon Him. Hereby we learn, that those circumstances which rendered Adam the type and head of man's race, are exhibited again in more perfect measure in the man Jesus Christ. The relation of Adam to the race of which he was the first example, is witnessed by the use of his name in the Hebrew language, as a generic title for the human family. Not only is Adam the word employed, when it is said, "let us make man;" but the article prefixed to his name (in cases where our version gives no indication of it) implies that he was *the man*, the head or representative of humanity. The grounds of this relation to mankind at large are twofold: First, the tie of common parentage, on account of which "*the man* called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all living;" and secondly, that he was the type who represented the race in its perfection. "The Lord fashioned *the Adam* who was dust from the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and *the Adam* became a living soul." An ingenious writer makes it an argument against the genuineness of the book of Genesis "as we have it," that there is here "an obvious attempt to biographize the protogonous and archetypal man;" but those who are content to take Scripture as they find it, will recognise in this circumstance the real connexion between the archetype and his descendants. And such a connexion is a necessary preparation

for the great antitype of our first parent—the new man Jesus Christ. And if His relation to His brethren is to be as perfect as that of the first Adam, it must rest on the same conditions—He must be the stock from whom all are descended, and the new type after which they are to be formed. Now, the first of these grounds of connexion shall be touched upon hereafter, when we speak of that sacramental union, whereby all men are united to Christ. “The words of Adam,” says Hooker, “may be fitly the words of Christ concerning His Church, ‘flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bones,’ a true native extract out of mine own body.” But what is asserted in this chapter is, that the new Adam was as truly the type and pattern of the renewed, as the old Adam of the first creation. Thus did He occupy a place corresponding to our original father, and become, though in a different manner, the representative of the race. Had he been only a common man, however remarkable, He could not be placed in opposition to our first parent, who was both the fountain of our being, and the perfect specimen, on whom the rest were moulded. Hereafter we shall trace the principle of affinity which binds Him to all men: at present it shall be shown, that as Adam was the type in which man was originally made, so Our Lord, regarded according to His human being, was the fresh type, on which was remodelled the nature of mankind.’

But here again the development and completion of his view must be sought in the work itself, which does not waste many words. Indeed thoughts come rather too thick, as it is, for some readers, who cannot take in an idea in less than the compass of a sermon. A second or third reading will be easier than the first, even to persons of some intelligence, and to many not less agreeable.

The chapter on ‘Christ, the Pattern Man in sympathy,’ enters on the chief questions relating to our Lord’s humanity, and treats them in a way that both informs the mind and comes home to the feelings. On such subjects an accuracy of thought and language is required that is sometimes painful to the sensitive mind; but the questions do press upon us whether we will or no, and we must consent, somewhat unwillingly, to speak of things above our measure, if we would declare to the full what has been revealed. For substantial orthodoxy of statement, the treatise before us may be trusted; an attentive reader will not be misled by the very few slips that occur in expression. In the chapter just mentioned, page 97, the word ‘debasement’ is used for ‘abasement;’ in page 99 it is to be presumed that the word ‘counteracted’ is to be applied, not to concupiscence transmitted, as the run of the sentence would seem to indicate, but to the transmission of concupiscence, at least in the sense in which that word is taken in page 73 and note, as something beyond appetite. And in a cognate subject, page 228, it would seem a questionable expression to call the communication of knowledge to our Lord’s human soul ‘inspiration.’ But this passage presupposes that in page 106, in which the ‘inspiration’ is clearly spoken of as *his own* act, and perhaps the poverty of

language may excuse such a use of the term, though it would be more satisfactory to denote by somewhat different expressions things which we must consider so different as an act from person to person, and an act from nature to nature in the same person. But these deficiencies of expression are exceptions to the general rule, and, when they do occur, are always corrected by the fuller statements which accompany them, although the work partakes so far of a popular character that it would have been no wonder if some had slipped by with nothing to correct them. Such an instance it would not be easy to detect in the whole volume, at least on any important point of doctrine. And this is no slight merit in a work of such extensive range and combination, not to say of so much original thought. The reader need be in no fear that he is bearing hard upon the boundaries of orthodoxy, and at every step in danger of trespassing on forbidden ground. As a *thinker*, he must of course more or less maintain the feeling of this fear, but as a *reader*, he may put it by without peril.

The most difficult chapters in the book are the fifth, 'Our Lord is God the World, very God of very God,' and the sixth, 'The unity of Person between God the Word, and the Son of man.' Ancient and modern heretics have conspired to perplex the mind in any statement of these truths; and while they have only forced the Church to clearer and clearer views, they have still rendered the learning of their own systems difficult by a vast multiplication and intermixture of errors. They are, however, understood and accounted for with somewhat less difficulty, if it is borne in mind that the points mentioned in the Athanasian Creed meet each of them a specific form of misbelief, and that the most contradictory errors are the opposite horns of a dilemma splitting round one and the same mystery. Thus the Arian and Sabellian heresies divide at the point where the mystery of the Holy Trinity begins, and, as attempts to escape from it, are capable of passing one into the other. So too the Monophysite and Nestorian errors are attempts to escape from the mystery of the Incarnation, and the difficulty which gives rise to the one is the same which may in another mind give rise to the other. Hence, there may very easily be confusion in argument, though the doctrine of the Church is most perfectly clear and simple, and capable of being brought home to simple souls by simple means.

* Such was the Church's faith, therefore, as put forward in the Anathemas of Cyril, which were adopted by the Third General Council of Ephesus. It is not built upon any system or school of philosophy, but aims only at maintaining what had been asserted from the first, that the same Person Jesus Christ was truly God and truly man also. But it may be asked, can a point so intricate be really necessary, or is it possible that the

poor of Christ's flock, who form its most cherished portion, should be able to thread the mazes of so subtle a controversy? Doubtless they cannot. And yet the truth which is thus set forth, is no less necessary to them than to the great and noble, nor are any persons better prepared to accept it to the saving of their souls. For even as our merciful Saviour, in the days of His flesh, while the covetous Pharisees derided, was ministered to by the poor women of Galilee, so are none more ready than the poor of this world to trust in Christ as their present God, and yet to look to the perpetual sympathy of Him who in His poverty was their brother. But how is this lesson to be taught them? A means has been appointed for bringing it before their minds, which, while open to the observation of all, yet raises their thoughts at once to the most momentous mysteries of our Lord's nature. That means is the Holy Communion—a rite which is not less fitted than in the days of S. Irenæus to teach men that Our Lord is God, since He can make earthly instruments answer a heavenly purpose, and that He is man also, since it is His Body and Blood which He gives as our spiritual food in that holy feast. The Sacraments have been, from the first, the natural outwork of the Doctrine of the Incarnation; and from recognizing a true presence of Christ in these ordinances, in which He communicates Himself both as God and Man, are we carried on to a genuine belief, that two natures are really united in His adorable Person. For if Godhead and Manhood are truly united in Christ, both must co-operate in those offices which He discharges towards mankind. To this truth many are unwilling to listen, because they suppose that the efficacy of Christ's manhood can mean only the natural efficacy of His material body. And this induces unbelief respecting the supernatural efficacy of that manhood of Christ, which is the principle of regeneration to all His brethren. Now, that the Holy Communion must in some way or other be connected with the manhood of Christ is manifest, since but for His taking our flesh, body and blood could not in any wise have been conditions of His nature. To declare Christ's real presence therefore by spiritual power in the Holy Communion, is the simplest method of reminding men that the one of Our Lord's natures is modified and advanced by the other. For that which renders the manhood of Christ a fountain of graces—that which gives it glory, power, and wisdom—which makes it the source of life—for "as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself"—this is that hypostatical union in Christ Our Lord, which brings the Divine into such close union with the human nature. To believe then in this mysterious union in Christ Our Lord, it is not needful that men should be conversant with the errors of the Nestorian theory, but only that they receive what the Catechism teaches, that while the benefit of the Lord's Supper is that "strengthening and refreshing of our souls," which can be bestowed only through the Divine power of the Saviour, the inward part or thing signified is as plainly that which is connected with Christ's manhood, the "Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."—Pp. 193—196.

The question of Development comes of course under consideration, and as much is allowed to that principle as history will warrant, while its application is limited by the assertion of the real original perfection of the Faith, the paramount authority of Holy Writ, and the assignment of the power of fixing the expression of Doctrine to the Universal Church alone. Under these limitations, it is acknowledged as useful and necessary, and traced through the great controversies, the results of which

are embodied in our creeds. It may be worth while to give an extract containing a general view of the nature of the process and the authority of Development.

‘ And here we must carefully distinguish between two things of a very different nature—the authority of the early Christian Church as a witness to facts, and as the propounder of Doctrines. Our Article, by speaking of the Church as not only “a witness and keeper of Holy Writ,” but also as having “authority in controversies of faith,” suggests to us clearly this twofold relation. The early Church was a witness to facts, not only in that she received certain books as inspired, but in that she testified to certain practices. When disputes arose respecting the doctrine to Our Lord’s Divinity, not only were certain statements to be found in Scripture, but it was an admitted fact, that worship had been paid to Him in all Christian congregations. Thus the Fathers who opposed Paul of Samosata at Antioch, witness to the singing of hymns to Christ as a God, as an acknowledged custom. Again, a second fact, which was witnessed by the Church, was the use of Sacraments. “At the head of the ancient Christian worship,” says Professor Dörner, “must be placed the Eucharist, in which the congregation celebrates its at-onement with God in Christ, the Mediator between God and mankind; and in the perpetual celebration of this feast is seen the first proof of the belief of Christendom in Christ’s Divinity.” “The second proof,” he adds, “is the practice of Holy Baptism.” A third fact of the same nature, is the existence of those early Creeds to which the Church required men to give their assent in Baptism. For though less detailed than was subsequently required, they all witness a belief in Our Lord’s Divinity. A fourth thing is the existence of Doxologies, in which glory was wont to be assigned to Him, in conjunction with the Father and the Holy Ghost. A fifth is the setting apart of Holy Seasons, in commemoration of His Birth, Death, and Resurrection. A sixth, is the use of Emblems, by which the import of His Passion was impressed upon the mind. Here are six several particulars, independently of the preservation of Holy Scripture, in which the early Church witnessed to facts of great importance in the determination of Our Lord’s character. But independently of her historical testimony, she possessed an authority in respect to the conclusions to which these facts conducted. That not only are there three Persons in one God, but that the Son is “very God of very God,” “of one substance with the Father;”—the Church, when stating this at Nice, was discharging a different function from that which she fulfilled, when witnessing to the facts which have previously been noticed. In the one case, she was only doing what, in his degree, was performed by the heathen Pliny, when he related that the Christians sang hymns to Christ as a God. In the other, she was certainly exercising some “authority in controversies of faith.” In the former case, her claim to respect is to be tested by the ordinary rules of evidence. But what is it in the latter? It stands on the validity of that promise, which assures us that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, and which assumes therefore that the Body of Christ will never be deserted by that guiding Spirit, which is as necessary for truth as for obedience. The help of the Holy Ghost is no doubt an abiding succour, which is given according to the wants and circumstances of the inheritance of God. In one age it speaks by physical miracles, in another through that moral influence which renews the life. And so too did it display itself in the Church’s guidance. In the Apostles there was that original communication of all truth, which was given once for all, for the instruction of mankind. The subsequent direction of God’s Spirit was for the purpose only of inter-

preting what had already been delivered. Thus was it always regarded in ancient times, and unless thus restrained the Spirit's guidance might be a warrant for Neology on one side, or Mahometanism on the other. Whereas the Christian covenant was from the first understood to be God's final dispensation with man. "There have been two changes in man's life," says S. Gregory Nazianzen, "which accompanied the two Testaments, and which from their greatness, might be called shakings of the earth. And a third earth-shaking does Scripture tell us of, when this earthly state namely shall yield to that which is unshaken and eternal."

The Church's "authority in controversies of faith," requires therefore, as its constant counterpoise, the paramount authority of Holy Writ. To adjust such varying claims, may in some cases be difficult. But no such difficulty displayed itself in that early age, in which the system of her belief was embodied in the Creeds. For since no division as yet impaired her unity, the promise of Christ's presence was with her in its fulness, and the weight of her decision was without abatement. Had her interpretation of the fundamentals of the Gospel been erroneous, how had Christ's promise in her favour been fulfilled? This circumstance invests her judgment on these momentous subjects with an importance superadded to that which the fact of her testimony naturally commands. There are those, indeed, who seem as though they would be glad to divest themselves of the advantage of such decisions. They would rather fall back on the unreflecting simplicity of that early faith, which rested only on the single facts of the Gospel. But this is to be ignorant, that the gradual expansion of Christian doctrines was only the growth of the religious mind, as under the moulding power of the Holy Ghost, it compared the individual truths with which it had been entrusted. Those truths must have resolved themselves into wrong combinations, if they had not been resolved into right ones. The Body of Christ must have grown up in an unnatural and distorted shape, if the informing Spirit had not fulfilled its appointed function of guiding it into all truth. In the earnest obedience of the early age, when the warmth of love dispensed with the maturity of knowledge, there was a moment, indeed, when the outward growth of the Church scarce left time to embody what was believed in abstract formularies. But this infant security depended either on the personal guidance of the inspired Apostles, or on the witness of men, to whom, as to S. Ignatius, long habits of intercourse with the first leaders had given such confidence respecting their decisions, both in faith and in practice, that a reference to the general principles of the Church's existence was not yet required. And those who seek to regain it by throwing away what was earned by the religious impulse then given to the age, do but restore the imbecility of childhood without its innocence.—Pp. 124—129.

The article of the Church of England on General Councils, though its wording has proved a snare to some tender consciences, is not the contradiction of this view, but the limitation of it, as generally held in the Church and expressed in the statement, that the Church 'hath authority in controversies of faith.' Such a limitation was the more needed, owing to the narrow acceptance of a 'General Council,' which had grown up under the papal domination, and owing to the technical form into which Theology had been compressed in the middle ages. It may still, however, be acknowledged, that, amid such possibilities of error as are there asserted, our Lord's promise remains a sure

foundation of his Church's confidence—that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against her,' and that she will be maintained to the end of time 'a pillar and ground of the Truth.' The connexion of this belief with the Doctrine of the Incarnation is indicated in the last extract, and more fully drawn out in chapter xiv.—'Christ as Mediator the source of holiness and knowledge to mankind.'

The latter half of the work is that which contains the greatest proportion of original thought and vigorous writing. In the former part, the groundwork had been more completely laid down before by others than in the application of the doctrine of our Lord's Person to its consequences. It is not that the mind of the Church has changed on this all-important subject, but that much now requires to be explicitly stated that was assumed as matter of course by the primitive Church. The nations of modern Europe are now familiarized with entirely new notions of physical agency; and man studies the spiritual in the physical. All are now accustomed to wonder, and to hear wonders explained, and to expect a physical explanation of phenomena. It is not that they always get real explanations, but explanation is the order of the day, and they are almost prepared to follow the speculations of the old gentleman whom Aristophanes introduces as taught by Socrates the cause of thunder, namely, the collision of great bags of cloud, and the fact, that 'not Jove, but the celestial vortex rules the sky;' whether 'vortex' be a principle, a demon, or a man, he has no notion. Of course the dish is adapted to the fashion of the day; but what it is made of no man knows. A Banbury philosopher writes about the soul, assuming, as a most certain principle, that there is no substance but matter; and his knot of admirers swallow his doctrine as sound philosophy, with as much discernment as railway passengers apply to a Banbury cake. The somewhat larger-minded Mr. Combe sends out his physical theory of human life, and thousands satisfy themselves that now at last they know the true account of things, since it all runs smooth, and issues in an easy code of morals. But it is not only the readers of these wise men of the world who are taught to expect explanations. The habit and notion spread amongst millions who have not the smallest conception of a general theory. The mere sight of machines, and the slight understanding men acquire of their operations—the mere knowledge that men have the power of combining wheels, or elements, to produce marvellous results, will be sure to impress on an ordinary intellect the inclination to suppose that the mode of producing every effect can be made intelligible to man. And this tendency affects more or less every exercise of thought on the connexion

of doctrines, and on the processes of Divine action in things human.

It must be evident, however, that we do not sufficiently understand the communion of the finite with the infinite to comprehend the mode in which the one acts on the other. It will be enough if certain points can be shown where such agency comes in, and where its presence is distinctly revealed to us on Divine authority. We may reasonably expect to know what it is that we are taught to believe that God interferes with the order of nature to do; and we may expect to find that such interference has an issue in conformity with the general laws of his providential government, and with the ideas of holiness, justice, and mercy which he has implanted in our nature. There may be something in either case left to faith; but if our reason is to help us in judging of internal evidences of revelation—if there is to be any criterion beside that of external facts, by which men may be led to prefer Christianity to Mahometanism or Hindooism, we must see something at least of this character in our religion. And much, no doubt, there is in the full and Catholic view of Christian doctrine to command the approval of our judgment, and the assent of a rational belief.

That society and tradition are among the principal means of the regeneration of our species, is a truth which can be denied only by the most degraded insensibility or the wildest enthusiasm, and which is acknowledged and maintained by all the powerful and intelligent schools of anti-christianism. These, indeed, suppose that the elements of perfection are to be evolved out of man's own nature alone, and to be wrought up into effect by the fermentation of human thought and will. Still it is acknowledged, and must ever be acknowledged, that man's nature is social, and that he depends on society, not only for what he can do, but for what he is—at least, in the category of quality. Man in a disorganized society is not what he might have been by education, nor is he even what he is now qualified in himself to be in external power. He may by accident have greater power in some respects, but he cannot have the power to do what he might best be doing, and security in doing it, except by some circumstances that subordinate the existing organization of society to him individually. If a community is so organized as to afford such scope and advantages to all, it is, at least in a great measure, well organized, and its benefits are to be reckoned as proceeding from society. In short, man is scarcely man without social organization: his powers are necessarily deprived of their due development, and of their very meaning and operation; he ought to live in others and they in

him; and if it is not so, the better half of him is but dead. There is no exception to this rule saving the rare case of absorption in Divine things; and even then, it would not appear that the highest perfection is in a sole companionless enjoyment of communion with heaven. Man may be united with his kind in this also, and may offer up in the temple of his heart the society with which he shares his chiefest blessing. If he is its head, he may be its priest, and even in a state of equality, each is, in a manner, the priest of all his fellows in that temple of inward worship in which his own spirit leads the choir, and the life of all is united in a common consecration. In conscience we are alone with God; and yet that which we are even before Him inseparably contains our fellow-creatures; and if they could be conceived to be parted from us, our own being would not be what it is. We try in vain to express a truth so interwoven with our inmost life; it is too true to be told, too universal to be expressed without diminution. 'It is not good for man to be alone.'

Now this truth is closely connected with the whole scheme of Revelation from the first, as well as with Christian doctrine in its complete state. All possible weight and strength has been given to the domestic and social ties in the race which has handed down the promise of redemption. The transmission of true religion from age to age was made the duty of the great patriarchal family nation of Israel. The people of God were invested with an individual unity beyond any nation under the sun, although divided into tribes sometimes at variance with, and even hostile to, each other. The interests that divided them were temporary, the uniting principle was one that could only be lost by the loss of their nationality and of the hopes of their race. The people of God, the expectant subjects of the King Messiah, were emphatically one people; and the blessing of true religion was their inheritance, through them to be conveyed to the 'People that should be born' throughout all nations. Not for their own sakes, indeed, were they chosen, but for the Fathers' sakes, the holy patriarchs of whom they were descended, the whole race was kept within the covenant, and for the present partook of its blessings. This was an advance upon nature, but still within nature's analogy, and strictly after its manner. The means of conveying the blessing, and the law of its distribution, were eminently natural, even more evidently natural than just. And this is well, for we are to trust God for justice which may be out of sight and return again, whereas we can see far better what is natural, and what is not, even at present. Within that natural system, and showing that God did not bind Himself by it, though he chose it for

His ordinary line of working, proceeds His free election, to be more fully manifested, and it may be, in some sense, justified hereafter.

But, further, in the new Covenant itself, the principle of social unity is brought into still fuller operation, and we learn that the new Kingdom of God is a society, united in a Head at once human and divine; universal, wherever there is good among mankind; everlasting, and everlastingly one. We learn that while every member of it is united by the Holy Spirit to the glorified Man, its head, each is also united to each in Him by the same Spirit; so that all grow together into one new man, even Christ; and He, Himself one with the everlasting Father, deigns to be so united with those to whom He gives of His Spirit, that the whole head and body is, with His sanction, named as one Christ.

Tremendous truth! How does our frail nature stand abashed at its unworthiness of such a union; and yet how do its spiritual instincts rise up in arms, and forbid us to renounce what we dare not claim! This is that which the Pantheist vainly seeks, and of which he imagines to himself an unsubstantial shadow. This is the reason why religion is and must be historical; because it embraces in its first-principles a series of divine acts, which introduce and carry down the stream of time and of society an impulse of Divine life, in which society itself, the most traditional of things, is to be incorporated. The Divine life and union is the inheritance of a divinely-founded universal society, and springs in that society, as by the law of nature it ought to do, from one perfect All-sufficient Head. The operation by which it springs from Him is supernatural, yet analogically natural, and carried into effect through natural society, by an infinite array of natural means. The doctrine of this derivation of Divine life from our Lord, is the main doctrine of the work before us, viz., that the renewal of our nature is by union with the manhood in Christ through the Holy Spirit. It is shown how this truth throws light on the Atonement itself on the one hand, and on the Sacraments and the united acts of the Church on the other; and gives a meaning to all the images of perfection which mere natural society presents.

‘But how is it that by this act God’s hatred for sin is made so manifest? Wherein is the sacrifice of Our Lord such an illustration of it? Why does His obtaining forgiveness for us set forth the Divine justice? What meeting place is there between God’s mercy and His truth? This depends plainly on the connexion between Christ and mankind. It is because He pleads for a race of which he is the natural representative. He is not only mediator on God’s behalf towards men, but also as man is He advocate for His brethren. He is the “one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus.” To be man at all, would give Him an interest in our

race; but that He is *The Man*, the pattern of our race, the new type on which it is founded, the second Adam—this makes Him the “one Mediator” for His brethren. “For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.” The universality of death, shows that in some way we all share the consequences of Adam’s sin; what peculiar fitness were there in our forgiveness through Christ, unless in a manner no less real we participated in *His* nature? For the application of this gift, there needs indeed some mode of union between every individual and Christ, as real as that actual paternity, by which Adam acts on all his children; and such a bond shall hereafter be shown to exist in sacramental grace and Church union. But the gift itself was purchased for humanity at large, when its Head suffered in our common nature: “For as by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.”

‘The force of Our Lord’s Atonement is grounded according to these passages of Scripture, upon His being the representative of man’s nature. We pretend not to conjecture whether the Divine justice might have been otherwise satisfied: it is enough that the course which it pleased God to adopt, was to accept the satisfaction of one of Adam’s progeny. Therefore not only was it essential to Our Lord’s Atonement that He should be clothed in “a body,” but it was necessary that this body should be the body of man. He not only became flesh, but our flesh: “Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself took part of the same.” So that we may adopt S. Anselm’s words, not grounding them, however, on abstract reasoning, but on the appointment of God. “If God had made a new man, who was not of Adam’s race, he would not belong to that humanity which was born of Adam, and could not suitably satisfy for that nature to which he did not belong. For since it was right [*i. e.* God’s ordinance] that man should satisfy for man’s fault, therefore he who satisfied must either be the same with the sinner, or of the same race with him.” But then it was not enough that He should be a mere common specimen of the race, for which he made expiation. Some persons speak of Our Lord’s death as if it were a mere arbitrary substitution; or as we read in history of royal intercessors, who have succeeded in begging off condemned parties with whom they had no peculiar connexion. But this is to lose sight of those especial characteristics of the Son of Man, which rendered Him the natural Mediator for His brethren. If He had not been the Head of our race, in whom Manhood was set forth in its widest and most universal character, He would not have been so exactly fitted to be that perfect sacrifice, in which humanity at large finds its propitiation. A story is sometimes adduced, as illustrating Our Lord’s Atonement, of a king who sacrificed one of his own eyes to save his son from the threatened penalty of blindness. The cases are not exactly analogous; since the penalty denounced was not merely the pain of present mutilation, but the bereavement of permanent blindness. But its force depends plainly on the voluntary submission of a party, who by natural law was qualified to represent the offender. A parent is naturally fitted to answer for his child. For where had been the justice of the case, if the king had by bribe or violence obtained some substitute, with whom his son had no natural connexion? It was because Christ, therefore, was the Head and Father of man’s race, that He bore in like manner not part, but all its punishment. For “He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.” He is “the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.” And that, because “He is the first-born of every creature,” “the beginning of the creation of God.” For “if there had been anything in our nature which He did not take upon Him, it would not have been redeemed.”—Pp. 243—247.

From the beautiful chapter on 'Common Worship a means of Union with Christ,' a fragment must suffice.

'The permanency, therefore, of Christ's Mediation, together with the importance of His present interference, is the true point which is asserted when the necessity of the Church's office is maintained. But if a present work is transacted on our behalf in the Gospel Kingdom, through the merits of Christ's ascended manhood, some means must be appointed, through which His brethren may partake its benefits. A system of worship upon earth is the necessary correlative to a work of intercession in heaven. The one implies the other. And, therefore, in that early age of the Church, when Our Lord's Mediation was felt to be the life of the Christian community, there was an universal and unqualified assertion, that as certainly as Christ's sacrifice was pleaded effectually above, it was likewise truly participated in Gospel ordinances; and that those things which were done on earth in the Church's united acts, made part of that grand sacrifice which has its consummation in heaven. So that while all other parts of the Christian Ritual were spoken of as sacrificial in their character, that service by which men especially participated in the Mediation of Christ, because they are most truly bound by it to His mystic body, *i.e.* the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, was called emphatically the Christian sacrifice. And this is an act which, by its federal character, involves the necessity of that united worship, whereby men partake in the collective privileges of the Church of God. "Irenæus tells me," says our own Mede, "there were offerings there, *i.e.* in the Old Testament; there are also offerings here, *i.e.* in the New Testament; there were sacrifices among the people, *i.e.* the Jews; there are sacrifices also in the Church." And after mentioning that the Holy Communion was commonly called a sacrifice, "it would be infinite," he adds, "to note all the places and authors where and by whom it is thus called." He contents himself, therefore, with citing those authors, by whom it was so described in the life-time of the Apostles. In justification of this mode of speaking, S. Irenæus adduces that prophetic description, which had been given by Malachi of the services of the Christian Church: "From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, My name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto My name, and a pure offering." Now, the one of these things, incense, is explained by S. John to typify the prayers of Saints; the pure offering, therefore, must on its part have something to indicate. Accordingly, it was understood to be the "new oblation of the New Testament, which the Church receiving from the Apostles offers throughout the whole world to God." An oblation which is thus explained by Mede: "We are wont to conclude our prayers with, *Through Jesus Christ our Lord*. And this is the specification, whereby the worship of a Christian is distinguished from that of the Jew. Now, that which we in all our prayers and thanksgivings do *vocally*, when we say *through Jesus Christ our Lord*, the Ancient Church in her public and solemn service did *visibly*, by representing Him, according as He commanded, in the symbols of His body and blood. What time, then, so fit and seasonable to commend our devotions unto God, as when the Lamb of God lies slain upon the holy table; and we receive visibly, though mystically, those gracious pledges of His blessed body and blood? This was that sacrifice of the ancient Church the Fathers so much ring in our ears—the sacrifice of Praise and Prayer through Jesus Christ, mystically represented in the creatures of bread and wine."—Pp. 371—373.

It is unjust to the author thus to disjoint a really well-written and well-composed argument; but the limits of a review must

be considered, and many, it may be hoped, will read the whole at leisure. It would be still more unjust to mention, without a protest that it is but an exception, the inaccuracies that occur in treating of the Holy Eucharist. The positive doctrine of the Sacrament is, on the whole, well stated, and the Anglican doctrine successfully maintained; but there is one misrepresentation of the Roman doctrine, which makes it more distinctly carnal than it would be as stated in any authorized formula of the Church of Rome—nay, than it would appear in the ordinary teaching of that Church. Page 428 would seem to imply that, according to the view of the Roman Church, ‘the elements when consecrated become a *part* of’ our Lord’s ‘material body and blood.’ There is no such doctrine in her formularies. It is intended that in every portion of the consecrated elements whole Christ, body, soul, and divinity, is present.

The other error regards rather our own doctrine, and arises from a pardonable feeling of respect for Hooker. That great man must not, however, be followed in his inaccuracies; and he is most clearly guilty of one in saying, (as quoted p. 426,) ‘Sacraments are not physical but *moral instruments* of salvation.’ At least it is difficult to see what sense can be assigned to the word ‘moral’ which will make it include the whole alternative opposed to physical in this case. There is a *natural* moral efficacy of the sacraments, and there is a spiritual and supernatural efficacy which is indeed connected with our moral acts, and with the moral relation in which we stand to God, but which we have no right whatever to limit to what may be included under the word ‘moral’ The actual resurrection of our bodies is a part of our salvation, but it cannot be called ‘moral’ in itself, nor can the bearing of the Holy Eucharist upon it be limited to the consequences of receiving the Sacrament considered as a moral act. However, the Archdeacon is as far as possible from entertaining any such notion, and it is only a wonder that he could prominently adopt so ill-balanced a statement, even from so high an authority. The following quotation will clear him of any suspicion on this head:—

‘II. The other of the two questions which have been raised, requires to be no less guarded than that which has been considered. We must remember not only what is *not* asserted respecting Sacraments, but what *is*. That there is in them some real influence and immediate power, results from the actual presence of that Divine Being, who in these sacred ordinances binds men by holy instruments to Himself. This is the very reason for asserting that the benefit of the Holy Communion does not result from the natural fruitfulness of the means employed, but from the actual presence of the Being, with whom those means unite us. Much less

can we rest in the belief that these ordinances are merely a lesson addressed to the senses, or that the expressions used respecting them are only metaphorical. For they rest on a basis external to ourselves—they depend on that which has a real, tangible, objective, existence, *i.e.* Christ Our Lord, as He has been exalted into Heaven, and by spiritual agency has become the Head of the redeemed race.

For when spiritual presence is spoken of, there are two notions which may suggest themselves. Such presence may either be supposed to result from the action of the mind, which receives an impression, or from the action of the being who produces it. The first would be a subjective and metaphorical, the second is an objective and real presence. We might think of a spectacle in Greece or Asia, and lay hold of it by internal impulse, as though it were present to our sight. But this would only be a figurative and visionary presence, because the movement would come altogether from within, and would be wholly irrespective of any action on the part of the object thought of. A real presence, on the contrary, is when there is some object external to ourselves, which produces upon us those effects, which result from its propinquity (*vide* p. 288). And such presence may be said to be spiritual as well as real, when the medium of communication, by which this external object affects, or is present with us, is not material contact, but spiritual power. Our reason, therefore, for asserting that spiritual presence in Sacraments is a presence of the second and not of the first kind; that it is actual, not metaphorical—real, not visionary—is because it is the presence of Christ, and results from what is revealed as the result of His Incarnation. For though the two natures, which dwell in Him, remain within those limits, by which they are severally bordered, yet they so far concur in His actings towards mankind, that the inferior has received from the superior that property of having “life in itself,” which renders it the source of life to others. And this life results from that spiritual presence of Our Lord’s manhood, which has its medium of communication in the power of the Holy Ghost. When we speak, therefore, of spiritual presence in Sacraments, what we refer to is not the vivacity of our spirits, which are able to fancy what is not truly near, but that spiritual power which was bestowed upon Christ’s manhood, when it was personally united to God. And therefore to disbelieve this spiritual presence, to resolve it into a figure of speech, to transfer it to the action of our own minds, would be equivalent to the denial of Our Lord’s real manhood; it would be to explain away His existence, and substitute a Sabellian fancy instead of the Catholic truth. And what would be the result, but that the life-giving principle of holiness must have its seat, not in Christ, but in our own minds; and therefore in effect that we should be our own Saviours? It may be asserted then respecting both Sacraments, that their efficacy results from that spiritual power by which Christ’s manhood is truly present; that in both of them some real external gift is bestowed upon mankind. That such is the teaching of Scripture shall be shown by what is said respecting each of them, as well as by reference to their common character.”—Pp. 433—435.

His statements of doctrine on this head are eminently calculated to promote peace, and to bring before the mind of the evangelical reader the necessity of considering a Sacrament as being, to adopt an expression of the Bishop of New Zealand, ‘an act of Christ.’ No one after reading them can, with any fairness, charge the maintainers of sacramental grace with detracting from the office of our Lord either in justification or in sanctification. And so far is he from Romanizing, that, while,

he clearly establishes from the Fathers the Catholicity of the doctrine of the English Church, he is scarcely even just to her elder sister. On that side, it must be confessed that the hopes of pacification are less immediate, because a simple learning of additional truth will unite the Evangelical in spirit, and the Dissenter in form and in spirit too, to the Church; while between differing churches there are stronger prejudices to be untwined, points of honour to be settled, and documents to be maintained. But what man cannot do, the furnace of trial may perhaps accomplish; and England may renounce her worldliness and insular pride; Rome her grasping domination and metropolitan contemptuousness; and Greece her stubborn antiquarianism. Who would not gladly sing '*Nunc dimittis*' when the Church Catholic should once more be heard to speak with one voice, and Ephraim no longer envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim? In our own day we can look for no more than distant approximations and tendencies, the union of hearts that recognise in one another the love of a common Saviour, and the belief of a common faith, in spite of surrounding prejudices, which are the growth of ages. It is a hard discipline that is gradually hewing away superstition from our neighbours, nor is it a light one that will more and more detach unbelief and presumption from ourselves. And when the intellect of Greece, Russia, and the Asiatic Churches shall be awakened, we know not yet what will be their trial. Probably a fierce struggle between simple faith and absolute infidelity. Then it is not altogether irrational to hope that the united voice of the whole Church may go forth to mankind pronouncing the blessed words of concord, and inviting what remains of Pagan or Infidel in our race to partake in the undisputed heritage of faith.

Happy visions these, but distant; still, the very fact that they are imaginable is a witness, not in itself decisive, but confirmatory of other thoughts, to the truth of those views of the Christian Church which our author gives in his fourteenth chapter, headed 'Christ as Mediator the source of Holiness and Knowledge;' and in chapter eleventh, 'Christ is present in His Church, or Body Mystical.' Faith is needed for it; but faith can see, without any perversion of reason, the still living witness of the whole organized body of the Church to the whole primitive faith, and can recognise in it the mind of Christ communicated to His members. That this is in any wise maintained in the midst of human infirmity and corruption is no small wonder. That it is here and there obscured in many points, is mysterious, but not wonderful. Why it has pleased God to leave it so, is a mystery; but that it must be so, without a universal miracle, is evident. And indeed a universal miracle is what we believe,

the only question among Christians being, What is its extent?

'Thus has the permanent deposit of Christian truth been consigned to us by Him, who brought it to us from heaven. Having concentrated all knowledge in His own manhood, He afterwards diffused it among His brethren. Thus were the striking words of Ecclesiasticus illustrated; the "brook became a river," and the "river became a sea." He who took our nature was mercifully pleased to impart that knowledge of which He was the well-head. He might say in its fullest sense, respecting the merciful labours of His human economy, "Behold that I have not laboured for Myself only, but for all them that seek wisdom." Those holy words, which we know by the name of Scripture, were either spoken directly by Himself, in that body which He took to be one of ourselves, or they were uttered by men whose faculties were exalted through that spiritual power, which by His mediation He procured from God for man. So that He is both "the power of God and the wisdom of God." Those secret depths of the Divine wisdom, which are unfathomable to finite thought, were always within the range of His personal knowledge. "And of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace." By virtue, therefore, of His mediation, have those Divine truths, which were present to the mind of God, been presented through the medium of speech to the minds of mortals. This they still are, since they have been written in a book, just as much as when they sounded in men's ears. So "the Fathers of Nice," says S. Leo, "live throughout the world in their constitutions." Much more then is He, through whom Divine Truth came down among men, to be looked upon as the present source of that external, objective system of knowledge, to which His inspired Prophets and Disciples have given expression in Holy Writ.'—Pp. 483, 484.

If this is a true account of it, nothing can exceed its inward depth. But questions remain with respect to its outward manifestation. It would be beyond the province of a treatise on the Incarnation to do more than indicate the principles on which this must be investigated, and so much has been done.

The conclusion invites us earnestly, but not more earnestly than is justified by the reason of the case, as set forth in the preceding chapters, to a fuller and more thankful use of the unspeakable blessings we enjoy in Christian ordinances, duties, and relations. He must be either a very good, and a very learned and thoughtful man, or a very dull and heartless one, who can rise from the perusal of such a book without having become a better divine and a more earnest Christian, than he was at its beginning. If its unscholastic form is a disadvantage to the student who wishes to make himself master at once of a formal doctrine, it is not without its advantages for the more leisurely and contemplative reader, who wishes fully to appreciate a divine truth in its manifold bearings. Nor, again, is it always best to gratify to the utmost the eagerness of a logical mind for conciseness and definition. Such a mind may go away satisfied with its epitome, and leave the living history of truth untouched. The most formal statements of Christian doctrine, if true, have life in

them; but they may be studied for the form, and not for the life. Those books are most useful which combine both form and life; and though there is no exact medium which will suit all cases, there is a proportion suited to each case. The deepest piety may glow through the distinctions of a schoolman, pervading his whole manner, and shining out in brief and inimitable touches; and the most absolute accuracy may be discernible through the deep affections of a S. John, or the fervid eloquence of a S. Paul. But the quantity of matter devoted to either purpose must depend on the object proposed in the whole treatise. The present work is, if anything, deficient in scholastic method and exactness, though it is carefully and truly orthodox. But this is said with reference to an absolute standard of perfection, and to the requirements of our age and country, in which it is not too much to say that the education of a Clergyman is incomplete until he has well studied the subject here treated. Our best treatise on such a subject, and this has many claims to that rank, must become an almost necessary manual to the divinity student, and be ranged on the same shelf with Pearson and Hooker. In a book that will take such a place, even a slight deficiency will be felt; and if such a deficiency is alluded to, it is not with a view of deterring any one from undertaking the labour of a careful perusal, which scarcely any book that has been published for a century will more amply repay.

ART. IV.—*Guide to the Daily Prayers in England, Scotland, and Wales.* No. I. London: Masters, 1849.

'BUT many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted aloud for joy.' We doubt not that such will be the feeling with which some of our readers will examine the little work which stands at the head of the page—the first complete guide to the daily prayers of England and Wales. It may be cheering, they will say, to see such symptoms of the progress of the revival in our Church; to learn that whereas daily prayers in any place but in cathedrals and college chapels were, ten years ago, a prodigy, there are now some three hundred churches which have cast off the yoke of a mere Sunday religion, and day by day magnify God. But what is this to the case as it once was? Time has been that in the majority of our English villages the daily sacrifice was offered up, and the LORD's death shown forth. Time has been that there were seven services enjoined instead of two, and those two so often neglected. And after all,—these three hundred churches,—what are they among so many?

We do not deny how much truth there is in this view. But we do most strenuously deny that it contains the whole truth. There is a bright as well as a dark side to the picture. God forbid we should say one word that might appear to throw a slight on the frequent offering up of the mystic sacrifice. That our communions are sadly, fearfully, few, we should be the last to gainsay. But this is a different question. Inferior in virtue to that most holy rite, who will disbelieve that public daily morning and evening prayers of the Church are of inestimable benefit to her—of marvellous efficiency with God? And now we are about to make an assertion which will, perhaps, startle some of our readers. *In no national Church under the sun are so many public matin services daily said as in our own.* True, foreign priests recite the hours privately, with most scrupulous fidelity. A dispensation is hardly ever granted. A distinguished French nobleman, who has perhaps the most extensive ecclesiastical acquaintance of any man in Europe assured us that he knew but one instance of such a dispensation. But matins, except in cathedral churches, are almost unknown abroad. In many cathedrals they are never said except on

the highest festivals. Mr. Webb, in his work on *Continental Ecclesiology*, assures us that he never heard them but once or twice. We ourselves have been more fortunate; and can bear witness that in the Spanish and Portuguese cathedrals they are generally at seven or half-past seven in the morning. But then, to make up for this, vespers, which are very frequent in Germany and Italy, are, in the west of Europe, generally said privately. And in a common village church on the continent to find a priest who daily recited his matins and vespers publicly, leaving the other hours out of the question, would be a phenomenon.

In England, thank God, it is no longer so. Scattered here and there, sometimes more widely, sometimes more thickly, the churches which are blessed with the daily prayers hallow large tracts of country. Day unto day they utter speech, night unto night they teach knowledge. Men cannot go on toiling and slaving in the business of this world without being reminded of a better. The Manchester artizan hears the sound of the daily bell in his attic; the Cornish fisherman, in his boat-cove; the Norfolk drainer, in his fen; the Sussex shepherd, on his down: 'Whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear—Whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear,'—that is the one message that peals from those church towers.

We do not intend to write an essay on this subject;—we merely propose to offer a few desultory remarks which may, perhaps, not be without their use. Would that we could induce one Priest to recite those prayers publicly, which the Church orders him to say, publicly or privately, every day!

It would be very interesting were a list of the Caroline daily services in being. The result would be, we have no doubt, that in towns they were much more general than now—in village churches much less frequent. Writers of religious novelets represent them, of course, as universal; but clear proof to the contrary exists. It is recorded by George Herbert's biographer, as an unusual thing, that he had daily prayers at Bemerton. It is noted, in the life of Dr. Willet, a learned polemical divine of James the First's time, as a very remarkable circumstance, that he 'came down at the hour of prayer, taking his family with him to the church: there services were publicly read, either by himself or his curate, to the great comfort of his parishioners, before they went forth to their daily labours.' We constantly find examples of endowments, as at S. Mary, Reading, left, in the Caroline times, for daily morning prayer: what need if it had been general, or considered as the rule? Again, in almost all the almshouses of that period the statutes direct that daily prayers shall be said in the chapel, but that the

brethren and sisters shall resort to their parish church at all times when it shall be open for Divine worship; a clear proof that it was not expected to be so open daily. Indeed, the deep research of the compilers of the '*Hierurgia Anglicana*' could not have failed to establish the frequency of daily service in those earlier years of the seventeenth century, could it have been so proved.

In the eighteenth, it gradually died out of our towns, though in some instances, as at Boston and Grantham in Lincolnshire, it lingered on till the commencement of the present century. In the latter town it has never been given up. Dr. Wells endowed his church at Cotesbach with a sum for the perpetual recitation of daily morning prayers. The piety of a townsman did the same thing for Holyrood at Southampton, even in that dark age. In both cases the practice is maintained.

We hear the remark constantly made by parish priests who wish to establish daily public prayers, 'I should get no one to come if I did.' The answer is clear, if the objection were well founded: No matter whether you do or not; if your people neglect their duty, no reason yours should be negligently performed. Then, the school may always attend. This nothing can prevent. But even without this, and taking the very lowest view of the subject, we shall find that, in vulgar phrase, the daily prayer 'answers.' We happen to know that, among the 500 or 600 applications which the editors of Mr. Masters's list made to parish priests for information respecting their work, *in one instance only* was the answer, 'Daily service is given up for want of a congregation.' And this was in a place with every external advantage—a fashionable suburban parish. A very curious case, which tends to the same point, came under our own knowledge. A priest was instituted to a living in the fen-country; the population might be two thousand, and inconveniently situated for the church. It had been totally neglected; dissent was rampant; immorality unblushing: the one Sunday congregation averaged a hundred persons. In an unusually unfavourable autumn he commenced daily prayers. The farmers laughed—the squire, over his bottle of wine, expressed his belief that the rector was mad—the neighbouring clergymen shook their heads. The new incumbent threw himself on the poor; he fixed his hours for their convenience—six in the morning, seven in the evening, through the winter—and by the ensuing spring he had an average daily morning congregation of one hundred, that on Sunday improving in the like proportion. This is success which must not be looked for; but much more may be anticipated than is usually expected.

We are in possession of the average attendance at daily

prayers in most of the churches out of London where they are said, and the result is worth being recorded. The proportion per cent. of average attendance stands thus:—In three churches it exceeds 50; in eight varies from 40 to 50; in seven, from 30 to 40; in three, from 25 to 30; in seven, from 20 to 25; in twenty-one, from 15 to 20; in twenty-five, from 10 to 15; in twenty-one, from 5 to 10; and in five, is below 5. The largest average we know is 100; that occurs in the evensong of the church in a manufacturing town in one of the midland counties, with a population of 25,000 souls. In one case the attendance was given as absolutely nothing; but the explanation was adjoined, that there is only one family professing to be members of the Church in the parish. It is needless to say that this was in Cornwall.

The largest averages are almost universally in small country towns, with populations of three or four thousand, and two or three parishes; the smallest, in the suburban districts round London. In country places, the summer average will exceed the winter by at least one half. Generally speaking, the evensong will be better attended than matins, but the rule is not universal; and the more educated the congregation, the less will it hold.

One of the most important questions for a priest about to establish daily service is, of course, the time. There seems to be a kind of implicit feeling that 10 and 4 are the canonical hours of the English Church: why, it would be very difficult to say. But ever since the time of George Herbert, such has been the opinion; and those hours, in the majority of our cathedrals, are still the hours of prayer. Yet as, on the one hand, there is no canonical reason, but rather the contrary, for their choice, so in most places, and in all country villages, hardly any more inconvenient hours could be fixed. These suit neither rich nor poor; and the convenience of one or the other party ought to be consulted. The priest must so arrange his morning service as to catch the poor man before he goes forth to his daily work, or wait till the rich man can be expected to come. One alternative must be taken; and, in most cases, undoubtedly he should remember that to the poor the Gospel is preached. In summer, 5, or half-past 5, would give them the best chance of attending; yet, so far as we know, only one church in England has daily matins at 5, and one has the Litany at the same hour. In winter, 7, or even half-past 7, would suit the labourer very well; but, in the churches which adopt that time during summer, it is usually changed for the winter months. One church alone, and three or four cathedrals,—Chichester and Chester, for example,—have two matin services.

In town churches, later hours will, of course, be desirable,

the whole habits and customs of the population being later. And in watering-places, and especially watering-places frequented by invalids, the later the matins, and the earlier the vespers, the better. Thus, at S. John's Chapel, Torquay, they are very wisely fixed for 11 and 3. If any class of persons need, and are likely to profit by it, it is those who are threatened, or are actually seized, with that illness which French divines have not unfitly named *la mort des élus*, and Portuguese, *a doença dos predestinados*, 'the sickness of the predestinate.' God be thanked that the place which has in this respect the strongest claim on the English Church—Madeira, is blessed, notwithstanding the efforts of infidels, schismatics, and my Lord Palmerston, with her daily prayers; Malta, we believe, is not. The place of next importance, Torquay, as we have seen, is; so is Cheltenham, so is Bath, though only once a day; so is Clifton. Yet Hastings, Ventnor, Penzance, Falmouth, Malvern, we look for in vain: were Irish churches included in the 'Guide,' we should equally look in vain for the Cove of Cork. But to return. We have been at the pains of casting up the numbers of churches that respectively fix their matins at the under-mentioned hours.¹

They are said at 5 in	1 case.
" 7	11 —
" 7.30	18 —
" 8	80 —
" 8.30	20 —
" 9	43 —
" 9.30	11 —
" 10	48 —
" 10.30	7 —
" 11	24 —
" 11.30	2 —
" 12	1 —

Thus it appears that 8 is the favourite hour; and it is clearly not a bad time, if those in easy circumstances are to be consulted, enabling them to begin the day with Public Prayer, and then to return to breakfast. The labourer, except in the depth of winter, could not avail himself of this time: at least, until the conduct of a noble proprietor of half a county of N. Wales shall be imitated, who allows his labourers half-an-hour additional for breakfast, on condition of their attendance on the matins of the Church, which invites them to that service; though, perhaps, for his wife and children, for petty tradesmen,

¹ In writing the above, and in all that follows, we employed proof sheets of the *Guide*: and a few additions may since have been made to it. They will scarcely, however, affect the general truth of the statement. The quarter hours are included in the hours or half-hours which precede them.

and for the old, who pick up a job here and there, but cannot take a regular day's work, it answers well. In parish churches 9 seems the next favourite, for 10 is swelled by the cathedrals. Why 10 and 11 have so many supporters it is difficult to say; the last-named hour, however, principally occurs in large towns, where there is an old established service, as Lynn, Maidstone, Coventry. Why half-past 11 and 12 o'clock should be thought of is to us a puzzle; yet those times are not without their use, as we shall see presently.

For evensong we find that—

It commences at 2 in	1 instance.
" 3	37 —
" 3.30	9 —
" 4	36 —
" 4.30	6 —
" 5	24 —
" 6	15 —
" 6.30	8 —
" 7	18 —
" 7.30	6 —
" 8	5 —
" 8.30	1 —
" 9	1 —
" 10	1 —

It is clear that in country parishes the evening prayers may vary with the length of the day; and if the convenience of the rich be consulted at matins, that of the poor might be attended to at vespers. Half-an-hour after dusk will generally be the most appropriate time for them. We remember, in a parish in the west of England, where this rule was followed, the great beauty of the lanterns stealing through the lanes, in the misty evenings of autumn, the red foliage of the beech, the pale golden leaves of the poplar, lighting up as the church-goers passed them, while the lights gleamed through the belt of trees that encircled the churchyard, and cast fantastic shadows on the grey old walls. Vespers will generally be a more popular service than matins. There is no coming day to distract the attention; the mind and body are both better disposed to rest; perhaps the coming on of twilight naturally carries on the mind to that night when no man can work. No long time ago—we give the anecdote as a proof how attached the poor will become to this office—a gentleman was out shooting in the woods that surrounded a village blessed with daily prayers; he had had but poor sport during the morning, but towards four o'clock he was more fortunate, and the village-lad that carried his game-bag was showing deep and keen interest in his success: on a sudden the bells struck up, and the sportsman was not a little astonished to hear—'I must go, Sir,' from his attendant.

This boy had no particular connexion either with the school or the choir, and simply went from the love of going.

A reflection which naturally occurs on reading the lists of daily vespers is this: How infinitely desirable that the English Church should possess a compline office! In one or two cases we find vespers twice repeated; in one, the Litany said by special license at nine every evening during Lent. The zeal of those who thus strive for a late service is most laudable; pity only that they should not have a more full and legitimate scope for it! Surely, whenever Convocation meets, some late service should be one of the first things that it authorizes.

In a very large proportion of the list we are considering, matins are on holidays postponed till 11. Surely this is a mistake. To commence prayers at that time on Sundays may be all very well, because no necessary business, except under very peculiar circumstances, can possibly interfere with attendance. The case is, unfortunately, not so at present with festivals. The man who attends matins with religious fidelity every common day, may by the change of time be unable to assist at them on holidays. Again, the aggregation of three separate services may be, at present, a necessary evil on Sundays; but why give in to it on other festivals? Surely to begin with the latter would lead to a more excellent way as regarded the former. We are glad to see that many churches on the list have the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, the Communion office on holidays, at a later hour, while they keep matins at the usual time. It would be worth considering whether, where there are two or three Priests, it would not be worth while on Sunday to have an early matins, exclusive of the Litany, for the use of those who cannot attend the eleven o'clock office.

Our readers may, perhaps, be curious to know whether we find the average of attendance affected by the hour of prayers. We cannot say that it is so in any very remarkable degree; if anything, the 8 o'clock matins and 6 o'clock vespers have the largest congregations.

On this subject of time we will offer only one more remark. Daily, it appears, from 7 in the morning till half-past 8 at night, with the interval of two hours, the prayers of the English Church are ascending in one continued stream to God. It may well be that these men, each in his far-off country village, or amidst the din and tumult of the weary town parish, making intercession for the sins and for the errors of the people—these men, unknown, many of them, to fame, unrewarded, and never to be rewarded in this world—these men, pursuing their quiet way through evil report and good report, daily, by throwing open their churches, taking heed to the flocks over which the

Holy Ghost has made them overseers,—that these men, we say, are the true and hidden strength of the English Church. It is they who, by the omnipotence of prayer, will win her battles against the Erastianism of a semi-infidel government, and the licentiousness of a Puritan faction; that increase her faith, and animate her courage; that will bring in the scattered ones of her fold, and will make her an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. Only let them remember, that while they lift up their hands, Israel will prevail; but when they let them down, Amalek must conquer. Only let them remember, that not for themselves, not for their congregations only, but for the whole Church they are pleading; that Whitgift's dying speech, *Pro Ecclesia Dei! Pro Ecclesia Dei!* is emphatically true of them; that if, after having once entered on the good work, they desert it for anything short of absolute necessity, they are playing the traitor to their Church, and discouraging the efforts of their brethren; that in this, if anywhere, it is patient continuance in well-doing that will exalt their Mother, and will crown them.

We proceed to another consideration—the great irregularity which characterises the spread of this movement. We once met with an instance where the family of a parish priest had not so much as heard that, excepting in cathedrals, there was such a thing as daily prayers. We well remember the intense astonishment with which a Scotch Presbyterian, on a visit to a family in the habit of attending them, heard of them the first time, and the admiration which he expressed at the beauty of the idea. And truly, in some large districts, the same ignorance might still prevail; and the traveller might pass forty or fifty miles without the possibility of a daily matins or vespers. Yet, on the other hand, we know an instance where a lady and gentleman, in concerting their wedding-tour, determined that their resting-place every evening should only be in such a situation as might enable them to attend daily prayers; and in the course of a long journey they kept their resolution with ease.

In examining the list we find that the county of Sussex takes the lead in the movement, and can boast of seven-and-twenty churches with daily prayers. Next comes Devonshire with twenty-two; Yorkshire and Gloucestershire with twenty each; Oxfordshire and Essex with seventeen; Wilts with fifteen. At the same time, in proportion to its size, Flintshire, with five churches in the list, stands first; while Sussex, far inferior in population to either Devon, or York, or Gloucester, and with no Leeds or Bristol to swell the amount, may be considered as having done wonders. Bedfordshire and Westmoreland are the only counties in England which appear to have absolutely no daily service.

It is sad to see that the vast Diocese of Chester, (as it was before the erection of the See of Manchester,) has only two daily services, besides its two cathedrals; that the Diocese of Norwich, with the church-teeming counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, has in the former only two daily services except the cathedral; in the latter the same number, one of which has existed from time immemorial; while the Diocese of Durham has but one except the cathedral. The Bishop of Worcester, the only prelate, probably, since the days of the Apostles, that has had the boldness, *ex cathedrâ*, to speak against the daily prayers of the Church, has not been able to persuade his Clergy that they are useless; six, at least, offer them. Next come Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, with twenty-four; Devonshire, with twenty-three; Essex and Wilts, with seventeen; Oxfordshire, with sixteen; Huntingdonshire, Cheshire, and Durham, without a single parochial daily service (while even Rutland has *one*); Cumberland with one; Bucks, Derby, Herts, Lancashire, Norfolk, Northumberland, Salop, and Suffolk, with two, are the worst. In proportion to its size, Lincolnshire, with five, has cause for shame.

We cannot but notice, as specimens of what things ought to be, the instances of Harlow, with its three, and Hawarden, with its two churches, each celebrating daily prayers twice.

Of large towns, we find but three that are well supplied—Leeds, Bristol,¹ and Oxford. Many most important places, as Halifax, Stoke-upon-Trent, Portsmouth, Ashton-under-Line, Wigan, Bolton-le-Moors, Birmingham, the smallest of which contains a population exceeding 50,000, have no daily prayers. How much longer will this be permitted to exist?

We have hitherto left London out of consideration. Here, whatever be the improvement of late years, we are very far indeed from having made up leeway even to the position we occupied in that dark age, the eighteenth century. By the list preserved in the *Pietas Londinensis*, it appears that, in 1714, in five churches—namely S. Anne, Soho; S. James's, King-street; S. Paul's, Westminster; Lambeth Chapel; S. Paul's, Covent Garden—prayers were said four times a day. In five, namely, S. Andrew, Holborn, S. Andrew, Undershaft, S. Clement Danes, and the two Cathedrals, they were said thrice; in forty-

¹ We cannot refrain from congratulating the Bristol Priests on the activity they have shown this Lent. In seven churches are daily prayers; in one church, S. John Baptist, are daily sermons after an 8.30 p.m. evensong, preached by the neighbouring Clergy (the true way for Lent sermons), while scarcely any day but finds its morning sermon in some other church. We only wish that they would not speak of Passion Week when they mean Holy Week: the former is the fifth, not the sixth, week in Lent.

four churches, twice; and in twenty-one, once. With respect to Lambeth Chapel, we cannot resist quoting a passage from a letter of that truly great man, Archbishop Wake, which bears on the subject.

‘For myself, I live almost a monastic life. I have a large and numerous family, and I keep it under the best regulation I can. We have the service of God within ourselves, and that in public in my chapel and house, four times a day. We live orderly and peaceably together; and though the necessity of business draws a great number of persons to me, yet I reduce even that as much as possible to certain times; and then eat openly with my friends two days in the week. To the court I seldom go, save when obliged to attend my duty, either in the public or cabinet councils; and when in Parliament time, I am rather faulty in not going so often as I should to it, than in attending constantly upon it; so that I use my best endeavours to live clear of the world, and die by degrees to it.’

‘Dated, Lambeth House, Dec. 7, 1726.’

Now, the ‘London and neighbourhood’ of 1849 has twice as many churches as the London of 1714, and six or seven times as many inhabitants. How stand the comparative lists?—

	In 1714.	In 1849.
Of churches with four daily services, there were	5	0
„ three	5	3
„ two	44	25
„ one	21	13

making a total of 144 daily *services* (and the number of churches bears the same proportion of excess) in one case, 72 in the other. To keep up the same proportion, there should be now at least 300 daily services. And yet doubtless many daily services were lost in the fire, from which so many churches never rose.

Yet, to take a favourable contrast between the two cases, there is no doubt that communions are much more frequent now than at the time of the publication of the *Pietas Londinensis*. In that list, about twenty churches are marked as having the Holy Eucharist celebrated once a month. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that the churches not so marked enjoyed it only at the great festivals. It is a curious consideration that, at that time, monthly communions were not half so frequent in London as daily services. Only three churches celebrated the Eucharist on every Sunday and holiday—Duke-street Chapel; S. Dunstan in the West; S. Mary Woolnoth: only nine on every Sunday—namely, All Hallows, Barking; S. Andrew, Holborn; S. Clement Danes; S. George, Botolph-lane; Chapel Royal; S. Lawrence, Jewry; S. Paul’s Cathedral; S. Peter, Cornhill; S. Vedast, Foster-lane; while two were so privileged every holiday—S. Mary-le-Bow, and S. Michael, Basinghall-lane. Nothing further calls for remark than that, at S. Dunstan in the West,

the Holy Eucharist was also celebrated daily for a week after Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday. Wanting as we still are in frequency of celebration, at least we have made an improvement in the last century.

Of the churches in the metropolis that have kept up daily prayers from 1714 till now,—or which having daily service then, have more recently revived it, after various periods of disuse—there are but seven: S. Anne, Soho, which then had four services—at 6, 11, 4, and 6, and now has two—at half-past 7, and a quarter past 8; S. Bride's, Fleet-street, which had two, and has one; the Charterhouse, which had one, and has two; S. James, Westminster, which had four, and has three; Lincoln's Inn Chapel, S. Martin-in-the-Fields, and the Temple, all of which had two, and have one. S. Leonard, Shoreditch, seems the only instance of a London church at that time in existence, which then had not, and now has, daily prayers.

It is a curious fact, and can hardly be regarded as accidental, that in every instance of week-day prayers in 1714, prayers commenced at a complete hour;—never, as is now so frequently the case, at a half-hour.

It is not wonderful that the revival of daily prayers should be received with a burst of vituperation from the so-called Evangelical party. Wednesday and Friday services, according to their organ, are exact enough; but daily prayers are Jewish, are Popish, are Pagan, are intolerable. Even, it is gravely said, a serious question may arise, whether, in the present state of things, the Thursday evening lecture is desirable; *i. e.* in so far as it cannot be had without previous prayers. That very amusing person, Mr. Rochfort Clarke, has lately written several letters, which our readers have probably never seen; one of them is mainly in vituperation of the practice of which we speak. We merely mention this lest it should seem that the revival was without that opposition which Charles Borromeo considered necessary to prove the goodness of a work. Next to its Popery, the emphatical ground of objection is this: that daily service ignores all idea of family prayers as a divinely appointed ordinance, one main stay of Evangelicalism; and regards them simply as a human invention, highly proper as a substitute where something better cannot be had, dangerous and pernicious where man's device takes the place of God's appointment. Thus have they made the word of God of none effect through their tradition. But into this very interesting subject we cannot now enter.

We will notice in conclusion the two usual objections which earnest men, convinced of the excellency of daily prayers, and having been enabled to see the futility of the notion that they

can spend the same time much more profitably to their parish in some other way, yet contrive to raise.

The first is,—if they are single-handed—that the tie upon them is very grievous. If they are ill,—if they are called from home,—what are they to do? The answer is easy. It is true, that daily prayers ought not to be lightly interrupted. Churches that have them become common property. ‘Not to themselves but unto us do they minister those things.’ People may come miles for week-day prayers, and should not unnecessarily be disappointed. But we must not strain a general rule too far. We must not make the yoke so heavy, as to render it intolerable. There is a vast difference between a reason and an excuse. In cases of calls from home, notice may generally be given on the preceding Sunday, almost always on some preceding week-day, that on such a day there will not be service. Even in an extremity, three or four of the school-children could, in the course of a few hours, easily give all the requisite notices. And, on the broad principle, if nothing is to be done till we are sure of being able to do it always, nothing will ever be done at all.

The other objection is on the score of health; and, *à priori*, it is very plausible. If the Sunday services are so heavy a drag, if they occasion such wear and tear to the lungs, what must daily prayers be? But, by the same rule, a man who is compelled to take violent exercise once a-week, would do well to take none at all on the intermediate days. What is the reason that consumption is so fearfully prevalent among the English Clergy, while among their French brethren, certainly not physically stronger, it is almost unknown? Doubtless, in some measure, the most injurious effect of reading instead of intoning, but certainly also because the one set of men tax their lungs to their utmost once a-week—the others call theirs pretty equally into play every day. So, in like manner, English lawyers, who do not intone, and who speak as much as, or more than, clergymen, are comparatively free from phthisis. The reason is, that when they exercise their voice, the strain is continuous and equable; and when they rest, the rest is complete. We believe, and we are sure we should be borne out by the testimony of physicians, that daily prayers would be found a preventive of that which they are commonly thought to induce. And we are told by the editors of the ‘Guide,’ that, in their very numerous inquiries, they found only one instance where daily service, having commenced, was given up on the score of ill health.

Our brethren already engaged in this good work will, we are sure, suffer us to end with one question. How is it that, in so many instances, the village school does not, as a matter of

course, daily attend church? If fathers and mothers see that the education of their children, that is, their employment, takes precedence of their daily prayers, how shall they not conclude that their own employment, their farm, or shop, or garden, may do so to? And what kind of religious training must that be, of which this does not form a prominent part? and how shall the Priest recommend attendance at a rite at which, while in his power, he does not compel it?

We observe that the list of daily prayers is to be re-published as often as additions or changes shall seem to require it. We hope that those who can, will give such information as may tend to the more complete accuracy of that, which in a first number cannot expect to be perfect, but which even in its present state, as we believe, will be useful.

P.S. From the 'New York Churchman' of Feb. 10, 1849, we extract the following list of churches open for daily prayers, at present, in that city:—

Trinity Church	9 A.M. and 3 P.M.
All Saints' Church	8 A.M.
St. Luke's Church [Sundays included]	8 A.M.
Holy Communion administered every Sunday, at 10.30 A.M.; upon all Festivals other than Sunday, at 11 A.M.; and evening service on Friday, at 3 P.M.	
St. Clement's Church	9 A.M.
Calvary Church	8 A.M. and 6 P.M.
Church of the Annunciation	9 A.M.
Church of the Holy Communion	8 A.M. and 6 P.M.
Saints' days, a second service, lecture, and Offertory at 11 A.M.	
Church of the Crucifixion	8 A.M.
Emmanuel Church	9 A.M.
Prayers at 5 P.M. on Fridays.	
Holy Apostles'	9 A.M.
Grace Church [Brooklyn Heights]	8.30 A.M. & 4.30 P.M.

ART. V.—*Five Sermons on the Nature of Christianity, preached in Advent and Christmas Tide, 1846, before the University of Cambridge.* By W. H. MILL, D.D. London: Masters. 1848.

'LIBRUM, si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere,' is a maxim which those who are in any way set for the defence of truth cannot too religiously observe and act upon in the utmost latitude of its meaning. The Roman satirist, no doubt, chiefly intended to protest by it against the flattery which would buy a great man's book by way of currying favour with him, regardless of its intrinsic literary merits. But even he would seem to have been not unconscious that he was uttering a deeper truth, and insisting on a yet more solemn duty—viz. that of forbearing to give currency, from any motive, to that which he could not heartily and *ex animo* commend as really worthy of it. To us, at any rate, the words may well suggest this duty. Of course, as there are many degrees of demerit in books as in men, it will often be a task of some delicacy to decide whether or not a given work has reached that point of it at which it ceases to have a claim upon encouragement and circulation. A book may serve one purpose, if it does not another. Its facts and general subject-matter may be valuable, though its views and inferences be erroneous and worthless. Or again, though its facts be mistaken, its views may be suggestive and capable of fruit, when applied to a sounder basis of premises. A responsibility, therefore, attaches to the act of discouraging a book bearing this mixed character. You may be suppressing either facts or views which the world will want some day. Milton, in his tract on 'Unlicensed Printing,' has put this in strong language:—'As well kill a man as a good book; yea, it is not less than to kill the very spirit of the man, as it were, through the eye.' And this holds, no doubt, in the department of theology, at least as much as in any other. A book bearing on religion must be bad indeed, not to have some truth and some use in it. No man, Butler has observed,¹ commends vice as such—nor, we may add, error as such: and this fact, of each man's striving after truth, is a redeeming feature after all, however mistaken be the method pursued and the conclusions arrived at. Still, the original duty stands where it did. The 'malus liber,' *quod* 'malus,' and *eâtenus quâtenus*, must receive no quarter at the hands of the defender of sacred truth: he is not to disallow its good for its evil's sake, it is true, but neither is he contentedly to see its evil imbibed for the sake of its good. And there is

¹ Anal. P. I. § 3.

this very grave difference between the case of theology and that of other sciences,—(we use the term advisedly, and would refer to Aquinas¹ for the sense in which we use it),—a difference which goes far to constitute it a special case;—that whereas in other sciences we are ever learning, and increasing learning, adding new facts, checking, correcting, adjusting, and so approximating continually to a never-to-be-attained perfection of system—man and nature two mighty asymptotes, the one running ever nearer and more near to the other, but never destined to overlie it by a perfect comprehension,²—in theology all this is otherwise. There, all has been once for all delivered; the facts are as fully known as they ever will be known; all is summed up: the adjustment is faultless, the system perfect. Humanly speaking, the received theory of the material universe is still open to question; it is daily receiving modifications in detail, by the ascertainment, *e. g.*, of disturbing causes and the like; and even the existence of the Newtonian principle of gravitation, as a distinct principle, is beginning to be doubted of; it is thought that it may prove to be resolvable into electric action. But to the divinely-revealed spiritual system, probabilities and modifications are unknown: novelties are certain errors; the centre of the system is ascertained to us by an authority that admits of no question; not only as it is in itself, but to our knowledge, ‘He hath made it fast for ever and ever; He hath given it a law which shall not be broken.’ And there arises a corresponding obligation on the part of those into whose keeping this economy is delivered, both for preservation of it, and instruction of others in it and out of it, to labour to maintain, in their own manner of holding and viewing it at least, a due regard to the whole as well as to the parts—to the grand outline as well as to the details. We are not saying that this large view is on all occasions to be put forth, nor yet that every individual Christian is bound, on peril of his salvation, to attain to these comprehensive conceptions of the Christian doctrinal system. The teacher of others must often be content to be labouring at the inculcation of one doctrine or duty at a time, though he should not fail sometimes to exhibit things in their mutual connexion, and on a broader view: and again, the faculty of wide conception is, by the defect of education or ability, denied to many a single-minded and faithful member of the Church. But the instructor of others, together with his gift and office, does seem also to receive this responsibility, of preserving the

¹ Summa, Pars I. Quæst. 1—8.

² “It may be doubted if such a victory could ever be achieved in the fields of natural philosophy Even a partial solution of the problem will remain the eternal and sublime aim of every investigation of nature.”—*Humboldt’s Cosmos, Introd.*

analogy of the faith, as regards his own subjective apprehension, and steadily to keep this in view in all that he teaches.

So Dr. Mill, speaking of the central fact of the system:—
 ‘While to pursue this to its consequences in the Christian life
 ‘was the concern of the individual believer, the prime concern
 ‘of those who watched for their souls, the ministers and stewards
 ‘of Divine mysteries, was to preserve inviolate the belief of this
 ‘great fact.’

May it not be (we suggest it with all reverence) that this is one purpose to which the Gift, special to the ministers and stewards of mysteries, is consigned to them?

Now, the theology of the age immediately preceding our own, viewed in the gross, presents itself to us under some such aspect as the following. At other periods of the Church's history, such as the middle ages, or that of the Continental schism, we can for the most part lay our finger on definite, active, energizing principles, which constituted the doctrinal error or peculiarity of those times and views. But the characteristic of the period just mentioned is the absence of any decided characteristic at all. Our shelves are crowded with its productions, in the shape of sermons or treatises,—smooth, generalizing essays, generally elegant, often learned; the writers *acerrimi vindices*, on occasion, of this or that theological statement; staunch upholders at all times of morality, of the necessity and excellence of religion, and the like. Nor is it so easy to convict their theology of positive erroneousness as is commonly supposed. Our friends of a certain school, we are aware, make short work of it by saying that they were deficient in the ‘*articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*.’ But, admitting for a moment that the dogma in question, even when rightly understood, were such a criterion, we apprehend it would be difficult to fasten upon these writers the imputation of advancing anything against it. With the Church Prayers, and especially the Communion Office, expressly declaring Christ to be the sole meritorious cause of man's salvation, it would be contrary to all fair rules of judging, to pronounce that they denied that which from the prayer-desk and the altar they thus in effect inculcated Sunday by Sunday, and *against* which it would, from the very undogmatic character of their written teaching, be very difficult indeed to show that they ever advanced anything. No: whatever errors they might hold in solution, it was not their manner to precipitate them. If there was not much to command admiration in the depth of their speculations and teachings, there was on the other hand but little of a positive character for an objector to lay hold of. The school which is thus foremost in insisting on the defectiveness and antiscip-

tural character of their theology, does in reality itself lie much more open to the charge. In proportion as they have taken more to systematizing and pushing formal dogmas, their heterodoxy assumes a positiveness and saliency, which renders it a much fairer mark for an *hæreticorum malleus* to strike at. The blows which sink unfelt into the yielding and accommodating generalities of those *safe* theologians, or glance harmless from the broad shield of the Church's ritual teaching, with which, when assailed, they were wont to cover the weak places of their exhibition of the truth, light heavily and effectively on the more definitely advanced positions of a school who disdain to be beholden to any such defences. As to the former school—

‘Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat?’

Who ventures to call in question the morality of Blair, or to cast a doubt on the piety of Sherlock? And, as they confine themselves for the most part to views and statements coming under these generalities, it is really far easier to condemn than to convict them. Not so the class of writers with whom we are comparing them; *they* by no means decline to commit themselves to distinctly expressed views: rather do they glory in the clearness and simplicity with which they can unfold, according to their conceptions of it, the whole scheme of the Gospel; and then the weakness of their views renders easy the refutation which their dogmatic character has in the first instance provoked. ‘They court the fall they find.’ Their solifidian monodogma, so to call it, (for into it their whole stock of dogmatic theology may always be resolved), is at bottom so absurd, that it cannot stand the slightest examination. Judging from all the sermons that we have heard from divines of this school,—and they are not a few,—we believe that we do not misrepresent their doctrinal system by stating it as follows. St. Paul tells us, that a man is justified by faith: that is, by having faith, and by the faith which he has. But when has a man this faith? Is it sufficient that he has love to Christ, and puts his trust in His merits for his salvation? ‘Not necessarily,’ it is replied, ‘because he may be putting some trust in himself too.’ What, then, is sufficient to constitute him the possessor of this saving faith? ‘He must throw himself upon Christ’s merits *entirely*,’ is the answer. But what is the test whereby to judge whether he does trust in Christ thus *entirely*? or wherein does this *entirety* of trust consist, and what is its essence? ‘It consists’—mark the reply—‘in his renouncing his *own* merits.’ When a man does this, then and not till then he believes in Christ; then and not till then he throws himself upon his Saviour’s merits; then and not till then he has saving faith.

Now, let it be observed, first of all, that the view, conviction, or feeling, on the attainment of which a man's salvation is here said to depend, is, when reduced to its elements, a merely *negative* one; it is not any belief that so and so *is* that is required of him, but that so and so *is not*; viz. that he himself, personally, has not any merits of his own: this, and not the act of believing anything positively concerning Christ's merits, is in the last resort avowed to be the essential part of the thing to be held or felt:—and, secondly, that the subject of this negative belief is, after all, no profound spiritual truth, such as the non-existence¹ of evil in the Divine Nature, or the like, but something about the man himself. Was ever anything more preposterous set forth as a theory of the manner of man's salvation? or was ever a more miserably scanty creed propounded, as alone essential to salvation, and sufficient for the cravings of man's spirit, than this, to which we fearlessly assert once more that the dogmatic teaching of this school is reducible,—‘I believe that I have no power to save myself, no merits of my own?’

That we have not misstated the doctrine of this school, according to the formal idea of it, we are confirmed in believing, by finding that Dr. Mill, in his ‘Advent Sermons,’ has described it in very similar terms:—

‘According to this view, then, the essential form and idea of Christianity, without which it exists not, and in which it cannot fail to subsist, is the one doctrine, *consciously embraced*, of man's inability to save himself, and his dependence for this altogether on what the Gospel of Christ has provided for him. In the definition of this provision, which should therefore appear peculiarly necessary here, the first inculcators of this view undoubtedly included the great Catholic truths concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation: but it is now more common to be content with such recognition of the Divinity of the Son and the Spirit, as suffices for the reception of the full satisfaction for human guilt by the one, and of renovation of heart by the other: these doctrines being at least so far received as the perusal of Holy Scripture, with prayer for Divine aid, has enabled the individual to read them there. For in any case, the one essential requisite, the one point on which all other salutary things depend, is stated to be this; that the man, convinced of his inability to supply the demands of the Divine law, reposes his whole trust and confidence in the righteousness of Christ the Lord. That happy moment being past when the soul seeing its own helplessness does thus cast itself upon the saving mercies of the Son of God, a principle of heavenly life thenceforward takes possession. . . .

‘That there is a measure of truth mixed with this representation, partial and unsound in several respects as it may be shown to be, no orthodox Christian can doubt. If the point in which this system chooses to place the whole Christian idea were not a truth in itself, and a truth moreover that is essentially involved in the foundations of Christianity, this system would not have any of the power which experience proves it to have possessed, of winning some earnest and well-disposed minds to its support. It is indeed a great truth, that fallen man is utterly unequal to the task of his

¹ Quia de Deo non possumus scire quid sit, sed quid non sit, &c.—Thom. Aq. i. 3.

own recovery—that neither the merit nor the power by which he must work is of himself: it is a truth alike certified to us, whether we consider the astonishing means employed for our redemption by Him who is not wont to use means that are unnecessary; whether we ponder the images of lost sheep and others by which the Incarnate Deliverer Himself denoted those whom he came to seek and to save; or whether lastly we ask the testimony of experience, consulting not only the conscience of the sinner when first repenting, but the better intelligence awakened in the restored penitent. The highest saint, in proportion to his sanctity and obedience, discerns more keenly the sinfulness of his yet remaining frailty, and his defect from the grace afforded him: the greater his labours in comparison with those of others, the more readily will he join with the Apostle in ascribing the glory entirely to the grace that prevented and that succours him,—the more sensibly will he feel the truth, that without Christ he can do nothing. It is therefore by no means the recognition of this truth,—it is not even any exaggeration or incorrectness in the mode of stating it,—that we blame in this idealization of Christianity; it is rather that this one truth is placed in a position that belongs not to it, and dis severed from others in connexion with which alone it can be truly discerned, or bears any real meaning: that thus the Apostolic balance of truth being disturbed, and some doctrines so stated as to overbear or displace others no less sacred, the exclusive attention to a few favoured points conducts by the sure process of things to endangering the right reception of all.—Pp. 33—36.

And, to pursue the system, for a moment, into its results: legitimately worked out, it produces mischiefs far more serious than can be charged upon the system (or no-system, if you will) with which we are comparing it. It is not to our purpose to enter into the nature or degree of those evils; the task has been frequently performed; by none more ably than by the author just quoted, in several of his sermons. That these fruits, in all their fully-developed malignity, have not always been borne, is gladly admitted; but this must be attributed, not to the system, but to something extraneous to and corrective of it. We again quote Dr. Mill:—

‘Still, uncatholic and anti-ecclesiastical as are the inevitable issues of this mode of idealizing the Gospel, great especially as is its hostility to the notion of sacramental grace and an apostolically descended commission of ministry, yet, do we assert that all Catholic Christian ideas are wanting to them? By no means; for some of these are inseparable from any portion of true Christianity; by God’s great mercy, Christianity is possessed by thousands who profess this system, to a degree far greater than this system itself is capable of imparting.’—p. 49.

The same men who seized upon this dogma as the essence of Christianity, formally considered, were, happily, at the same time, fully penetrated with a sense of the necessity of ritual and spiritual religion, and contended with no less earnestness for the one than for the other: only, the attempt to bring their two positions into theoretical harmony proved utterly abortive. They laboured and toiled with a laudable perseverance to clothe their lifeless negation with flesh and bones; to prove that a good

conversation must come of the denial of any goodness as possibly appertaining thereto; to fetch *nonnihil* out of that *nihilum*. But in vain did they strive to induce their practical teaching to coalesce with their doctrinal formula; like the oil and vinegar of the poet, the obstinate elements persisted in remaining in a state of separation, if not of positive antagonism:—

Ὅξος τ' ἔλειψά τ' ἐγγχείας ταῦτ' ἑκείναι,
διχοστατοῦντ' ἄν, οὐ φίλω, προσενέποις.¹

In their discourses, they generally proposed to themselves these three topics: 1st. That renunciation of one's own merits is the essence of Christianity: 2nd. That holiness is requisite for salvation; and 3d. That these two positions are coherent, and consequent the one on the other. The first of these they proved, no doubt, to their own satisfaction; the second, to that of all save avowed antinomians or infidels; the third, we undertake to say, neither to their own, nor to that of anybody else.

We have entered at some length into the real nature of these views, as affording a contrast (which, indeed, the upholders of them always challenge) with the state of things which they were intended to supersede. The contrast is between their tangible and systematized aspect, and the far less assailable shape which the teaching of the last century assumed. For practical results, fairly deducible from the two systems respectively, without calling in the aid of any extraneous element, we have no hesitation in striking a balance in favour of the older one. Better by far the

'Puerorum
Nænia, quæ regnum rectè facientibus offert;—

better, to live and die under, the childish and stunted theology, but sound morality and good common sense, of a school who, whatever their other defects, at least told men to do good and God would reward them, and so preached a judgment according to works;—than theirs who, taking their theory strictly, taught a judgment according to feelings, and who *should* have been, though they *were* not, antinomians.

To return then to the characteristics of the older of these schools. They have been described as consisting in a certain flatness and deadness; an easy, moralizing, pietizing manner of dealing with religious duties; an absence of anything, either in the way of motives inculcated, or privileges and graces insisted upon, which a pious heathen, believing in a providence and a separation between the good and bad after death, might not have propounded; a reticence as to any formal scheme of doctrinal truths; a habit of placing those truths in the background, as the

¹ *Æsch. Agam. l. 313. ed. Dindorf.*

heavy artillery of their battle, in case of need or gainsaying, rather than in the hands of the Christian warrior, as the weapons of his warfare. Admitting this, then, as the aspect of their theology, what account is to be given of the phenomenon? We have already rejected the solution offered by the rival school which succeeded and in some degree superseded them, and we have to substitute some other for it. The case of a Church relapsing in its theological teaching into a state of little more than a refined morality, is by no means a common one. A low state of spiritual or even moral vitality in the members of a Church is indeed, unhappily, very frequently seen; but then it is generally under earnest protest, founded on some sort of exhibition of Christian truth on the part of its authorized teachers, that such relapse takes place. Here, on the contrary, we have the spectacle of a Church, the teachers no less than the taught, drifting quietly away from all effective practical hold on those great articles of faith which in her formularies she still preserved inviolate. Now, we believe it to be a universal truth, that the secret spring of all error in the practical teaching of Christianity lies in the misconception, misstatement, or misapplication, whether in the way of defect or excess, of the supernatural element in it. It might be foreseen from the nature of the case, that this would be so. Wherein does a revelation differ from a philosophy, or a system of ethics, but in this, that it brings down something above nature to bear upon the ordinary and natural state of things, whether this something comes in the shape of a law, a principle, or whatsoever? And to be obedient to the revelation, you must not only give whatever of the supernatural it introduces, a place in the scheme of things, but that particular place which by the tenor of the revelation it claims. The Israelites were very willing to accord to Jehovah a place in their worship, even in the times of their worst corruptions:—but then they would have as *πάρεδροι* with Him the golden calves in Bethel and in Dan. So, too, the Samaritans were very willing to learn ‘the manner of the God of the land:’ ‘howbeit, every nation ‘made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high ‘places. So these nations feared the Lord, and served their graven ‘images.’¹ But this was no proper acceptance of the Mosaic revelation; for by its fundamental law it stipulated, that no other gods but the One should be served. And even so, now that a revelation is come, which by its tenour claims for Something yet holier than a law, and yet diviner than a principle, a specific place, office, and efficacy, in the spiritual economy which it introduces to view, it is vain to think that we are

¹ 2 Kings xvii. 28, 29, 41.

obedient subjects of that revelation, or faithful expounders of it, if we assign to that, its supernatural element, any other than the position thus claimed.

Now, what is, first of all, the distinctive supernatural element in Christianity? The question requires a careful answer; therefore let 'the old Catholic doctors and fathers' answer it for us. And we appeal without hesitation to their verdict, that it is no other than the INCARNATION of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST. The manner in which they use, with one accord, a single expression of frequent occurrence in their writings, were sufficient evidence, if there were no other, that such is their view of Christianity. That which they call *THE οἰκονομία*, the one great 'provision' of God for man,—the dispensation, arrangement, or disposition of things, by which all else was rendered possible, and in which all else is included,—this evidently was in their view the distinctive supernatural element of Christianity;—this was its 'formal cause,' or that which makes it what it is. Now, *uno ore*, to the Incarnation it is that they apply the term with this stringency, comprehension, and exclusiveness. And the position is as indisputable as it is catholic. 'No man hath seen God at any time: the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath revealed Him,' is the proper charter and transcript of the last revelation of God to man.

The new and mighty Fact which 'was in the world,' having not been in it before, was not the opening merely of higher views of Providence, or more enlarged conceptions of an almighty and loving Creator; nor yet, again, the revelation of the existence and operation of a gracious and sanctifying Spirit:—these, it is true, were disclosed in increased measure, as glorious accidents of the august central Subject of the new dispensation; but they were not the essence of it. That Fact, that Centre, that Essential Verity, is 'the taking of the manhood into God.' True it is that Christianity is also emphatically the Dispensation of the SPIRIT; emphatically, yet not distinctively. Emphatically, because it was therein poured out in fuller measure, and to more complete purposes; yet not distinctively, because it is certain that the Holy Spirit was to a certain degree given to the old world. Such passages as 'My Spirit shall not always strive with man;'—'Where is He that put His Holy Spirit within him?'—must be taken as proof positive of this. Nor are S. Chrysostom and others to be thought to contravene this when they assert that the Spirit was the peculiar gift of the Gospel.¹ The *regenerating* Spirit was its peculiar gift, no doubt, and this is what they meant: now this

¹ S. Chrys. ad Rom. viii. Πνεῦμα γὰρ οὐκ ἔλαβεν ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δῆμος.

is resolvable into the same position which we are insisting upon; for the medium by which the Holy Spirit works this regeneration in us is no other than that of uniting us to the Word made flesh. This admitted, then, the next inquiry is as to the specific place and office claimed for the distinctive Element thus ascertained. And the answer drawn from the same source of Catholic consent is no other than this, that It claims to be the Object of saving Faith, and the direct Cause and Instrument of Salvation, Sanctification, and Glorification. Participation in It, union to It, is the constitutive condition of the faithful. We are aware that, in saying this, we are but reiterating the positions of Hooker; and that 'voice of the wise of old,' which spoke in him, has happily found an echo in our day in the person of one whose theological writings are justly growing to be esteemed as bulwarks of the faith, second only to those of Hooker, of Bull, and of Pearson. With some apology for divorcing them from their context, in which alone their weight can be fully appreciated, we gladly borrow the following remarks from Dr. Mill:—

'What then says the beloved disciple of Jesus Christ in my text, as to the truth by which alone men are joined to the Apostolic fellowship, and by which in that fellowship they are saved? He distinctly declares this to be the believing reception of that Eternal Life, which once hidden in the bosom of the Eternal Father from all created sight, was in the later ages manifested to mankind in the person of the Eternal Son. The Life thus manifested—the Word of Life in S. John's discourses, is no *Ens Rationis*, no ideal conception of the higher faculties exclusively: it was what he and his followers had seen and looked upon, and handled: it was in other words a true and visible, and palpable Incarnation of the Eternal Word,—very Man of man, even as He was very God of God. And that we may not mistake the importance of this; not only does the holy Apostle thus present it with singular reiteration of speech as certain matter of fact, but he makes it also inseparable from the ideal conception of that truth by which alone we are sanctified and saved. "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God: and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God:" and this, as he continues to state, is that spirit of Antichrist which was then already in the world—the anti-christianism, in his view, lying in this,—that in denying the Son, *i. e.* the Son as actually Incarnate, this spirit did in effect deny the Father also.

'The truth therefore which the Apostles called on every one to confess, was not an opinion, or a conclusion, or a sentiment, but a fact: the fact that He Who was in the beginning with God and was God, was made flesh and dwelt among us: that it was He, the Son of God and principle of eternal life, that lived and suffered, that died and rose again, as the Gospels tell, for our salvation from sin and death: that it is He Whom now seated in the glory of the Father we expect to come again to judgment. A fact which received as a truth, necessarily makes all other facts insignificant in comparison—which as a fact, and as a fact only, is the object of what is properly termed faith or belief—and which cannot, without altering the whole nature of that belief, be taken as the mere expression of any general ideal truth,—this fact it is which Christian faith is required to receive, and which, *thus*

received, becomes the centre and principle of Christian love, and purity, and righteousness.'—Pp. 14, 15.

' Here is a further step in this old approved scheme of Christian teaching. The spirit which receives simply as a fact the fundamental truth of the Incarnation of the Son of God for our redemption, receives necessarily in the same view the ordained means, through which the knowledge and the perception of its benefits are extended to us. As the Divine Founder of the Church, in his discourse with Nicodemus, propounded certain very mysterious truths expressly as earthly things through which we were to ascend to heavenly ones—to the doctrine of His descent from above, His subsistence there even when Son of Man, His elevation on the Cross for man's deliverance from death, His resumption of heavenly glory—even so is it of necessity in His mystical body. To the heavenly mysteries which the Church is ordained to teach of her Lord Incarnate, dead and risen, are ever conjoined these same earthly mysteries, or instruments of appliance with which she is divinely furnished, for imparting the virtue of heavenly things to all her members.'—Pp. 30, 31.

' Such then is the system which we may now venture to designate as the Catholic one: being without question the rule on which the Church founded by the Apostles has proceeded from the first, in administering the truth and means of salvation: our own sacred offices, our Liturgy, our Catechism, bearing witness to its continued existence, and its continued recognition by ourselves.'—Pp. 32, 33.

Now the misconception, or misplacing of this distinctive Fact of Christianity it is, we have asserted, that forms the surest source of all error in the practical inculcation of Christianity. According to this right conception, Christian men are beings awfully endowed with a supernatural life, in virtue of their unbroken sacramental participation of God in Christ. They are this; no less than this; no more than this. And seriously mistaken, more or less, and liable to dangerous practical issues, must their system be, who assign any other than this due position to the central truth of all; who assign to Christ a place and office in the economy any way differing from this; who either misconceive the fact of the Incarnation itself, or ignore, impair, or exaggerate, the sacramentality through which it becomes the life of the world. Of those who invalidate the fact of the Incarnation itself, the Athanasian Creed speaks sufficiently. Our present concern is with systems which admit the fact, but err in their conception of its application to the life of faith.

We have already spoken of one system in which Christ is indeed, in some sense, diligently preached; but in which its due office and sovereign central position is evidently not assigned to the Incarnation: the effects of that would seem in that scheme to be limited to what was, of course, one of the greatest of its included purposes, the reconciliation of God to man by the death of Christ. This school, by their direct denial of sacramentality, effectually shut out the Incarnate Word from any participation in the work of sanctifying: this office while attributing, and

rightly, to the Third Person of the Trinity, they did not rightly in refusing to admit that the particular operation whereby He sanctifies is the uniting us to that Incarnate Word, and Him to us. It is carefully to be noted, however, that while they thus misconceived the system of Christianity, and mistook its true centre, they still conceived of it as *a* system, and assigned *a* centre to it. The Atonement was in their view the centre of the doctrinal system of the Gospel. Of course, the misplacement of the gravitating point was sure to lead to many serious errors; at the same time, it is in itself a strong testimony to the energy and vigour of a systematized view as compared with a loose fragmentary conception, and to the probability that the Gospel revelation must intend such a view as an integral part of a rightful acceptance of it,—that with this system, thus dislocated and (as we have shown) theoretically untenable and even absurd, the advocates of it both realized in their own persons, and also led their disciples to realize, so many lovely fruits of the Spirit. Taking the Cross as the whole sum and substance of the revelation of God to man, (not as one ἀπαύγασμα only, though a most excellent and glorious one,) of the great central Sun of the Incarnation, they fixed upon the mighty outpouring of Divine Love which was there exhibited the concentrated gaze of an answering love and adoration; and in the strength of that adoring love did, many ways, great things. Nay, such was the zeal and life which they both manifested and awakened, that they would not have failed effectually to rekindle the decaying life of the Church, had but the instrument with which they sought to effect this been really that which was sent down from heaven for the purpose. But they did fail: they failed to present any such front as should be an answer to the Romanist on the one hand, and the dissenter and rationalist on the other; they failed to reproduce the life of faith of other ages: and thus they are to us a standing monument, that belief in facts without the acceptance of system, that πίστις without the ἀναλογία τῆς πίστεως—nay, that Christian zeal, and love, and holiness, without the fulness of Christian doctrine—are powerless to do the great work of the Gospel; that the sacramental principle, and the Incarnate Lord as the one mysteriously conveyed Gift of it, must be accepted under pain of failing to believe and teach the actual thing Christianity.

We might speak in like manner of the mischiefs which have accrued under other systematic views of Christianity. It is the boast, and, in one point of view, the legitimate one, of the mediæval theory, and of those who in the present day uphold it in all its articles, that if it did nothing else it preserved intact the belief in the proper Incarnation of the Son of God. It did

so; at least to this extent, that from the array of sensuous circumstance with which those ages surrounded the Eucharistic exhibition of it, they suffered not any doubt to exist as to whether they believed it or no. And, doubtless, they did believe it; whether or not with any implicit error as to the present relations of the manhood to the Godhead, let Hooker answer.¹ That, however, the Word was really made Flesh—this truth it would seem that the system of those ages was the providential means of conserving to us. But whether, when we come to inquire of the practical bearing which was given to the truth thus conserved, the deflections of those times and that system from the true orbit may not be traced to misapplication, in this respect, is a question which may most reasonably be raised. True it is, no one will deny it, that their system is highly sacramental; true, it teaches a proper conveyance of the Incarnate Word into the soul; but, not to speak now of the more trite objections which lie against their view of this mystery, must it not be said that it is in a far larger proportion—surely an undue one—sacrificial than sacramental? No one can say that there is here any failing to make before God and man the high Memorial which was ordained as one of the great aspects of the Eucharist; the ordinary controversy with them is solely whether they do not set it higher than is written: but is the sacramental side, the side of communion, insisted upon with equal earnestness and fulness? Is not the frequency of ‘hearing’ the rite, which is enjoined, compared with the great laxity and infrequency tolerated as to ‘communion,’²—is not this, (to say nothing, once more, of the serious defect charged upon the manner of reception,) somewhat of an answer to the inquiry?—the one strongly urged as a daily act, the other, if we understand aright, required only yearly, if even then, and urged but falteringly at any time,—does not this indicate a feeble exhibition indeed, in practice, of the great truth of ‘our life in Christ?’ So, again, does not extravagant doctrine as to ‘merits’ clearly spring from a relaxed consciousness of the same mystery? But time forbids us to dwell on these points, and

¹ L. E. P. V. lv.

² *E.g.* ‘I cannot but express a most feeling and deep regret to see the insensibility of most Christians at this time towards the Holy Communion. . . . The Council of Trent, wishing to revive that frequent Communion which has fallen so much into disuse among the laity, does not, indeed, command you, but entreats you, to be moved by the consideration that it is . . . the seed of immortality, preserving your souls unto eternal life. . . . Now, alas! our altars are deserted—the people no longer hunger for this spiritual food, and scarce think it any part of their duty to join with the Priest in partaking of this heavenly banquet.’ The writer goes to recommend ‘spiritual communion,’ hopeless of persuading his readers to actual participation.—(Glover, on the Mass, p. 90. 1843.)

we therefore only throw them out in illustration of our position. Still less can we pause to develop, even if we felt any confidence in our competency for the task, the error of modern rationalistic views of the Incarnation—whether that which explains the fact away into a myth, or that subtler one, which, admitting the simple reality of the fact, yet imparts to the doctrine ‘an abstract and generic character,’ thus reducing the Incarnation to a mode of something else, of which the ‘gnosis’ of the upholders of this view ‘is the only exponent.’ Dr. Mill has devoted a part of his first sermon to this subject, and has treated it more at large, as is well known, in his ‘Pantheistic Theory.’

Passing by these systems, then, with only a cursory notice, we come to the theology which it has been our purpose throughout to illustrate. And we find the secret of the deadness and flatness of that teaching in this,—that they had dropped this great mystery, not, indeed, out of the Creed, but out of its central position therein, and, moreover, *had substituted no other centre for it*. It was for want of that, which would have bound all together, that they were found holding true facts, and teaching right duties, yet in no way bringing the one to bear upon the other; nay, rather, from a growing sense of their want of connexion, gradually acquiring the habit of dropping all mention of the former, and, by consequence, teaching the latter languidly and lifelessly. But their distinguishing characteristic lay in this: not in their failing to make Christianity hinge and revolve on its rightful supernatural centre;—this the rival school, as we have shown, had in common with them; but in that, while losing sight of the true centre, they chose no other. In fact, they had no system. They were alike without the consistency of a true faith, and without the energy and life which even a false one inspires. This fact, well considered, will, we believe, account for all the peculiarities of this singular and, perhaps, unique phenomenon in theology.

But it may be asked, *Quorsum hæc tam putida?* To what purpose is it thus to

‘Scatter the rear of darkness thin:’

to pursue the scanty remnant of a vanished or fast vanishing theological array? And yet it may not be useless to have suggested a wise caution as to the use to be made of the works which belong to the period which we speak of. We are brought, in short, to the question with which we started, What is our duty with respect to books containing, as these do, much in itself excellent, in its combination and point of view objectionable and false? The great lesson which we learn from a review

of the whole of that school and period is this, that morality is not holiness, neither are duty and doctrine, dis severed, Christianity. And a closer inspection enables us to detect the particular want which thus lowered the divine into the merely human. We see that it was the absence, as of any system at all, so in particular of the divinely accredited order and configuration of spiritual truths. It was the want of the supernatural sacramental system, centering in Christ Himself: the system of the first ages of faith, the system of S. Polycarp and S. Irenæus, of S. Augustine and S. Chrysostom. And is there no subtle mischief to be watched against in the free use, for the purposes of learning or teaching, for the closet or the pulpit or the household, of works thus utterly wanting, whatever their other merits, in right conception and view? Doubtless there is such danger: and the rather, because the mischief, as we have endeavoured to show, *is* subtle and latent. An absence of right view is not always easily detected, while the presence of wrong view reveals itself at once. With this caution, we do not say but that these works have their use; but we should ever be most careful to transmute the lore they provide us with in the alembic of a juster apprehension of Christianity as a system. We are now in the fifth lustrum¹ of a Reformation within the bosom of our own Church no less mighty than that to which we ordinarily restrict the name. The leading feature of that great re-awakening has been the recovery, in all its depth and fulness, of the sacramental idea and principle. Christ, the regenerating element of our new birth; Christ, the supersubstantial food of our unearthly life; Christ, the awful raiment of our inward being; Christ, dwelling in us by a true inhabitation; ourselves abiding by a marvellous incorporation in Him, already sitting with Him, by virtue thereof, in heavenly places; yea, the whole creation, visible and invisible, material and spiritual, from the beginning to the end of time, gathered into one Church in Him; our only care and need to continue in that holy fellowship; the Church militant and the Church at rest conserved unto eternal glory by that one medicine of immortality: these, and such as these, are the things we have been learning to hold and live upon. Now the wholesale and inconsiderate adoption, without salvo or transmutation, of the writings and teaching of men who had lost their hold on these great truths, will infallibly lower both teachers and learners to the unsacramental and earthy level of those to whom recourse is thus had. True, our stock of supposed 'practical' reading is greatly narrowed and reduced by their exclusion. We must advance far into the first half of

¹ The 'Christian Year' was published in 1827.

the present century, ere we can begin to count our safe defenders of the faith, since what time the impulse of the great Caroline divinity died away within the Church, or lived only in the isolated phenomenon of a Butler, or of a primitive-hearted Bishop of Sodor-and-Man or Moray. And therefore we gladly hail, as filling up no inconsiderable void in our religious literature, the publication, within these few years, of many volumes of practical sermons based upon sound principles. The coming age will be able safely to accord to the names of writers now living a reverence and a confidence which we are constrained to withhold from even the worthies of the past century.

Among the names thus held in grateful recollection, Dr. Mill's will be none of the least. In the volume of sermons which we have named at the head of this article, he has set forth with greater fulness and distinctness perhaps than even any living writer, the necessity of holding fast to the rightful conception of Christianity. In the two first, entitled 'The Word Incarnate the Basis of Christianity,' and, 'The Word Incarnate the true Centre of Christianity,' he has treated of the subject formally; those that follow furnishing full and most instructive illustrations of his position.

It will be seen that we have not taken upon ourselves to review, in any proper sense, these solid and masterly discourses, but only taken occasion by the view here presented of the essential character of Christianity, to apply the test which it furnishes to a somewhat earlier stratum of theological literature. And the moral we would found on the result to which the application of this test has led us is this, that we of this generation have yet much to learn, and still more, perhaps, to unlearn, before we can safely admit into council the writings of the age immediately preceding us. 'A vain conversation received by tradition from our fathers,' is, as the Apostle intimates, a thing not to be easily worn out, so as to leave no trace in the mental constitution. It comes to us so recommended by examples, which in many respects we must revere, and is so wrought into our modes of thought, our ways of viewing things, our current literature, that it is only by some forceful, well-accredited, and watchfully and painfully applied counter-agency, that it can receive adequate correction. In short, we must submit to go to school and be catechised. We must not be above confessing, that in the very fundamental article of our Creed we need a stringent catechisation, in the fullest sense of that word. There is, in the first place, much of truth on this head, to be 'sounded into our ears,' till it becomes, as Plato says, *ἔναυλος*, abiding there as freshly and fully as if it had but just

been spoken;¹ and then there is much need of trying and testing ourselves whether we can reproduce the truth thus imbibed; whether we not merely hold it, but so hold as to be able to educe from it its practical bearings upon the whole of our relations to the world and to God. We need, therefore, by way of appliances, a whole literature, both dogmatic and practical, expressly on this one subject. And, in fact, all the sound-principled writings of the last few years have either been contributions that way, or have looked towards it. With a few exceptions, however, these works have only incidentally, and under imperfect consciousness on the part of their writers, set forth the central and all-pervading character which the truth under consideration vindicates to itself. Doctrinal works have rather pointed towards it than to it; they have rested for the most part in the circumference of some one or other of the manifold circles which centre in it. And practical teaching is too often set in a position of independence of this mystery. A lesson or a duty, here and there, is educed from it; but few seem to be aware that all knowledge and all duty can be shown to flow from hence, and that, to be Christian, they must do so.

And while insisting upon the necessity there is for dogmatical works in supply of the need we have indicated, it would be impossible to omit, or even to pass by with a merely cursory mention, a volume which we notice at large elsewhere, and which has made its appearance since we commenced our article: we shall, however, only speak of it here so far as it immediately concerns our subject. The coming out of a regular Treatise on the Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, seems to mark an epoch in the progress of revival within the Church. Of course such a treatise might, in ordinary times, and from some quarters, be put forth without being indicative of anything else than the writer's 'own will and mere motion' to write it. But the tendencies of the present time are especially practical: that is to say, the immediate and pressing necessities of the Church, for the passing hour, are such, that those who have any sort of adequate sympathy for the Body of which they are members, feel that they must needs 'be *doing*.' There is, as it were, no time for more thought, for more of head work, and theorizing and adjusting, than is sufficient to carry us well through our day's work. Men who have this conviction do not sit down to write books about doctrinal system for nothing. It is a fact not without its significance, therefore, when one well

¹ Ruhn. Tim. in voc. *ἐναυλος*, *ἐνηχος*. Exquisite dicitur tam de sermone quo adhuc aures personant, quam de re qualibet cujus adhuc recens est memoria. Plat. Menex. 403, C. Οὕτως ἐναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγγος παρὰ τοῦ λεγοντος ἐνδίδεται εἰς τὰ ᾧτα, ὥστε μόγις τετάρτη ἢ πεμπτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναμνήσκομαι ἑμαντοῦ.

known as a hard-working parish-priest and Archdeacon comes before us with a full, exact, and methodical discussion of a subject, which it is generally assumed that every body knew all about before. It tells us, that in the judgment of men who, from practical acquaintance with our needs, are every way qualified to speak to the point, the great central truth of our belief has not yet been so grasped in all its fulness, but that a dogmatic exposition of it is yet wanted; one which should exhaust the subject in at least its principal bearings, and for once set down in one view all the Church's mind concerning it. It speaks of dissatisfaction, for practical purposes, with the fragmentary and piecemeal—however truthful as far as they go—exhibitions of the great mystery, which are all that can be attained in didactic writings. And thus it tells us that we have arrived at that stage of our reconstruction at which the aid of theory and 'view' have to be called in, to give stability and consistency to loose and unsystematised statement and practice.

In all arts, it has been well said, practice comes first, and theory afterwards; and not only so, but theory itself is perfected by degrees. And so it has been with us, in the process which we have been going through, of re-discovering (for it was no less) the faith and practice of elder and sounder days. When in the earlier stages of that process men were asked to express briefly wherein the essence of this same 'new learning' (as it was esteemed) consisted, the question was somewhat variously answered. Some replied, that the doctrine of the one Catholic Church was the thing that needed to be recovered; others, the true doctrine of the Sacraments, and the like. And in course of time dogmatic works were produced, having for their object to bring out these doctrines in their fulness. Such were Archdeacon Manning's work on the 'Unity of the Church;' Bishop Jolly's and others on the 'Eucharist;' Newman's 'Lectures on Justification,' and others. But, meanwhile, practice and dogma alike were all tending visibly one way, and converging towards one central point; preparation was making in those various ways for the acceptance of the ancient persuasion, that all were reducible to one thing—being, indeed, either effluences or various exhibitions of it; and that one thing the INCARNATION. Sacramentality, and the idea of the Catholic Church, and the rightly-conceived Justifying and Sanctifying of man, and the working out in practice of the Christian scheme, what were they but so many modes of the Incarnation? We are not for a moment implying that those who thus laboured at the various departments of work that had to be done in that multiform scheme of things, the Church on earth, held defective views as

to the oneness of all these operations in Him 'who is the Head over all things to His Body, which is the Church, the fulness of Him who filleth all in all;' but so it was, and providentially it seems to have been ordered, that it was reserved for those who should come a little lower down in the stream, to set out in its full proportions, and in reference to its real centre, the august scheme itself; to exhibit all this good work which has been done, as having been still marshalled under one Eye, and actuated by one commanding and creative Word; to manifest the Incarnation in its true character, as central to all lines, fontal to all effluences, fundamental to all edification, which can have place under the Gospel system.

And here we would fain reply to a question, which we conceive may be raised—viz. as to the necessity of entirely new treatises on subjects as old as Christianity itself, and, to all appearance, fully discussed and exhausted long ago. Why, it may be asked, still multiply books where there can be nothing really new, and at the same time true, to be said? Why not content ourselves with directing the attention of our age to the golden works of earlier and probably wiser ones? To republish or translate these, if inaccessible to the generality, must, it is imagined, answer the same purpose as writing new ones of the self-same tenour and argument. What need, in short, of a Manning after a Cyprian, or of a Wilberforce when we have a Hooker and an Athanasius? We trust we shall not be thought to speak under an apprehension lest the reviewer's occupation should be gone for lack of fresh books whereon to exercise it, when we offer some pleas which occur to us on behalf of the liberty which every age has assumed to itself, of trying its own hand on the self-same subjects which former ones had treated of. Every age has in its turn wondered at the 'many books' with which it has teemed, and has complained of the unreasonableness of men in not being content with the old. The continued recurrence of the phenomenon, which is the subject of the complaint, seems to argue it a natural and providential one. We speak not now of the ever-shifting forms which error assumes, thus necessitating a correspondent change in the exhibition, though not in the essential character, of the truths to be opposed to them: for this purpose it is obvious that new modes of exhibiting old verities are required; and such a vindication would not apply to all modern works of this kind, or only to parts of them, as they are often only in a small proportion directed against novel forms of unbelief, being mainly occupied with re-stating and unfolding truth under the old conception and bearings of it. What we would say then is this, that it seems to be a law of the great human family's mental constitution,

that every successive generation of it should, to a certain extent, be the purveyor to itself of its own mental *pabulum*. It is true, we have within us, on the one hand, those great principles and elements common to the whole species, and constituting our common nature, to which the great classics make their appeal. It is the existence of such universal elements to which they can address themselves, that makes Homer and Shakspeare the poets of all lands and ages; that emboldened Thucydides to call his history of a war between two small nations a 'possession for aye,' and another great writer to express a hope that he might produce 'something which men would not willingly let die.' Acquaintance with these, and power of effectual appeal to them, is what constitutes genius as distinct from mere talent; and in the perfection of such acquaintance and power of appeal lies one unapproachable characteristic of inspiration and inspired men: herein is the written Word of God no less, if we may reverently so speak, the Classic of classics than the Book of books. As far as these common elements are concerned, then, and on the supposition that this were the whole account to be given of the human mind, it would certainly seem that the writing part of mankind might fold their hands, and leave the world to derive its lore from those elder teachers, who, in their own lofty line, can never be surpassed or equalled; and, above all, from that Volume which in one sense contains 'all truth.' But it must not be forgotten, that, together with the nature which is our common heritage, we also possess each one a personality; and that this personality involves, inevitably, *originality*. It is impossible to deny this without refusing to the Lord of the creation that which we concede the meanest even of inorganic creatures. No two leaves or pebbles, nay, no two ultimate atoms (for Epicurus and Lucretius, like Copernicus and Galileo, have been justified in later times) are precisely alike: 'grant but as many kinds of mind as moss' is the poet's postulate, and it may be extended *ad infinitum*. Every man, though born with a creed natural, (let Locke and the Pyrrhonists' say what they will,) and enlarging that creed by experience, after all, thinks for himself; he is not *obliged* to think so and so, when once he travels out of the region of self-evident and axiomatic truth; that is, once he begins to think at all: though his mental furniture is found him, his mental operations are his own. And these operations are modified by a thousand circumstances peculiar to each individual. Thus an originality as to the manner of viewing things is secured in each case. Now, as speech is but thinking aloud, so writing is but thinking daguerreotyped; unless, there-

¹ V. Pascal, *Pensées*.

fore, we would have each man's thinkings confined to his own consciousness and knowledge, or to that of his immediate neighbours, we must needs justify the continual coming forth of books as their exponent; a wise discretion should regulate it no doubt, but the suppression of it surely risks the loss of new and valuable fruits of the divinely-created mind. But, further, this originality is not limited to each separate mind; it extends itself, as the result of intercommunion and contact, to the whole mind of a period. The thoughts of men, through their words and writings, are thrown into a joint stock, of which all, in various degrees, become partakers; and thus the mind of any one age differs from the minds of all its fellow-ages, or is original. With this originality, then, it turns to the lights which have risen in other ages; and while from such as are not classical, but have merely met the surface wants of their own times, it finds no help or sympathy at all; even from those which are for all times, it meets a partial supply of its needs. Itself the resultant of influences peculiar to its own time, and having in consequence other ways of viewing things than characterised elder periods, it looks to have things set before it in other shapes and through other vehicles. In short, no times but our own can supply, as to form, all our necessities. It is in vain to tell us that there are older works which contain in substance all that can be said; we feel within us a natural affinity for the shapes and vehicles in which the genius of our own times has a tendency to embody and convey instruction: and thus, in *new* books, we have, as it should seem, a divinely appointed provision for a no less divinely ordered need. There are, it is true, among 'the last words of the Preacher,' some which might not unreasonably seem to discourage men from adding to the voluminous productions of former ages:—'By these, my son, be admonished; of making many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh.' But we must not forget another passage, having relation to a greater than the Preacher, and concluding a yet nobler portion of Holy Writ than the words just quoted:—'There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, 'if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the 'world itself could not contain the books that should be written.' It should seem that the Church has been guided to give almost reality to the boldness of this hyperbole, by filling the world in every age with a ceaseless tide of books, all expounding and enlarging, but never exhausting, the theme of 'the things which Jesus did.' And thus, by the constitution of man, and the practice of the Church, is imparted to that Truth, which is in itself one and unchangeable, the eternal freshness of an ever-flowing fountain.

Thus much seemed necessary to be said by way of removing that which might not unreasonably be thought to lie against the putting forth, in this late day, of full dogmatic treatises on particular points of doctrine. It will be seen that we limit our vindication of such efforts to those which, in some degree at least, rightly conceive, and are framed to meet the mental characteristics of the age. We cannot extend it, for instance, as regards style and outward form, to Dr. Wordsworth's Letters to M. Gondon. While we acknowledge the wide research and learning, and, above all, the marvellous aptness of quotation, worthy of the modern Aristarchus himself, which distinguish that work, and admit, moreover, its pertinency, as to subject-matters, to current errors of the day, we must, at the same time, question whether there was any call for the work, being in form such as it is. The errors are old errors, and the mode of putting them down is not new. The time has gone by for that old-fashioned bullying style of controversy, from the charge of indulging in which we cannot exempt even our Hookers, or our 'mitred Jeremys.' It is rising up in judgment against our Church at this day; we sorely rue the uncatholicity, because uncharitableness, and want of 'gentleness towards all men,' of the outward garb in which the defenders of Catholic truth in those days arrayed themselves. The Homilies, in particular, though containing a godly doctrine necessary for these [*i.e.* of course for 'those'] times, indulge in a spirit and language unbecoming any times; and now, our Church's children have 'made her an offender for a word;' a word, too, spoken centuries ago. Not a few have strayed from her fold, alleging this among other grounds, that they dared not remain with her, because she seemed, in words and tone at least, to have cut herself off from communion with other portions of the Church. True, their act cannot be justified; neither have they mended their position by joining themselves to a church, which, in reality, *does* what their own mother only seemed to do; but the blame of these separations must in part be thrown back upon the violence of those earlier times. And we therefore strongly deprecate the revival of this kind of reviling, and this intense form of the *odium theologicum*, at the present day. These Letters, moreover, are in another respect ill suited for these times; so sadly antiquated are they in their entire cast, being thickly interlarded with ingenious allusions to classical writers, and scraps of classical anecdote. We can endure this sort of thing in old John Hales's 'Golden Remains,' or the 'Holy Living and Dying,' because it was the way of those times, and almost belongs to the idea of the men; but to address the present generation in this fashion, is about as wise and well-timed, and as likely to be appreciated,

as it would be to talk to us in the English of Mandeville or Chaucer.

A diverticulo repetatur fabula. It will be remembered, that our position is, that the Church stands greatly in need of catechising in this fundamental article of the Incarnation; and on the supposition that Archdeacon Wilberforce designed to furnish a contribution towards that end, it is obvious that his work must stand or fall by the degree in which it is adapted, as to form and handling, to the mind of the day. It is clear, that all catechetical works must be tried by this test; for the very secret of catechising is, to present the truth under such forms and through such media, that it shall have an affinity to the mind of the catechised, and be readily imbibed accordingly. And, without going into particulars, we may safely congratulate the Archdeacon on having succeeded in this point to a remarkable degree. To write a treatise on the Incarnation; to collect together the substance of all that has been said, or can be said on the subject, is easy enough for any tolerably read theologian; and a dull, heavy, and unreadable book, would, in the hands of most writers, be the result. But so to gather and present all this, that it shall wear the freshness of an original and novel statement; to present it, too, in all its various phases in succession, fairly exhausting each one, and omitting nothing, yet avoiding repetition and prolixity; to tell you what you knew before, yet force you to acknowledge that you now know it better; to ransack Hooker without being trite, and go over the same ground as Bull, without seeming to plagiarise; to do this, and to keep up the attention of readers in these degenerate days, through an octavo of five or six hundred pages,—this is by no means easy. But this Archdeacon Wilberforce seems, by universal consent, to have accomplished; and we can attribute it to nothing else than a sympathetic apprehension of the shape in which it would be acceptable to this age to have such a subject set before it. Indications of this are to be found, as appears to us, in every page of the work; and without it, neither clearness of style, nor breadth of view, nor the most familiar acquaintance with all paths of learning connected with the subject,—qualifications absolutely indispensable, and abundantly manifested in this instance,—could have availed to produce such a result.

It would be easy to indicate many points, both of doctrine and practice, in which the complete apprehension and hearty reception of the doctrine of the Incarnate Word will be found to be the one remedy for serious defects in the popular system; some of them deep-seated and inveterate, as being fruits either of the negligence of the preceding, or of the misdirected religious activity of the present age; others of more recent growth, but

not the less pregnant with mischief, if disregarded. We will confine ourselves, however, to a single one among these points—viz., the shallowness of view with which all the great actions of our Lord in the flesh are regarded; a shallowness which extends, of course, to the manner of conceiving and observing the festivals and seasons appropriated to the commemoration of those actions. We speak not now of persons who disregard such truths and such celebrations altogether; but of such as are most anxious to pay them fitting honour, and to make a right use of them. The utmost variety of notions prevails among persons thus well disposed as to what they ought to make of such occasions; and many, it is to be apprehended, hold but a vague implicit sort of notion about them,—like a child's notion of Sunday,—which, however dutiful, must be acknowledged to be far from rational or satisfactory. Neither can we say that we often meet with adequate explanations of these matters in books, notwithstanding the multitudes which are continually produced on such subjects. From admirable Robert Nelson's 'Festivals and Fasts' downwards,—for we cannot except even him,—there is a deficiency in point of *sacramentality* in the teaching of these works, when they come to speak of the relation of our Lord's several actions to us. The divinity, the teaching, the suggestiveness of such actions, are abundantly insisted upon; but it is not made, as it should be, the central and supreme aspect of them, that *virtue is gone out of them*. And let it not be wondered at that we attribute this defectiveness of view to the lax practice and teaching of a century ago. We cannot be far wrong in so doing. We find a right conception prevailing on these points *two* centuries back, and we know that it has well nigh vanished now. What then has become of it? It can only have been merged in the abyss of carelessness and godlessness which the intermediate period, as a whole, so painfully exhibits. Enshrined though it was in the Book of Common Prayer, *e.g.* (as we shall show presently,) in the pleading with which the Collects for the several festivals alluded to conclude, and more explicitly in the Litany; still it was not to be expected that these provisions would secure a duly profound hold being kept of the truth involved, if public teaching and private devotion did not also concur in upholding it. Now among other features which characterised the devotions of the seventeenth century, but which appear but faintly in those of the succeeding era, this may be reckoned as a principal one, that they employ to a great extent the distinct and separate pleading of the various actions of our Lord. A comparison of Bishop Andrewes' Manual, containing frequent enumerations of this kind, with the wordy addresses which till lately had superseded

them, will sufficiently exemplify this. In that Manual we find entire analyses of the life of our Lord drawn out, evidently with the intention of their being severally pleaded. And this was no new thing. Pleadings of this kind, more or less in detail, formed a considerable element in all Litanies, both of the Eastern and Western Church. The former kind, indeed, are the source from which most of Bishop Andrewes' forms of pleading are derived; specimens of the latter may be seen in the early primers lately published by Mr. Maskell.¹ One of these, the 'Goolden Letanye,' is well deserving of its name; it is by far the most complete form of pleading we have ever seen, and abounds in most touching, though simple expressions of sympathy with the divine sufferings of the Saviour. And the fulness, and correctness, theologically, of other parts of it are no less remarkable. We give the preamble, and some of the more striking passages:—

'Here begynnynth in the hand of God, the Goolden Letanye of the Lyf and passion of our Lorde Jesu Criste, in the same maner and forme that he self hath shewed to the helthe and salvacion of all crysten peple.

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 'Lorde God, by thy increate ande vndividid Trinite; have mercy on vs.
 'By thy godly beyng: . . .
 'By thy godly nature: . . .
 'By thy self and all goodnes, that thou beholdest in thy self: . . .
 'By thy goodnes [with] whych thou hadest in the creacion of man to thy image and lyknes: . . .
 'By that great loue where with thou didest predestinate to repeyre man that fell: . . .
 'By that ineffable loue whereby thou cholest Mary, most pure virgine, into thy mother: . . .
 'By that meke affection and loue that drewe thee from the bosom of the fadir into the wombe of the virgyn: . . .
 'By the humilite of thy hye mageste, which disdayned not to descend &c. . .
 'For thy holy natiuitie that thou vouchest saue to be borne of a woman: . . .
 'By that colde crebe that thou layste in, wrapped in pore clothes, and fede with maydyns milke: . . .
 'For that paynful circumcision, and shedyng of thy precieuse blode, and for the vertue of thy holy name Jesus, and all thy blyssid names: . . .
 'For that blyssid oblacioun, the whyche thou were offered to thy fader in the temple: . . .
 'For the lowly and meke conversacion that thou lyvest thre and thirty yere here oon erthe: . . .
 'For thy holy faste, contemplacion, genyflexions, and the tempting of the fynde in deserte: . . .
 'For thy heuynes, labor, and mesuries: . . .
 'For thi holy teeres, and meke intronizacion in Ierusalem on palme: . . .
 'For thi most noble ande worthi institution of the sacrament of thy most precious body and blode: . . .
 'For that profound loue in the whyche thou suffredist Seynt John the evangelyste to rest upon thi brest at thi soper: . . .

¹ *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, vol. ii. pp. 102, 225, 245—254.

- ‘ Bi the vertue of thi holy prayer that thou prayedst ther thre tymes: . . .
 ‘ By thy ferful drede of thi death: . . .
 ‘ Bi thy great mekenes that thou woldest be comforted of an angell, so
 comforte me in every tyme: and . . .
 ‘ Bi thy ferfull takyng: . . .
 ‘ For . . . all that labour and tormentis that were secrete and onknowne
 which thou sufferedist all that nyght: . . .
 ‘ For thi gret paciens and stylnes: . . .
 ‘ For all thi payne, sorowe, colde and quakyng: . . .
 ‘ For all thi bloody steppes that thou madist goyng to thi deth: . . .
 ‘ By the grete compassion of thi hert, that thou haddist wen bering the
 crosse thou mettist thi blyssid modir making most sorowe and lament-
 acion: . . .
 ‘ By thi hevy chere and the goyng up of hey mounte of Calvarie where
 thou were crucified: . . .
 ‘ Bi that cold sittyng that thou sattyst pitiously, full of wondis in the
 colde wendes, so abydyng untill thi crosse was redy: . . .
 ‘ For the lyftyng up of thi most holy body on the crosse, and the sore
 braysyng thereof, that gave to all partyes of thi body an incredible
 peyn: . . .
 ‘ For the sworde of sorowe that went throught the soule of thi blysid
 modir, and her grete compassion and teeres that standyng by the crosse
 lamentably she shede: . . .
 ‘ For thi thirst and tastyng of gall and eysyl, graunte us to tast the
 swetnes of thi spirite: . . .
 ‘ For that piteous crye in the which thou commendist thi soule to thi
 fadir, oure soules be commendid to thee: . . .
 ‘ Bi the restyng of thi most blissid hedde upon thi brest: inelyne most
 swete Jesu to us: . . .
 ‘ Bi the bitternes of thi deth, and the intolerable payns wherewith thi
 hert breke: . . .
 ‘ Bi the openyng of thi side with a spere, and the flowynge oute of thi
 most preciose blode, smyghte through, goode lorde, my hert, with the
 spere of thi godly love: . . .
 ‘ Bi that myght and strength of thi blissid soule, wherby thou brekist
 the gates of hell, and dehlyverist the soules of thi frendis: . . .
 ‘ For thi godly and comfortable sendyng of the holy goost in to thi
 disciples, comfort us, halowe us, strengthen us in feyth, hope, and
 charitie: . . .

We cannot forbear remarking once more on the beauty of the language, and exquisite tenderness of some of the expressions, in the above extracts; and it is with difficulty that we refrain from multiplying them. This we might easily do, as the entire ‘*Letanye*’ occupies twelve of Mr. Maskell’s pages. It is conceived throughout in the same sustained strain of reverently meditative faith and love, which no one can fail to recognise in so much of it as we have given, and which renders it one of the most delightful of the numerous devotional gems with which Mr. Maskell has enriched this department of literature. But our purpose in making these extracts from it, is to exemplify the degree of fulness and minuteness to which the kind of devotion we have designated as ‘*pleading*’ has been carried in past times. It does not appear that this was intended as a public

form of Litany; nor do those which were embodied in the ancient primers contain, as a general rule, a more extended analysis of our Lord's actions than that which has been preserved in the Litany of our own Church. There is this difference of form, however, between the older Litanies and our own—that in the former the sacred acts are enumerated and pleaded severally, not in groups as with us. And the alteration, it is to be feared, has tended to impair our distinctness of conception as to the meaning of this form of address to God. The isolated supplications, 'By Thy passion: Lord deliver us,' 'By Thy resurrection: Lord, deliver us,' can hardly be misunderstood: whereas the rapid enumerations of our Litany are very apt to pass before careless minds, at least, as no more than a sort of rhetorical appeal. We have often heard them spoken of as 'a beautiful climax.' Moreover it is, we imagine, very generally supposed that all that is meant by the prayer, 'By Thy &c.' is to put our Lord in remembrance, so to speak, of what He has done for man. Now this no doubt is one phase of this kind of prayer; it is a species of adjuration, such as was much used by the saints under the old economy. But it seems equally clear that in most instances a desire is expressed for their appropriate virtue to come out of the several facts or actions specified; and in some, that this is the sole aspect intended. Thus we cannot suppose that 'by the coming of the Holy Ghost' is anything else than a prayer for the gifts of that coming. On looking over the above extracts from the 'Goolden Letanie,' we observe that in several instances 'the vertue' of particular things commemorated is directly implored: 'for the vertue of thy holy name Jesus;' 'bi the vertue of thi holy prayer.' And in other cases *appropriate* virtue is prayed for; *e.g.* our Lord's commendation of His soul to the Father, is looked to as effecting that of ours in like manner. And the reference to the coming of the Holy Ghost is accompanied by a distinct prayer for the graces of it.

Now this view of our Lord's actions it is that our popular mode of thought is mainly deficient in. They are conceived of as exemplary, instructive, merciful; as necessary parts of the whole of what He came to do; but *as severally instinct with life and life-giving power*,—as things the grace of which may be pleaded and prayed for,—in this character they are recognised very imperfectly, realized still less. And one consequence of this is, as we have said, that the teaching proper to the great festivals of our Lord is missed by the generality, notwithstanding all the Church's pains in pointing and conveying it. We will take, as an instance of what we mean, the festival of this kind which lies nearest to us while we write, that of 'the Presenta-

tion of Christ in the Temple, commonly called the Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin.' This is no doubt a many-sided celebration, and the lessons which it teaches proportionately numerous. Those which are commonly understood to belong to it are such as the following. The duty of offering our best to God, and in particular of dedicating children to His service, is very safely and rightly deduced in a general way from that Mosaic ordinance of presentation which the blessed Virgin as on that day complied with, in presenting her immaculate Son. Again, the sinful taint of our nature, as we receive it from Adam, was obviously confessed by that other provision of the same law, which represented the birth of children as constituting the mother unclean for a certain time, and required her to make her peace with God by an offering as for sin. And if the bringing of one turtle-dove as a sin-offering teaches this, so no less does the bringing of the second as a burnt-offering teach the duty of an especial thanksgiving and thank-offering on such occasions. So again the entry for the first time into the temple of the Incarnate Word is an abundantly suggestive topic belonging to the day. It is deemed, probably, by most thoughtful persons, and rightly, as far as they go, only too vaguely, a sanction, in the way of example, for acts of public worship: a high honour is seen to be put upon the worldly sanctuaries of God by this and all other acts of that kind which our Lord performed in the Temple. Never till then, since Adam worshipped in Paradise, had any one presented himself before God, on whom He could look with perfect complacence as 'very good.' And here, perhaps, a lovely thought, familiar to old Liturgies, and gracefully enlarged upon by S. Bernard, may come into view: viz. that this was the morning sacrifice of the Lamb, the Crucifixion the sacrifice of the same Lamb at evening: '*Oblatio ista, fratres, satis delicata videtur, ubi tantum sistitur Domino, redimitur avibus, et illico reportatur. Veniet, quando non in templo offeretur, nec inter brachia Simeonis, sed extra civitatem in brachiis crucis. Veniet, quando non redimetur alieno, sed alios redimet sanguine proprio. Illud erit sacrificium vespertinum, istud est matutinum. Istud quidem jucundius, sed illud plenius.*'¹ There is the spectacle, once more, of these few worshippers, each with their own characteristic and deeply instructive history: Simeon, the type of Hope; Anna, of Faith; the blessed Virgin, of Love: or, as S. Bernard groups the three principal personages in the scene, Joseph, the Husband, a figure of manly firmness and constancy; Mary, the Mother, of spotless purity; Jesus, the Child, of infant-like humility.² And a

¹ S. Bernard in *Purif. B. Mariæ*, *Serm. iii.* p. 2073.

² *Ibid.* p. 2077.

general impression of the duty of service and worship grounded on the presentation of our Lord, and of that of purity, derivable, somehow or other, from the purification of the Blessed Virgin, is perhaps the upshot of the plain churchman's meditations and attendance upon the Church's Services on this Festival. But the fact is, that these are for the most part merely accidental lessons flowing from the subject; they are not, as it would seem, the particular and essential one which the Church designs to set forth in this celebration. It requires, perhaps, a somewhat more than usual degree of consideration and attention to ascertain exactly what that lesson is: still we do not hesitate to say, that it may be educed with certainty from a careful examination of the appointed services. The subject of the day is, in the first place (or seems however at first sight), twofold: there is the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Presentation of Christ. And it might be supposed, before inquiry, that the reason why these two events are celebrated together by the Church, is merely that they, in fact, happened together: so that the existence of any intimate connexion between the two might or might not be marked by the manner of commemorating them. The title, however, which is given to the day in our English office, 'the Presentation of,' &c. commonly called 'the Purification of,' &c., may be taken to indicate that in the conception of those who compiled that office, at any rate, the two events somehow resolve themselves into one. For their meaning seems to be, that the festival would more properly be denominated from the Presentation, as being the essential thing celebrated, though common custom and parlance had rather named it after that which is an accident and accessory of the other, viz. the Purification. And an examination of the structure of the Collect confirms this, which might otherwise be deemed but an unsupported conjecture. We find that in it, while neither event is lost sight of, the one is manifestly put forth as the principal thing, the other being made to wait upon it. To appreciate the manner in which this is done will require some attention. Looking back to the Mosaic institution, we find, it is true, no connexion marked between the two ordinances of 'presentation' and 'purification'; nor is it ordered that they should take place at one and the same time. The purification was fixed to the fortieth day; the presentation-ransom could be claimed by the Levites after the first-born was a month old, but does not seem to have been exacted to the day. Convenience, however, and religious duty, would alike suggest, that when the mother made her journey to Jerusalem to make her purificatory offering, she should at the same time present her son. Until the mother was purified, her legal taint

might well seem to be shared in some sort by her offspring; but her purification once accomplished, the earliest opportunity would naturally be taken for presenting her child to God, both as an act of dedication of him to God's service, and also to avert the penalty as attaching to the non-payment of the appointed ransom. For we must not suppose that the substitution of the Levite tribe for the first-born sons of all Israel altogether divested these latter of the devoted and consecrated character which 'presentation' involves. The religious Jewish mother doubtless still looked upon her 'first-born, being a male,' as standing in an especial relation, as a dedicated thing to God; he would be viewed as still serving continually night and day, though in proxy not in person, before the altar. The child then being thus reverently made to await the purification of the mother, that purification was understood to pass in a manner to him. He came to be considered as the principal subject of it. This is intimated by the manner in which S. Luke relates the event of the day: 'When the days of her purification were accomplished, according to the law of Moses, they brought him to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord,' &c. Even taking the reading of our version, it might be supposed from these words that the law directed the presentation to be made coincidentally with the purification; but this, as we have seen, was not the case. We cannot otherwise account for the Evangelist's mode of expression, than by supposing that tradition and inveterate custom had joined the two things together, both in time and idea, and had also given an especial prominence to the one over the other; for the sequel of the narrative takes up the presentation exclusively, the offering for purification being only cursorily mentioned. But if we adopt, with Griesbach, Lloyd, &c. the reading, *αὐτῶν*, or another which Griesbach marks as probable, viz. *αὐτοῦ*, (*i.e.* 'their' or 'His purification,') the view we speak of comes out still more strongly in S. Luke's words: the Holy Child, and not His Blessed Mother, is then presented to us as the personage in whom the true purification centered. And this view, of the resolution of the twofold event into a single one, by their concentration in one and the same person, becomes the basis of the Church's teaching on this festival. It is brought to bear somewhat in the following manner. All the great acts of our Lord, from His coming in the flesh to His ascension into heaven, were done in supply of certain great wants which were involved in the fall. Human nature, in the person of Adam, experienced in that act a sudden descent, not of one but of many steps. To bring and raise it up again, step by step, was, in brief, the work of the great Restorer. First of all, in Christ, this same nature,—identically the same, by a

true and real assumption,—reappeared all renewed, reconstituted, reintegrated, by virtue, namely, of its union with the Divine nature in His person. And this, as we shall have occasion to observe presently, was the only purification of which our Lord could possibly be the subject. His was the one pure and purifying birth. The nature thus restored to perfection had, it is true, to go through the same trial and probation under which Adam failed. By the exhibition of a sinless obedience throughout a long life, it had to attain to another kind of perfection, the perfection not of the untried, but of the tried. In this way only could that heaven be won which Adam had missed of. Only after such a course could the great oblation be made: that 'perfection' was only to be completed 'through sufferings.' Still, just as Adam, in his yet sinless though unproved estate, was fit to present himself to God, and doubtless did present himself accordingly,—even so was our Lord's faultless, though not yet proved, humanity fit to be presented in like manner.

At what time, then, did the Presentation take place? Doubtless, from the moment that the Word became incarnate, or however, from the time that the Only-Begotten was born into the world, such Presentation had begun, and was made continually. Nevertheless, as our Lord was pleased to exhibit as consummated at a particular and culminating *punctum temporis* acts or conditions of His, which in reality had all along been perfect, and incapable of augmentation,—the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him at Baptism is a case in point,—so did He in this instance, making use at the same time of a provision of the Mosaic law for the purpose, and thereby both fulfilling and doing away with that provision. He was 'presented,' in the technical sense of the expression, in the Temple. But where and when did 'Purification' as regarded His birth take place? Was it, as at first sight might appear, on the same occasion? Did the Blessed Mother's 'Purification' then and there take place in reality, and was its cleansing effect then and there devolved upon her Divine Son? Assuredly not. Neither could need such a purification; for the Birth had not been after a mortal sort. Rather was the Holy Birth itself, as pure, so also purificatory of all others that had been, or should hereafter be. 'Credimus . . . in conceptione et nativitate purificationem impuræ conceptionis et nativitatis nostræ.' We see then that the Blessed Virgin's 'Purification' was an unreal, while the 'Presentation of Christ,' was a most real thing; so that if in ordinary cases the purifying of the mother was in a manner

¹ Bishop Andrewes.

merged in that of the child, much more must it have been so in this. The technical and legal 'Purification' not merely becomes secondary, but sinks out of view altogether, and what remains is the 'Presentation' of a purified thing;—purified, not on this occasion at all, but originally, by the essential conditions of its divine Nativity. But what was the Thing thus 'presented?' The Second Man was not, any more than the first, 'alone,' in this or any other action. In Him was present evermore that universal Humanity which he had taken to himself, and in it all partakers of it which should at any time be joined to Him as their Head. Herein, then, in this immaculate 'Presentation,' was accomplished a second great step in that orderly progression whereby God in Christ 'repaired man that fell.'¹ Our repaired nature hereby made tender of itself to God, dedicating itself to all reverential service due from it to its Creator at the first, and to its Re-creator now. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple was to the new creation what Adam's first act of worship, whatever that may have been, was to the old. It is not, perhaps, sufficiently considered in what relation all the acts of the Protoplast, good and bad alike, must stand to us, if he was indeed, according to the noble expression of Barrow, 'the proxy of mankind.'² If all men were in Adam, by virtue of the common nature which they hold of him, (as S. Paul teaches us they were,) for evil, and to their cost, when he fell; so to a certainty were they in him for good, and were offered and accepted with him, in whatsoever ways he made oblation of himself. For want of duly considering this, we are slow to grasp the idea of our being correspondently joined with our Lord in His several actions. Scripture only has occasion to present to us the fatal side of our connexion with our first father; but it of necessity implies the existence of another, and an advantageous side of it. It follows as a manifest corollary to S. Paul's reasoning, or rather is the assumed basis of it,—that *all* the personal acts of Adam included, by an indefinite extension and comprehension, all his posterity. They are his mystical body; natural birth is the sacrament, so to speak, by which they are joined to that body. It is only by duly mastering this *natural* truth, that we come to apprehend the spiritual one—viz. what it is to become members of Christ's mystical body; for we can form no idea of the latter except as some resemblance of the former. By realizing that we are members of Adam's mystical body, it is that we understand how, by the sacraments, 'the extension of the Incarnation,' we are made members of Christ. Under no other

¹ Golden Litany, *ubi supra*.² Universal Redemption.

aspect have these expressions any intelligible signification to us. With this help, however, we obtain a very lively conception of the relation which our Lord's actions, and among them that of His 'Presentation,' bear to us. One point only remains to be considered, viz. what is the particular virtue which, according to the Church's teaching, comes out of this particular action or event, for our present needs. We have seen what it is to us mystically, viz. the 'Presentation' of our very selves in Christ. It remains to inquire what it is to us sacramentally; and the answer is, that its particular function is to impart virtue and acceptableness to all our correspondent acts of self-presentation and service. The appointed Collect is to be understood no otherwise. We must not take the petition, 'that *as* the Only-Begotten Son was presented in the temple in substance of our flesh, *so* we may be presented with pure and clean hearts,'—we must not take this as a mere parallel. The Collects for this occasion, for Christmas, for the Holy week, for Easter-eve, Easter-day, and the Ascension, must be understood not as merely desiring a *general* influence for grace to enable the Body mystical to do those duties which flow from the acts of the body natural then severally celebrated; but as desiring that the particular virtue of those acts may flow forth and issue in kindred manifestations of the life of faith. In this particularizing sense it is that we must understand the pleading with which each Collect concludes. We invoke, then, on this occasion the prevailing might of Christ's spotless 'Presentation,' to render pure and clean and acceptable all such like acts of our own.

We have dwelt at some length on this one instance of the kind of deficient teaching which it has been the object of this article to point out. We can only plead as our excuse the good old rule of the Stagyrice, that 'particulars ever teach more soundly than generalities.'

ART. VI.—*The Princess; a Medley.* By ALFRED TENNYSON.
London: Moxon. 1847.

A POET'S mind (the world owes the idea to the Poet Laureate) should be like a cathedral. It should stand in a free space of its own, and consecrate the soil it stands on. No mean tenements should hem it in, and hinder it from expanding in its fair proportions. There should be room for the pilgrim to walk round it, approach and recede at pleasure, and choose his own points from which to admire its beauty. Seen from without, it should impress us with the multiplicity of its parts. Porch and parvise, chantry and oratory, chapterhouse and cloister, should project themselves in turn boldly forward, in pleasing contrast with the grey mass behind. But however complex without, it should be eminently *one* within. Here we should trace, in its full solemnity, that Form which all variety of detail must vary without concealing. Here, the diversity of individual tastes is to be lost in the majesty of the master mind. In that capacious area, all are instinctively to look one way, to think one thought, and wonder.

No metaphor, of course, embodies the whole truth. We doubt if Mr. Tennyson would admit, without qualification, even the portion of truth contained in the above image. If his theory coincides with his practice, he would rather insist on the right of the poet to expend his energy in a series of detached efforts, leaving it to circumstance, to the sympathy of the reader, or the ingenuity of the critic, to bring out the unity of result. Be this as it may; many of his admirers have certainly been found not unwilling to accept the comparison. Who has not known Tennysonianism, who were living in full and confident expectation of a coming *opus magnum*? Some indeed were more cautious, rejoicing rather in drawing distinctions between quantity and quality, and reminding all who cared to listen to a truism, that the number of consecutive lines under a single title had very little to do with the question, whether their favourite was a minor poet. But more of Mr. Tennyson's admirers spoke of the 'crescent promise' of his song, and appealed boldly from the present to the future. They were prepared to allow that his poems, however beautiful, were more fragments than was quite desirable. Much more: in spite of their high finish, they struck more impartial and unfamiliar observers, as wanting in position and arrangement. Here was an antique statue glittering in the whiteness of its marble, and

there a picture, somewhat Rubenesque, in a gold frame ; on the one hand, Haroun Alraschid sat, in 'merriment of kingly pride,' under a canopy ; on the other, a weather-beaten S. Simeon prayed, harangued, and soliloquized from the top of his pillar. Sometimes the poet's scroll displayed combinations of grave words—good, and beauty, and duty, and love, and so forth—which puzzled the metaphysician, who endeavoured to make their meaning definite ; a turn of the leaf brought the reader to some lucubrations of a half profane, half maudlin tone, and a very vinous and questionable morality. What does it all mean ? we asked ; or rather, what does the author mean ? Is he content that his mind, as reflected in his volumes, should rival an auction room, or an embryo museum, both in the multifariousness and confusion of its beauties ? Are the pictures never to be hung up, the statues never to be placed their niches ? Shall the caliph, and the pillar saint, and the Will Waterproof, be crowded together in a capacious tent, or picnic in common on the sward ? Shall we never be shown how abstract philosophical speculation is made to bear on the beauties of nature, or cast a reflected light over dim pictures of imaginary ladies, some as sensuous, and all as sleepy, as any that Lely drew ? Wait, was the answer to repeated questions—wait, till the longer poem comes.

Well, the world waited ; not in the idleness of anxious suspense, for, in these busy times, fifteen years cannot be wasted with impunity. However, long as the pause was, Mr. Tennyson was not forgotten in the crush and crowd of things. Poets, poetasters, poetry readers, a little while before the revolutions began, pricked their ears at the title of 'The Princess,' like a horse (one of Mr. Tennyson's stud, we own) which hears the corn-bin open. And no one who read the poem in simple-heartedness, content to seek for nothing more than new images, elaborate diction, a pleasing flow of not too exciting narrative, a day-dream of beauty with which pleasing forms from without could mingle without breaking it, can have been disappointed. But woe to those who had been hoping to see its author rise higher, and mingle with the world's benefactors as his peers. They found his faults and his beauties still the same ; an alteration in degree, but not in kind ; an improvement, if any, which was not a development. They could at most repeat their praises, but not increase them. Alexander the Great rewarded a skilful pea-shooter with peas. Mr. Tennyson also must be paid in kind. His statue must be placed in a larger and more ornate niche, but it must remain on its old level.

One plea, indeed, could it be sustained, would serve to reverse this judgment. Some of the less discreet of Mr. Tennyson's

admirers have adopted a course in his defence, which we, who admire him with a more guarded prudence, cannot follow. They discover a great artistic construction in 'The Princess.' They altogether refuse to consider it as a wonderful specimen of elegant trifling, akin to the 'laborious orient ivory sphere in sphere,' which he celebrates at its opening. In spite of the poet's own declaration, they hold that it is at heart, from beginning to end, grave earnest. We ask for the clue which, according to this hypothesis, should serve as our guide through the complexities of the varied scene—

' A Gothic ruin and a Grecian house,
A talk of college and of ladies' rights,
A feudal knight in silken masquerade,'

and the science of the nineteenth century, in a costume almost equally foreign to its nature, condescending to the prettiness of a toy, and mingling with music, dancing, cricket, and sunshine, as an ingredient in a day's amusement. We inquire where, except in the fantastic playfulness of the 'Medley,' we are to find its unity. And we are told, in answer, that 'The Princess' is an *allegory*.

We imagine Mr. Tennyson would not thank his admirers for this theory. No man less likes to be tied down to a definite meaning. He would no more have a purpose, than Falstaff would give a reason, on compulsion. Of course he would not be displeased, if any one should discover in his poem, as in some great work of nature, a fertile mine of suggestiveness, a noble redundancy of signification. But he would not be willingly committed to the version of the most skilful interpreter. He has spoken prettily on this subject himself.

' So, Lady Flora, take my lay,
And, if you find no moral there,
Go, look in any glass, and say
What moral is in being fair.
Oh! to what uses shall we put
The wildweed flower that simply blows?
And is there any moral shut
Within the bosom of the rose?

' But any man that walks the mead,
In bud, or blade, or bloom, may find,
According as his humours lead,
A meaning suited to his mind.
And liberal applications lie
In art like nature, dearest friend;
So 'twere to cramp its use, if I
Should hook it to some useful end.'

Nor can we deny his right to wander through the enchanted ground, to sleep in every cool grot and pleasant arbour, to rejoice

in dreams which shall be the purest medleys, and only seem to touch upon our every-day world by mistake. We must, indeed, make two provisos. In the first place, his visions shall be either better than our common sights and sounds, or wholly apart from them, that so he may not mar that life which others must live, though poets are exempt from its burden. And secondly, we shall not be blamed for not regarding enthusiastically what he has written sportively, or be accused of shallowness for not seeing depths where there are none. 'The Princess' may be an allegory, on Mr. Tennyson's own principles. But by the same free method which has been employed in devising for it a profound meaning, we would detect the philosophy of history in the life of King Arthur, or a system of ontology in an ordinary fairy tale.

Let us not then be suspected of any wish to close the open question. Some speculations are so amusing, that nothing but a sense of duty would lead us to stop them. Though giving little promise of satisfactory solution, they might run on for their own sakes. It is so in the present case. Let the Princess Ida represent, to those whom it pleases, 'the passive or feminine principle of the intellect,' whatever that may be. Let the struggle which took place in her halls typify a mightier contest even now going on in the civilized world, to be followed, if Mr. Tennyson is a prophet (or if he is not), by a reaction. Let even the smaller traits have their meaning. Allow that little Aglaia, who sleeps by Lady Psyche's side

' In shining draperies, headed like a star,
Her maiden babe, a double April old,'

is in reality, poor child, most precocious, and indicates, by her name, the splendour of the triumphs which may yet be accomplished by this Daughter of the Soul. Conceive whoever will, that the great principle of the mysterious connexion of contraries lies hid in the circumstance that cross Lady Blanche has a pretty and good-natured daughter; and that the mighty Arac has sprung from the loins of the dwarfish Gama; we sit unmoved, and are pleased, both with theories like these, and our own independence of them. 'The Princess' is to us as one poem out of many, inferior to none in the novelty of its images and the finish of its language; longer than the rest by far, and therefore of a more complicated structure, but still by no means 'orb'd in its isolation;' the chief of several connected powers, but not a sovereign. And as such we proceed to employ it, with the other poems, in illustration of our views of Mr. Tennyson. These are simple enough; for we are not prepared to do what the poet himself has not done, and unite the whole of his works under

some comprehensive system or theory. Rather, we will follow his own plan, and say what is natural, without much regard to order; bestow praise and blame fairly and frankly; deal more in allusion than quotation; yet not refuse ourselves and our readers the pleasure, on due occasion, of listening to the chiming echo of our author's silvery cadences.

We shall scarcely vary far from Mr. Tennyson's own estimate of his works, in assigning the foremost place among their beauties to their *diction*. He has studied long and well the capabilities of language. No man better knows the marvellous art, by which a succession of black and broken lines on a white surface is made to suggest to the mind, through the eye alone, a distinct and articulate melody. No man better knows the exact direction of the boundary, which separates a pleasing originality of style from a forced and affected quaintness. We do not say that his rhythms are never languid even to faintness, and more fit to be sighed forth by 'mild eyed melancholy lotus-eaters,' than to swell in 'deep-chested music' from the lips of true-hearted men. We cannot express approval of the extent to which he sometimes trusts to the charms of cadence, or the boldness with which, especially in his last poem, he introduces constructions and turns of expression, which, though neither inelegant nor unintelligible, are foreign to the genius of his native tongue. But who can say, that the potent melody of words is either unemployed or undervalued by an author, who has sung of 'the Poet's song' in music like this?

'The rain had fallen, the poet arose,
He passed by the town, and out of the street;
A light wind blew from the gates of the sun,
And waves of shadow went over the wheat,
And he sat him down in a lonely place,
And chanted a melody loud and sweet,
That made the wild-swan pause in her cloud,
And the lark drop down at his feet.

'The swallow stopt as he hunted the bee,
The snake slipt under a spray,
The wild hawk stood with the down on his beak,
And stared, with his foot on the prey,
And the nightingale thought, "I have sung many songs,
But never a one so gay,
For he sings of what the world will be
When the years have died away."

Verily, Mr. Tennyson is a sweet singer as a poet need wish to be. But a poet should wish to be something more. And we should be glad to be quite sure that language, from being Mr. Tennyson's forte, has not shown a tendency to become his foible. It is an unpleasant opinion to entertain of him, but one which

has too much foundation, that, as he has become a more practised writer, he has used his skill in spinning out a smaller amount of thought into a tissue of golden words. That which seems to be the earliest of his published poems, 'The Ode to Memory,' would well bear expansion. The reader sympathises with the writer in the burden of his song,—

‘ Oh strengthen me, enlighten me,
I faint in this obscurity,
Thou dewy dawn of memory.’

He would gladly use the poet's assistance in bringing before his mind, with greater distinctness and fuller detail, the decaying image of the past. But who does not feel that 'The Talking Oak,' in its sweetly chiming ballad metre, or 'The Day-dream,' in all the prettiness of its dissolving views, has quite as many words as it can bear? This is not as it should be. Though a poet's thoughts be of the purest gold, this is no reason why he should beat them out into thin leaf, or spin them into wire, though he can twist it into the finest filigree. Genuine fluency is one of the greatest accidental gifts which true genius can enjoy. It is not unfrequently, in the history of a mind, the very last power which is granted. Full-grown souls have rejoiced as in a transmigration to a higher state, on feeling the whole apparatus of language, for years and years a burden and restraint to thought, turning at last into available harness, strong both for attack and defence. But with great minds this readiness has always been something far higher than a mere facility in using well-assorted words. It proceeds from no skill in mechanical contrivance, but from an intellectual harmony. The crowd of thoughts, which formerly jarred and jostled with each other in the attempt to gain expression, are now compacted in orderly array, and march forth to the sound of trumpet-tongued eloquence. But Mr. Tennyson is no warrior. He is rather the minstrel, lingering, and trifling, and harping, at the castle gate. He is not content, as higher poets are, to bring out his idea fully, and then to wait till human hearts send back its echo. Like some other skilful musicians, he thinks too little of the air, too much of his control over the instrument. In this he ill consults his true reputation. In spite of the most elaborate variations, we must very soon tire of execution, if its abundance leads us to suspect a poverty of invention.

At the risk of seeming ill-natured, we must add one more stricture on Mr. Tennyson's style. 'The Princess' has fully developed a disposition, which is traceable to a less extent in his earlier poems, to introduce, in prodigal abundance, forms of expression which are moulded on the type of other languages

than our own. The source from which he principally derives these novelties of construction is the Greek. We will not attempt an enumeration of instances; any one who takes up the 'Medley' now before us, will find in it examples of metonymy, synecdoche, and every figure of his school-boy days, more readily than in his Sophocles. They are often expressive; they have an original sound to the unlearned; they please the scholar from the force of association; they are intertwined with much that is really beautiful. But, meanwhile, they are liable to the one fatal objection, that they are not English.

It is not wise to confuse the genius of any language, living or dead, with that of our own. The result may have the charm of fashion for a time, but it must share the fate of all fashions, and become distasteful at last. Our libraries are the sepulchres of many authors, once considered models of style, but now forgotten. A slight examination generally shows the reason of their past fame, and present insignificance. One glittered a few brief years in the false antithesis of France, and then faded for ever. Another was emulous of Virgilian versification, or endeavoured to train our sturdy Anglo-Saxon into the niceties of Ciceronian prose. Virgil and Cicero still live, but not their imitators. France and Rome have been consulted more than enough, and writers have now learned to try the less-wrought veins of Germany and Greece. They had better trust to their own resources. Time tries severely all refinements of language, but those which are native to the soil will bear most exposure, and suffer least.

It is not often that writers of such perfect smoothness and exquisite finish as the author of 'The Princess,' have a keen sense of details in the outward world, a love of minute observation, or a power of bringing its results vividly before their readers. With those who enjoy these gifts, polish generally contributes, not to the even reflection of light, but to point and sparkle. The stone which is cut into many facets, sends back the rays which fall upon it, brilliantly indeed, but unevenly. But Mr. Tennyson finds no difficulty here. He has wonderful skill in introducing a multitude of details into his picture without breaking its repose. Whole poems are but a succession of minute touches, and yet are wanting neither in harmony, breadth, nor unity. It is hard to admire enough, for instance, the perfect distinctness with which the image of listless, aimless, half-hoping, half-despairing, and yet withal apathetic melancholy is brought out from the accidents of a lonely locality, the common rural sights and sounds, the every-day associations of a solitary chamber, which surround the dejected Mariana. And throughout Mr. Tennyson's volumes, the fidelity

of the marsh scenery is most wonderful. He treads in the very steps of Nature. The tangled weeds in the water-courses, the desolate creeks and pools with their silvery flowers, the moss clustering on the sluices, the frequent bridges, the heavy barges trailed by slow horses, sliding along the willow-veiled margin—every feature strengthens, while it half relieves, the impression of level continuity of space. We remember that great men could be born in Bœotia, and congratulate the fens of Lincolnshire on their poet.

But here, too, we must qualify our praise. This microscopic delineation is, to a great extent, artificial; and all artificial beauty easily slides into a defect. These drawings with a fine point are necessarily wanting in power. They betray at every turn the labour of composition. No one could suspect Mr. Tennyson of being a rapid writer, and throwing off his noblest passages without a sense of effort. This is one reason why he fails in his attempts to express strong emotion. He betrays none of the characteristic quickness of passion. However great his subject, he knows but one method of treating it. He sits down calmly before hero, saint, or villain, and draws his portrait, stroke by stroke, as a lady would paint a flower.

To this cause, though not to this cause only, we must attribute Mr. Tennyson's failure in the attempt to delineate strong excitement and rapid movement in all their phases. It matters not if he wishes to depict the active powers of nature expanding in their full energy, or the clash and combat of war, and the struggle of contending heroes, or the still more awful conflict of passion in the human heart. In every case there is something wanting. The Daguerreotype process gives the whole of a landscape faithfully, except figures in quick motion, or the leaves of a tree which are trembling visibly in the wind. Like it, Mr. Tennyson requires all but a dead calm to display his powers to advantage. Nature must be hushed to sleep, like a baby, to have its likeness taken. This point may bear a little illustration.

Poetry has an obvious advantage over painting, in not being bound to represent any one moment of time. Its interest may be real and vivid, when it is impossible that all its characters should be grouped together on a plane surface, and brought before the eye at once. It can comprehend a whole series of events in a concise and intelligible unity. It can gather up into a verse the beauty of continued motion. We can see the hero on his good steed ride past us, and derive one consistent impression from all that passes between our first glance at the star on the horse's forehead, and the last ring of his hooves which we hear when he is again hidden in the woods. The poet should know his advantage in this respect, and use it.

But this advantage Mr. Tennyson singularly neglects. To take the most prominent instance from his last poem, the battle scene; well-drawn as it is, and full of incident, it wants life; we do not start at it as at the sound of a trumpet. The picture changes, not so much by alteration of its parts, as by rapid substitution. The climax gives us two figures just as a painter would have chosen them:—

‘ A moment hand to hand,
And sword to sword, and horse to horse we hung,
Till I struck out and shouted.’

Scarce a battle scene was ever painted in which these two figures do not occur. We have seen the nicely balanced combatants over and over again in all variations of garb, armour, and weapon; in the lighter trappings of the Roman horseman, or the heavier of jousting knights; or in buff coat and jack boots, half hidden in the mingled dust and smoke of a skirmish in our civil wars.

On one occasion Mr. Tennyson favours us with an Homeric Echo; and he who does not admire the ‘*Morte d’Arthur*,’ is a traitor both to English and Greek. But where in Homer have we such a scene of death-like stillness? We see no blow struck; we hear no clang of weapons. No sound of thunder, no tremblings of the soil for which he had fought so long, attend on the departure of the hero. Three or four *tableaux* would bring the whole tale before the eye—the king, lying with broken helm, and dark blood upon his bloodless face, under the light of the full moon, in the ruin which stands upon the neck of barren land between the lake and the ocean: the wondering knight gazing into darkness, while the mystic hand is still holding Excalibur above the waters: an armed figure slowly and painfully bearing down the slippery crag one who will use arms no more: and the funereal barge, with the three dark-robed queens upon its deck, just melting into the distance.

In like manner we are dissatisfied, even while we are pleased, with Mr. Tennyson’s descriptions of the more violent workings of the heart. He is far from failing when he tells of a fair girl dying slowly of consumption, and untying, through a long year, the knots which bind her affections to things earthly, while, to the last, she is unwilling to let the silken cords quite slip. He takes us wholly with him when he shows us the wife of the lord of Burleigh slowly drooping and fading under the burden of an honour to which she was not born. But, with full knowledge how a whole school will differ from the opinion, we must profess our belief that the passion of ‘*Locksley Hall*’ is, as such, a failure. This is not to depreciate the excellence of the

poem; to deny that it is full charged with thought, at once weighty and rapid in rhythm, and affording very few points where the spear of criticism could be inserted between the junctures of its long and rolling trochaic tetrameters. But we complain of the transitions. Sometimes the mere juxtaposition of thoughts is made to serve instead of their connexion. Sometimes we are let fall into a half-line of weakness and obscurity, to rise again, we scarcely know how, to our old level of elevation. Have our readers ever pondered, with us, the appropriateness of such a concise sentiment as—‘here, at least, where nature sickens, nothing’—or been surprised that Mr. Tennyson could tolerate the prose, and doubtful prose too, of ‘howsoever these things be,’ in the very climax of his poem? There can be but one reason for these exceptions. Mr. Tennyson knows not how passion, like lightning, fuses and blends things most unlike with each other; or rather, knowing it, does not possess that full and energetic flow of soul, which would enable the artist to imitate the process.

The same features characterise our author in dealing with nature, as with man. One instance will suffice: let us observe how he treats the sea. To most minds, it is full of the very spirit of activity. We draw a deeper breath, and walk with a firmer step, by its side. Its colour has a charm, and the freshness of life is recalled by its sparkle. We rejoice much in its ripple, in its dashing wave much more. When we are miles away, and a good strong salt-laden breeze

‘Gives to the taste the feeling of the storm,’

we are pleased by association. Far from losing its vitality by our familiarity with it, it gains day by day. Those who live much hard by it or upon it, contract from it a pantheistic tinge, and learn to speak and think of it as a great animal. We have no such sea in Mr. Tennyson: he confines himself to its gentler aspects, when we can

‘watch the crisping ripples on the beach,
And tender curving lines of creamy spray.’

This, it may be said, is just the character it ought to take on the shores of the Lotophagi. But the Prince who succeeded, beyond his will and intent, in subverting the women's Academe, was a child of the north; he must have known the Atlantic; and what seems to have been his dominant impression of Ocean?

‘At eve and dawn,
With Ida, Ida, Ida, rang the woods;
The leader wild-swan in among the stars
Would clang it and *lapt* in wreaths of glowworm light
The mellow breaker murmured Ida.’

We are right glad to quote the line, itself quite phosphoric with prettiness, even while observing that thus to describe the sea is to describe it by a very separable accident indeed. Nor do we think the force of our remark blunted, because Locksley Hall overlooks 'the hollow ocean billows roaring into cataracts;' or our friend the Prince dreams that he is watching

'A full sea, glazed with muffled moonlight, swell
On some dark shore, just seen that it was rich;'

or even because a soul, which seeks the beautiful without the good, or both the good and beautiful without thought of Him who is source both of goodness and beauty, is likened to

'A salt, still pool, lock'd in with bars of sand;
Left on the shore; that hears all night
The plunging seas draw backward from the land
Their moonlit waters white.'

These are pictures, undeniably; and true to nature; but still they are subdued. The waves roar like any nightingale; we see and hear as from a distance; there is a mistiness, a creaminess, a mellowness, a gleam of muffled moonlight (who is richer in words than Mr. Tennyson?) cast over all.

If this is really a feature of Mr. Tennyson's mind—if beauty is most beautiful in his eyes when it is still and motionless—we can see a peculiar fitness in that taste for the antique which is so prominent in his poems. Classic art, indeed, was no lifeless thing to its contemporaries. The artist wrought from what he saw; his creatures were but a glorified image of the ordinary life of his day. The quick, energetic Greeks knew no higher praise for a picture than that it seemed on the point to speak; for a statue, than that it promised motion. But this is past now; what was a representation to them, is final to us. To our thoughts, an ancient statue is rather a distinct creation than the image of a man. Old associations have died off it; it is a subject for taste, not for feeling. The ties which linked it to our human nature, its personal interest, and its bearing on religion, are departed as completely as the polychrome from the columns of the Parthenon: there is no speculation in its eye, no warmth in the whiteness of its marble.

Among these beautiful forms of the Past Mr. Tennyson delights to linger. He does not attempt to animate them; he is not anxious that they should speak or move; he would not have them flush into common life. Far less would he deck them with the gauds of the day, or debase them with ordinary colouring. But it is his pleasure to place them in the garden of the poet's mind, where the shadows of the leaves may fall upon them, or the oblique sunshine give a dark distinctness to their clear-cut

features; or bright hues, which are not their own, be reflected upon them from beds of flowers.

His groups are various. A weather-beaten statue of Ulysses, an oar in his hand and his son Telemachus by his side, stands out from a background of grey rock and thundercloud, over-spanned by an arch of rainbow. Or, beneath a brighter sky, his sailors are sleeping with the branches of the lotus by their side, while white clouds are sailing over them, as soft as any on which they dream the gods lie reclined in carelessness beside their nectar. Or the forlorn CEnone, leaning on a fragment twined with vine, is singing to the stillness in the loveliest vale of Ida. 'The Princess' especially abounds with classical images. A Grecian house was one of the elements which the tale-teller undertook to incorporate in his story; and he amply redeems his promise. The Academe, judging from many of its ornaments, might have stood on the bank of Cephissus. Even the inn hard by its entrance has a bust of Pallas for its sign. When the art manufactures are disposed to extend to such ponderous subjects as college gates, Mr. Tennyson has a model at their disposal:—

‘Two great statues, Art
And Science, Caryatids, lifted up
A weight of emblem; and betwixt were valves
Of open metal, in which the old hunter rued
His rash intrusion, man-like, but his brows
Had sprouted, and the branches thereupon
Spread out at top, and grimly spiked the gates.’

The interior is worthy of the entrance. Art is there so fully developed, as to be prominent even over confusion. When the maiden-students throng the court, with a very considerable noise and very doubtful regard of discipline—

‘High above them stood
The placid marble Muses, looking peace.’

And in that more general collapse of order which follows when Ida relents after the battle, we are still at leisure to observe how, amid the clash and jingle of intruding armour,

‘The day
Descending, struck athwart the hall, and shot
A flying splendour out of brass and steel,
That o’er the statues leapt from head to head,
Now fired an angry Pallas on the helm,
Now set a wrathful Dian’s moon on flame.’

What less, indeed, could we expect, in this abode of learning? It is worth attending to the list of the statues in the hall. The catalogue is of sonorous music:—

‘She
That taught the Sabine how to rule, and she
The foundress of the Babylonian wall;

The Carian Artemisia, strong in war;
The Rhodope, that built the pyramid;
Clelia, Cornelia, with the Palmyrene
That fought Aurelian, and the Roman brows
Of Agrippina.'

No wonder that, among all this artistic apparatus, the inhabitants themselves become rather statuesque. The Princess strikes us as somewhat affected in this way, with her two tame leopards for constant attendants. Even poor Melissa half owes a lover to the involuntary classicality of her sorrow:—

'She, half on her mother propt,
Half drooping from her, turn'd her face, and cast
A liquid look on Ida, full of prayer,
Which melted Florian's fancy, as she hung,
A Niobe daughter, one arm out,
Appealing to the bolts of heaven.'

In all this there is some playfulness, and some feeling too. Of thus much, at least, the consideration of Mr. Tennyson's classical pictures may serve to assure us: he is not content to be simply a spectator of the antique; he must arrange its models for his own purposes, and place them in his own lights; he must cast over them the hues of his imagination. They shall not speak, but at his touch they shall emit an indefinite harmony, like Memnon at the touch of morning. They shall not cease to be marble; yet they shall glow with a warm, and it may be a fitful, but neither a deep nor a lasting lustre.

The tinge of a ray of light is most easily discovered when it falls on a white surface. May we, in like manner, judge of Mr. Tennyson's mind by the tone which it gives to the antique? If so, there can be little doubt what its tinge is. It is soft, almost to enervation. We wonder that objects are seen with such minute distinctness through its golden haze. It is delicate, but the delicacy lies not in the colour itself, but in its degree. A shade deeper, it would become coarse. Like some Claude Lorraine glasses, it gives a better general effect in proportion as the tints of the landscape are less pronounced. Where these are strong, it jars with some unpleasantly, and intensifies others more unpleasantly still. It may light up a harvest field into brighter lustre, or cast a gleam, as of sunshine, over glaucous marshes, ochreous roads, and a cold grey sky; but it would dim the whiteness of an up-piled cloud, make the blue heavens unpleasantly verdant, and only add an additional stare to the flaunting marsh-marigold, an unprofitable accession of gaudiness to the poppy.

We would not have Mr. Tennyson paint that which we love. His style is unfaithful to that deeper individuality which lies beneath the surface. He applies his peculiar bloom as an

unfailing specific for increasing beauty. He peers and pries into details with an intruding minuteness which seems irreverent in the case of high forms of goodness. He is true to himself first, to his subject afterward. If loveliness will not conform to his model, it must suffer. He throws a purple lustre over the violet; and over the lily too. Some of his readers may have observed, for instance, that he is as far from catching the spirit of mountain scenery, as he is close to the very heart of nature in the marsh and the plain. In drawing a hill, he cannot dispense with a luxuriant foreground. The barrenness of its sides needs a compensation which he is most glad to give. It runs up its dark-blue forks beyond the full-leaved platans of the vale; or the gorges in front open wide apart, to reveal some columned citadel. The snow may not rest in cold whiteness on the mountain-top, but is ruddy in the Lotus land with the flash of sunset, or lies on Ida in virgin streaks, to be smitten by the solitary morning. Even the picture which he hangs on the walls of the Palace of Art, to embody the image of desolation, must have one warm touch put in.

‘And one, a foreground black with stones and slags,
Beyond a line of heights, and higher
All barr’d with long white clouds the scornful crags,
And highest, snow and fire.’

Some of Mr. Tennyson's most highly-finished poems are portraits of ladies, real or imaginary. They are like water-colour drawings, in which we admire, while we are disposed to condemn, the excess both of elaboration and mannerism. We almost expect to see ‘*jour à gauche*’ at one corner of the page. These ladies are, we are assured, all of them beautiful, and most of them good. Yet we are not pleased with their likenesses. Be it the fault of artist or sitter, they are not *natural*.

If a style, which is faithful to differences of detail, but monotonous in general effects, is apt to become distasteful when inanimate nature is in question, it is positively disagreeable when applied to men and women. Nature really derives much of its colour from ourselves. We cannot tell accurately, in the complicated scene and its still more complicated impressions, what we create, and what we receive. We animate the thing, with which we afterward hold converse, as with a distinct personality. We wonder at the wisdom of its teaching, when, in fact, it is only sending back an echo to the voice of our soul. But the communication between two minds should be regulated by a different principle from that which prevails in the intercourse of mind and matter. To view other persons mainly as recipients of our character, is to deny that they have a character of their own. This is to degrade those whom we should regard as our

fellows, and to extend to both sexes the libel which we blame Pope for wishing to affix to one. To this libel, however, Mr. Tennyson practically subscribes. All his ladies are of one school. Nature just creeps humbly in, to vindicate art from the charge of sameness. Margaret is confessedly twin-sister to Adeline, and the rest are first cousins. We never met any of them by day-light, leaping adown the rocks, like Mr. Wordsworth's Louisa, or, like his Lucy, listening to the wayward round of the rivulets. A misty moonlight might bring them shawled out of doors; or a red sunset tempt them on to the lawn; but though thus occasionally seen abroad,

‘ While the amorous, odorous wind
Breathes low between the sunset and the moon ;’

yet (as the next two lines run)

‘ In a shadowy saloon
On silken cushions half reclined,’

they are much more in place. There they are content to repose; and there we are content to leave them.

We have touched incidentally on several differences between Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Wordsworth. It will be pleasing to mention one point in which they very decidedly agree, with regard to the duty and vocation of a poet. Neither of them would have him overlook the present in his devotion to the past. Neither speaks or feels despairingly of the age in which he lives; or fears, that while the heart continues to beat, poetry will die for want of depth of earth in which to strike her roots, or of sun and rain to call forth her leaves and flowers. For our own pleasure, as well as that of our readers, we will have the elder bard speak for himself. If prefaces have no other use, they have at least served the purpose of showing us that good poets can generally write good prose.

‘ Poetry is the first and last of all knowledge—it is as immortal as the heart of man. If the labours of men of science should ever create any material revolution, direct or indirect, in our condition, or in the impressions which we habitually receive, the Poet will sleep then no more than at present; he will be ready to follow the steps of the man of science, not only in those general indirect effects, but he will be at his side, carrying sensation into the midst of the objects of the science itself. The remotest discoveries of the chemist, the botanist, or mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the Poet's art as any upon which it can be employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated by the followers of these respective sciences shall be manifestly and palpably realised to us as enjoying and suffering beings. If the time should ever come when what is now called science, thus familiarised to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the Poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will welcome the Being thus produced as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man.’

Thus wrote the father of our living bards long before Mr. Tennyson was a poet. But his 'Lyrical Ballads' contain very few, if any, exemplifications of the theory thus propounded in their preface. Nor can we recollect a single prominent image in Mr. Wordsworth's writings which is taken from that border-land between science and common life, which is every day becoming wider. He is too thoroughly convinced of the poetical character of all natural human feeling, and too deeply engaged in apprehending its essential features, to be very curious as to the exact limits within which, at any particular moment, it is pent by the sandbank of matter of fact, or the strict and regular masonry of scientific knowledge. Afloat upon that broad ocean, he feels not the change of tide; and, though he knows that its periodic ebb and flow is still going on, does not inquire whether its waves are beating up close under the rocks of the distant shore, or leaving heaps of pebble and sea-weed parching in the sun, and only whitened into greater harshness by the salt of its spray. Mr. Tennyson sails in a smaller boat, and has occasion to explore the reefs and shallows more closely. He practises what Mr. Wordsworth has taught; knows well the water-line on the beach, and looks out sharply for any picturesque pebble, or shining piece of crystal, which the sea has cast up, and which he, like a skilful lapidary, may cut and polish. He thus escapes one snare into which Mr. Wordsworth is apt to fall. He does not appear as the distinct advocate of the principle which he adopts in practice. He is not committed to an universal, which he is bound to some extent to verify. The author of the 'Lyrical Ballads' must endeavour to justify, at least in part, his theoretic positions in his poems. The author of 'The Princess' sees only a suggestion where others find a law. Nothing passes as poetical with him, simply because, according to some system, it ought to be so. All is brought before his sense of the beautiful, and adopted or rejected accordingly. He never becomes ludicrous where he means to be simple; or, in adhering to his own crotchet, thinks that he is true to nature.

We will not pretend to quote those smaller touches in which Mr. Tennyson gracefully introduces each little conventional grace, which he has culled as pleasing, or as capable of being made so, from our daily life and manners. These, though pretty in their place, would seem jejune out of it. Most of his readers, besides, have probably made the remark for themselves ere now, and verified it for themselves also. But we will mention one or two instances of his skill in weaving the popular aspect of science into poetry. The minds of many will at once revert to the 'circle rounded under female hands with flawless demonstration' on the lecture slate in *Ida's College*; or the prettily put allusions

to the nebular hypothesis in which the Princess and her tutors rejoice. But these, perhaps, are exceptionable examples, as deriving their force either from the attendant circumstances, or from the beauty of expression; not from their own significance or novelty. It is easy to be more definite. What study is more unpoetical than anatomy? Its details are worse than technical and dry; to most constitutions they are, from their nature, necessarily disgusting. And the broad view of the science of the human frame is not more inviting. There seems a profaneness in the rough handling of that wonderful temple of the soul, consecrated as it is to the Christian thought, by a still more wonderful Presence. Mr. Tennyson speaks, through the Princess, more feelingly on the subject than is his wont:—

‘ We shudder but to dream our maids should ape
Those monstrous males who carve the living hound,
And cram him with the fragments of the grave,
*Or in the dark dissolving human heart,
And holy secrets of this microcosm,
Dabbling a shameless hand with shameful jest
Encarnalize their spirits.*’

Yet he has contrived to introduce, twice at least, facts of animal chemistry with effect. That strange old king, Gama, who belongs, in virtue of divers touches, to divers centuries, displays knowledge beyond that of the days of tournaments, in his reproach of his daughter's hardness.

‘ I've heard that there is iron in the blood,
And I believe it: not one word? not one?
Whence drew you this steel temper?’

And those two metaphysical voices, who, in one of Mr. Tennyson's most elaborate poems, contest a difficult question with a skill which seems very nearly matched, till a happy incident, though with rather too fortuitous an air, turns the scale on the side of truth, assume a wide sufficiency of scientific knowledge, and debate of that mysterious time, which was

‘ *Before the little ducts began
To feed thy bones with lime, and ran
Their course, till thou wert also man.*’

Geology, again, does not readily appear in a poetical aspect. Its hold on the mind is gained mainly by its tempting our curiosity, and often flattering our pride. Except as a matter of knowledge, we can care little for that primitive state of the earth, when molten granite was supreme. Nor do the dynasties of the Saurian races, and their cognate tribes, present any very

attractive features. The phraseology, too, is hard and harsh enough :—

‘ Stony names
Of shale and hornblende, rag and trap and tuff,
Amygdaloid and trachyte.’

Yet a very cursory reader, both of *Geology* and *Poetry*, catches the appropriateness of the parallel with which Everard Holmes excuses the work of destruction wrought upon his epic :—

‘ Why take the style of those heroic times ?
For nature brings not back the mastodon,
Nor we those times.’

The Present, indeed, is Mr. Tennyson's peculiar sphere. When he views it, however, in its relations to the other parts of time, he casts his looks forward on the future. The Past has no charms for him—that long Past, we mean, which belongs to history, and in which men of another mould in mind, though not in body, trod the world which is now ours. The classical thoughts and associations, with which he is so familiar, please him, not as recalling the system to which they once belonged, but as specimens of fossil beauty which serve to adorn our own. He has no wish to re-animate an intellectual mastodon. On mediæval subjects he never fixes his attention. He carries away, it may be, a few touches from them, wherewith to adorn his favourite King Arthur. Or he leaves them far behind in his backward course to the Lotophagi and Ulysses. Here he is once more in the region of the beautiful. But that grotesqueness, which in the middle ages veiled so much that was noble and excellent, has no charm for him. We are thankful that he has not attempted themes so foreign to his nature. A little more elaboration, and even Sir Galahad would become disagreeable. What could be more to be deprecated than a portrait of some mediæval saint or hero in the style of S. Simeon Stylites ?

Mr. Tennyson's province is, we have said, rather the future than the past. Not that here he can claim a high preeminence. He is not ignorant indeed of his privilege to aspire to the rank of a prophet. The poet is to sing of what the world will be when the years have died away. Like all who own the wondrous gift of genius, he is to work mighty works with small means. The viewless arrows of his thoughts are to speed far and wide, and, when at last they light on earth, to take root, and blossom in their season, and produce at last—

‘ A flower all gold,
And bravely furnish'd all abroad to fling
The winged shafts of truth,
To throng with stately blooms the breathing spring
Of hope and youth.’

His word is to be the lever with which wisdom shall move the world. In this kind of vague anticipation Mr. Tennyson delights. He looks forward to a higher state of society, in which some general good shall result from the conflicts of base and noble, of true and false, of knowledge and opinion. The poet is to have no small share in the work. But how he is to forward it, appears not. Only, as he sings, this palace of Art and Morals is to rise like an exhalation. A nobler Amphion, he shall not only bring down from the mountain-top young ashes pirouetting with young beeches, but shall exercise his taming, ordering, humanising influences over the hearts of men. The result, indeed, is altogether above his direct purpose. He is to be great beyond his sense of his vocation; and while he is only thinking to enchant men with his melody, is to instruct them unaware by his words.

It would be hard indeed to expect more than this from Mr. Tennyson. We must be content to see him implicitly acknowledge, that the noble task of standing in the van of the world, and leading on to good; of marshalling all that it has of beauty and excellence for the battle; of suggesting new lines of operation, new channels of thought, and thus developing its powers by combining them, belongs to other poets, but not to him. He is not far enough above the common mind to see into futurity. His full and gorgeous foregrounds dim the horizon into indefinite blueness. He paints things as he sees them. He does not lift his half-closed eye from the rounded forms of beauty close at hand, to look into the cold clear distance. He is told that it is beautiful, and that contents him. Or he would imagine it beautiful, if it were not so. His eyes would see pictures, though they were shut. Let the world run its course. Why should its tumult break his dream, if only it is pleasant?

And here we take our farewell of Mr. Tennyson, lamenting that, with all his great beauties, he must be, comparatively, a poet of the day. The present is so exclusively his sphere, that he cannot transcend it. On that which is permanent in human nature he has very little hold. Those feelings which beat in the breast of Adam, and will throb in the hearts of his latest posterity, he dwells on only indirectly, in their lesser traits and consequences. The life of struggle and action, of cut and thrust, plot and counterplot, has none of his sympathies. The solemn, the sublime, the terrible both of art and nature; the ideas which are common to man, woman, and child; which all recognise, as if by some Platonic instinct, and love in their shadows, even when they dread them in their substance, he looks at and passes by.

It is not then as a poet of our common humanity that Mr. Tennyson can hope for lasting fame. We must look to some other quarter for his patent of intellectual nobility. And where shall we hope to find it? He has raised no structure of mighty verse on the platform of philosophy. He knows that age succeeds to age, blowing before it a noise of tongues and deeds, of creeds and systems. But he is never bold enough to hope that he has discovered the key which can open the mystery of the world, and detect order in its confusion. His poems are not pregnant with sweet wisdom, or studded with the sententiousness of a refined morality. We seldom like him less than when he buries himself in a cloud of allegory and parable, which is meant to be luminous, but is obscure. He is far from the depths of human sympathy: he is almost as far from the calm height of philosophical enthusiasm.

In the halls of Divine song, Mr. Tennyson never ventures to tread. No one could call him a Christian poet. We do not say that his poems are never touched even by a reflected beam of the sun of religion. A purer, calmer light than that of his common day, falls by the bed-side of the dying May-queen, gleams on the helmet of the maiden-knight Sir Galahad, and whitens into silver the first snow-drop of the year, as it lies in the bosom of S. Agnes. But this does not amount to much. Most poets have written on sacred subjects, as most painters have drawn Madonnas. And Mr. Tennyson's good taste has given him the advantage over many of either tribe, by leading him to modify, if not to alter, his style to suit his subject.

But we are in danger of digressing; the more so, because we are unwilling to say what must be said after all. We have searched for a place for Mr. Tennyson among the ideal artists, and cannot find one. We are obliged to confess, that his world is the world of sense; his beauty, is the beauty of colour and form and touch, not of mind. He is neither intellectual nor spiritual. Though it spoil the regularity of our terminations, we will rather say that he is sensuous than sensual.

Mr. Tennyson, in a word, swims in the shallow waters of taste. We admire and appreciate his beauties at present; but we feel that they would not be half understood, if any wide-sweeping change passed over society. And if time do the work gradually, the effect will at last be the same.

A hundred years may pass, and the genius of the English language may have slightly altered. Shakspeare and Pope will still in that case be admired; but Mr. Tennyson will not. He will seem to the reader of those days, frigid and affected in style, in proportion as he now seems original and novel.

His similes will be as difficult for others to appreciate, as they

were for him to discover. Where their material is genuine, they will have to be melted down and remodelled before they can be employed. 'The Princess' will be a mine of conceits, to be opened occasionally for the benefit of the curious.

His men and women—we hope our descendants will not like them. A figure here and there may be picked out for approval; but half their graces will be gone, and the other half faded; society will have changed its tone; new conventionalities will have rendered the old unpleasing; and the very ordinary clay of which the figures are made, will show through as their wrappings fall off them.

It is in the present age that Mr. Tennyson must look for honour. Happily, it is not slow to grant it. He has laboured for us most successfully, and should receive all due acknowledgment of his labours. We must grant him thanks and praise and, in some sense, admiration. But, in justice to ourselves, we must deny him the title of great. That poet is not great who can amuse us, but cannot awe us; who, when he opens to us the treasury of his thoughts, shows us only the counterpart of our own; at whose feet we feel less disposed to sit, than to call him before us to receive our judgment; whose beauty is without elevation, whose effort is without strength, whose repose is without dignity, and whose philosophy is without wisdom.

Mr. Tennyson is not a great poet. We can scarcely any longer hope that he will achieve greatness. Into that highest circle of the sons of song, who are wise beyond their generation, and belong only accidentally to the age in which they live, and compete for no honours which are not wider than their own time and country, he cannot ask to enter. But he is the poet of the day; nor has any rival yet appeared who seems likely to dethrone him. The loss is more the world's than his own. He is far enough above mediocrity for the full vindication of his dignity. He may sit in his place many years. We will pay him due homage, with one reservation. If he is king, it is not in a generation of giants.

- ART. VII.—1. *Practical Christian's Library*. Parker; Masters; Mozley.
2. *Devotional Library*. Edited by WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK. Slocombe: Leeds.
3. *Christian Knowledge Society Publications*.
4. *Hints on Private Devotion*, by the Rev. C. MARRIOTT, *Fellow of Oriel College*. Parker: Oxford.

THE publication of cheap religious books has of late years become so prominent a feature of the age, that the subject, as a whole, calls for special examination. Some guide is wanted, first, in the selection from so vast a number, and then in solving the practical question of how best to promote the circulation of such as are most suitable.

The necessity of providing religious books adapted for the most extended circulation, is an obvious consequence of the educational movement. Those who teach children to read are responsible for their having the means of making good use of the privilege when they grow up beyond the discipline of school. The evil and mischief which ensue from turning young men adrift into the lower world of letters, to pick up the food for their minds, which comes most readily to hand, need not be enlarged on: yet we doubt whether modern education does practically supply any system of religious or devotional reading at all commensurate with the opportunity for its use. Books of this kind are cheap enough, but among the lower classes they have not yet found admission. There is often a great desire for them in times of sickness, and a general feeling that such books ought to be in the house; but the idea is not impressed on the mind of the poor, that the habit of reading should follow from education, or that scholarship, even in its elementary definition, is a talent which all who possess are bound to use in a religious manner, and for religious purposes. The notion, moreover, of buying a book never occurs to them, for they scarcely know how. A labouring man would feel strange in a bookseller's shop inquiring for a book of devotions. The very knowledge indeed of how to get books is, if we consider, part of the whole literary system which the uninitiated are strangely ignorant of. Villages, as a rule, are wholly destitute even of the humblest stall for the sale of books; and in populous towns the shops which are frequented by the poor, deal principally in alphabets and periodical literature of that trashy and often mischievous kind, which delights in an odd mixture of political satire, horrible tragedy, and bold romance, calculated neither to make the readers of it better

citizens nor better men. A few old religious books are indeed found in cottages descended from past generations, or bought at old book-stalls, such as appear at country fairs, and have a continued existence in London and the larger towns. These are often much esteemed, and deservedly so; for though a great proportion are from Puritan divines, and are curious examples of their prolixity and affectation, yet most excellent manuals of prayer, and curious editions of good writers, are not unfrequently found. We have by us now, for instance, a manual of prayers without any title-page, but printed, as would appear from internal evidence, between 1580 and 1590, remarkable for an agreeable and religious flow of language. We have also the second edition of Laud's '*Officium Quotidianum*,' printed 1663, reprinted in Dr. Hook's '*Devotional Library*' from a subsequent and enlarged form of the work. There is also evidence of a popular circulation of Jeremy Taylor's writings having at one time been established.

And, now, what has the modern religious world supplied to the libraries of the poor in this age of education and cheap printing? We do not say it has done nothing, but we think too little of a really useful kind, except the extended distribution of Bibles and Prayer-books. Tracts, indeed, have been abundant from all quarters, but their circulation is like the flight of the bird or the arrow, the trace of whose path cannot be found. They have their use and position, but the chief wants of the poor man in the way of reading cannot be supplied by them; they make no addition to his shelf that can excite the respect of himself or his children; they acquire no time-hallowed authority, and, above all, they are not the publications from which habits of devotion are formed.

Lending libraries we are not considering; their province is with books of more general information; and although originated occasionally with other views, they are practically found to be very indifferent means of promoting strictly religious reading. Nor should we advocate the idea of forcing religious books into people's houses, to take their chance of being read during the limited period which such a library can allow. Even if books were read in this manner, we would doubt their use; for a religious book ought to be a companion rather than a passing stranger; and much religious reading, in a desultory way, we have heard aptly and truly compared to over-eating, or any other excess of a beneficial exercise.

The fact that the poor do not readily procure religious books of themselves, is not a subject of complaint, for much harm would result if they manifested any great eagerness to make such purchases; the demand would create a supply propor-

tionate in quality to the judgment and power of choice in the buyer: on the contrary, we congratulate our Church on the little permanent impression made on the standard theology of the poor by schismatical literature. Take Wesleyanism as an instance of a great and carefully ordered religious system of the present age; tracts which lie for a week or month on some table or shelf, are almost the only reading it supplies. It is, we believe, a remarkable fact, and one by no means calculated to make us form an untrue estimate of Wesleyanism, that all the tokens of its existence, and the machinery of its system, are of the most evanescent description, and could all be blotted out from the memory of the people as the fancy of an excited brain, when the Church is prepared, and is allowed to fill its place in the mind of the poor. The same may be said of the religious writings of modern Protestant schools within the Church. The dogmas of that theology are no doubt firmly established as a prejudice in the minds of a vast number of our Church, and of many whom we should be sorry to speak slightly of; but what is there in the written works of such professedly *negative* divines, which seems likely to influence a succeeding generation? Neither their critical nor devotional literature have a permanent character impressed on them. They are of a sort not calculated to outlive a certain personal, and often, we will add, deserved popularity of the party which promulgates them.

The great engine of the Church, however, in the promotion of Christian knowledge by the diffusion of sound religious books—we mean, of course, the Society whose name thus describes its purpose—may seem to have been omitted in our general estimate of what has been done in the Church. Much we owe to its steady and uniform character in lax theological times, and much good has it done in the cottages of the poor, and in the hours of sickness, and in the work of educating the young in religious knowledge. But yet these good offices have not, we think, been in proportion to the wants of the people. Its large distribution of Bibles and Prayer-books is beside our present purpose, and absorbs a great proportion of its funds from the peculiar province for which we would now consider it the Church's agent. Again, if its circulation of instructive or educational, but not strictly religious, books, is taken into consideration, and also if we deduct from its religious catalogue what are but tracts, we shall find only a small list remaining, and that list but little called for, in proportion to the rest of the catalogue. The statistics of the Society also may give an over-estimate of its usefulness in all its branches, from the fact that its books are distributed at the reduced price among those who could easily

afford to procure religious books otherwise than from a charitable institution. A subscriber, for instance, of a pound, may easily nullify his subscription by taking books, which from their low price draw on the Society's funds to that amount, or upwards. If the books thus purchased are not made use of by the poor, the chief object of the Society is defeated; though at the same time it is shown that the want of some guide in the selection of books, and some security for their soundness, is much felt, and that the Society is looked to as supplying this.

It may be well here to consider a great fundamental difficulty in the operation of any general plan or system, either for the distribution of religious books, or for any other Church purpose. The difficulty we refer to is nothing new, no fresh discovery, but in its very nature it must ever be a hindrance to the cause of good, and therefore no system or theory is on a sound basis which does not recognise and make allowance for it. We refer to the variously developed forms of false doctrine, heresy, and schism. People unfortunately do not agree on religious subjects, and therefore will not work together. Any system, therefore, however beautiful or theoretically good, which yet presupposes unity of views in its plan of operation, is unpractical and unsound. Moreover, we must be content on this, as on other points, with an imperfect and irregular result, for we cannot have a satisfactory building on a broken or divided foundation. It is in the laws of Providence as it is in the teaching of the Gospel, that if one member suffer, the others suffer with it. The general good, therefore, will always suffer from want of unity, for that is in itself an evil. How can it be otherwise as far as human means are employed in promoting good? If men will not work together, of course they cannot accomplish any end in a satisfactory manner; nor have we any faith in a theory that endeavours to avoid this difficulty by a forced unity for one object, leaving old sores rankling under a temporary disguise. Thus the practical laxity of discipline in the Church of England, if compared with the true theory of a Church, is the necessary and inevitable consequence of the variety of sentiments within her. If, therefore, individuals imagine they suffer from the want of method and strictness in her discipline, they must learn with patience to submit to a loss which is the natural result of a Divine law, and of the existing order of things. To mend this we must lay the foundation of more general agreement, and then hope that a more strict ecclesiastical rule, with its convocations, its discipline, and solemn practices, may be the natural and simultaneous fruit.

A violent adoption of the machinery, when the spirit of the Church goes not hand in hand with it in that imperceptible

mingling of cause and effect which characterizes the true working of the human heart, is no real advance, for the ground must be traversed again.

Though we have a little wandered from our subject in these remarks, we think that the same line of argument may be adopted with regard to minor arrangements, such as the distribution of religious books, which we have thus applied on a larger scale to the general practice of the Church. Under existing circumstances we must not hope for that assistance which a general agreement of purpose is so wonderfully capable of affording. We must not indulge in any magnificent ideal system of organizing a complete distribution of ecclesiastically sanctioned religious books among the members of our Church. The work must be done as best it can in spite of acknowledged difficulties. A general system under authority is impracticable, and party systems, beyond a certain license of mutual cooperation, will ever have a just prejudice hanging over them: it thence follows, that the chief responsibility will rest on individual clergymen, who must form their own plans. And here we arrive at the same point at which we had previously aimed when talking of the inability of the poor to procure books. The Clergyman of a parish is the proper and acknowledged referee on such matters, and the Church does practically lay the responsibility on him. The parochial system should be looked on as the provider of the people's reading, as well as of their oral instruction.

The same difficulty will of course appear within the small limits of a parish, which we have alluded to in a larger field. Difference of opinion will prevent many from receiving their clergyman's recommendation. But this cannot be helped. The parochial authority must be maintained, and as opposition has to be endured on other points, so a clergyman must not shrink from exercising his legitimate influence on this, in spite of hard words. So much of system and order as the position of our clergy gives, cannot be dispensed with in providing the people's religious reading, any more than in relieving their temporal necessities, which is so universally the Church's province. And this duty is acknowledged sufficiently to be thoroughly worked out by any individual clergyman without the least appearance of doing anything new; for many have always kept a strict guard on their parishioners in this respect, and have been good householders, bringing out from their store 'things new and old,' as they are most needed. Yet, as a regular part of the clerical office, it would be new; for, practically, there are few who really know what books to recommend, or who have any regular plan for promoting their circulation if they have an adopted list.

Nothing can be more obvious than that a clergyman has the best possible opportunity of recommending or of distributing books. He is acquainted with the feelings and education of his parishioners, and sees them under the various occasions of life most suitable for religious impression and the formation of religious habits. It will not be his interest to promote an indiscriminate distribution, but his impartial judgment will incline him to sow only where there is a chance of fruit, and to look forward to the probable use that will be made of a book before he wishes to leave it as a possession.

The three principal considerations on this subject, which we propose to notice separately, are, first, what books to put on the parochial list; secondly, how and at what seasons to distribute them; and, thirdly, from what funds to provide them where it is found necessary to frank their admission to the cottages of the poor. The first, as the one which requires the most full examination, we reserve till the others have been noticed, except to remark, in passing, that they should be few, as implying care in the selection and a wish to avoid a cursory method of using them; and that they should be under distinct classifications, such as those purely devotional, including prayers, meditations, and manuals connected with the Holy Communion; and books illustrative of the Bible, or explanatory of the Church services or the Church's history.

The seasons for giving away or recommending books are in some cases obvious, and in others cannot well be defined, but will be felt in the management of a parish. School prizes afford an opportunity of laying the foundation of a future library. The nature of the books thus given will depend much on the age of the scholars, but still more on the *general devotional character* which influences the school. Unless this spirit is imparted, and the children are brought up in habits of deep reverence, such as are seen in but few schools, either Daily or Sunday-schools, we cannot imagine that strictly devotional works will be most fit for prizes. Books of this nature should never be given except we have reason to believe they will be in good hands. Experience would teach us that they do not create devotion by their mere presence, but should be looked on as treasures and acquisitions from the gratification which they afford to some previous desire, or the opportunity they give of performing an acknowledged duty. Children are most devotional in their habits of mind if properly instructed, but they are peculiarly dependent on example and on the external system of religion. Where this is ever before their eyes, devotional books may be given with safety; but if the Protestant theory of religion is still dominant, and devotion is looked on as simultaneous only with the powers

of reasoning and judgment, then it will be better to confine the prizes of the school to the illustrative or explanatory class; for never should devotional books be given where they will probably be neglected, and thus only encourage the bad habit of familiarity with sacred words unsanctified by use. Books of devotion, again, if given at all as prizes, should be given under a special system, and not be mixed up with other merely entertaining works, so that one boy gets a book of prayers, and his neighbour a book full of nice coloured pictures, quite at random. This is too severe a test for the youthful imagination, and the result will seldom be favourable to the due appreciation of the former.

It would also be objectionable in any general distribution to give a devotional book as marking the clergyman's opinion of certain children. Perhaps, therefore, the better plan is to give such books to children at their own homes, although the knowledge of their characters has been formed at the school. The parents could thus be instructed to give their aid and example, and the idea would thus best be communicated that religious habits were to be taken home, and had not only to do with school.

The great time, however, for the giving of devotional books is at Confirmation. This is generally a season of great intimacy between a clergyman and the younger part of his flock, who will soon be the men and women of his parish. The susceptibilities of youth are, at the usual age of Confirmation, happily combined with the opening powers of thought. Custom also then sanctions a more accurate examination into conscience, on the part of a clergyman, than would be palatable to many members of our Church at the after stages of life. The instruction previous to Confirmation is the nearest approach to Confession, which our Church now popularly encourages, except on the bed of sickness. That over, the general rule, we fear, is for the clergyman to lose sight of many about whom he had felt much interest, and whom, as it were, he sent into the world with the seed in their hearts, to bear fruit as the soil turns out good or bad. It is therefore a most important time, and it is especially needful that some reminiscence of it should be carried through after life. Instruction may soon be forgotten, good intentions soon die away, and religious habits may not bear the disturbances of the outward world, if left without a guide, which otherwise might take firm hold. An effort, therefore, should, we think, always be made to give two or three books to each person, on the subject of the Holy Communion, in the first place, and also a manual of general prayers and meditations.

Only few easily defined opportunities will occur after Con-

firmation, except where the work has been then omitted, and so remains to be done as circumstances suggest the propriety. With regard to regular church-goers and communicants, this will be easy enough; but devotional books, as we said before, must not be expected to produce of themselves these results, if distributed promiscuously. Sickness is an obvious time for leaving a religious book as a memento of resolutions then formed. Except in acute diseases, the leisure of sickness is a good opportunity for becoming acquainted with a book; and all books of this nature require that they should be known before they do much good, as a friend is more consolatory than a stranger. Of sickness, however, as a season of repentance, much is often said which experience does not warrant. It makes good people better, it confirms resolutions, and strengthens or develops habits of piety, but it does not often work a moral renovation from bad to good, nor from its nature and immediate consequences is it calculated to do so, except as giving occasion for some accidental new influences. Such a change requires the energies of the mind peculiarly strong, and the religious emotions of a sick-bed can, at most, be said but to prepare the way for the great struggle when the accustomed strength of body and mind return, and the invalid is again himself. Long diseases or lingering death-beds are not here spoken of, but only the more violent attacks of illness, which throw the sufferer out of any true knowledge of himself, from pain, weakness, or fear.

Other occasions of life may be mentioned which are well marked by receiving a devotional book from the clergyman of the parish. The commencement of any new ties, either of business and occupation, of marriage, or of altered fortune, either for better or for worse; a change of residence from a native parish, especially if for the purpose of emigrating to distant parts of the world; or a clergyman's own leave-taking, may all be marked, if convenient, in this way. Many opportunities also may occur of recommending such books as will form suitable presents from sponsors to their godchildren, from one friend to another, or from a master to his servants. The principal consideration, however, is not the particular time at which to give religious books, but the general care that such people as really wish for them, or would profit by them, should, either by advice in the selection or by actual gift, be put in the way of procuring them.

We will now briefly consider the means whereby books may best be distributed, and the funds from which the expense can be defrayed, where it is expedient to give them away. The books we are speaking of should be *possessions*, not *loans*, therefore they must be bought or given. In some parishes, of course,

the expense would be great, even if proper judgment was exercised in their distribution; but if the end is adequate to the expense, efforts should be made to procure the means. A clergyman should always have it in his power to give away a book, where, in the course of his parochial duty, he finds it likely to do good. He will often be able to do this without any assistance, where the parish is small and his income liberal; but as it often happens that these two conditions are reversed, he will require aid. Books, however, are so cheap, and the Christian Knowledge Society so great an assistance to those who choose from its list, that we cannot imagine there need be much difficulty in maintaining a fund which, with care, will suffice, where at least the importance of the subject is more laid before people than at present. Take, for instance, a parish of five thousand inhabitants, and suppose that on an average fifty are confirmed each year, whom it would be necessary to present with the books they ought to have. If the expense of this was five shillings a head, the sum total would amount to twelve pounds ten shillings. Make this twenty, to include all other calls, and we shall have the utmost expense on a very liberal scale. If necessary, this may be reduced to any extent, and still good be done in proportion. A few private subscriptions could in most places be obtained, and a portion of the offertory would be well disposed of in this way, for spiritual as well as temporal gifts are sanctioned by the sentences which are read during its collection. The overwhelming proportion of poor in the population of some places will defy any efforts to extend the parochial system according to such numerical plans; but let the duty be once fully acknowledged, and then let it take its chance with other branches of a clergyman's work. Practically, we fear that the expense would be too small, if proper judgment was used in giving only to those who would appreciate the value of such helps to devotion.

It may, however, be asked, In what manner should a clergyman's list of books be introduced to the notice of those who may be expected and invited to purchase for themselves? It is always more desirable that people should buy than that they should receive without cost or trouble to themselves, unless poverty is a sufficient cause, or unless there is some *feeling* or sentiment, if we may so express it, in the act of giving. Human nature has a strong disposition to value things by the sacrifice required to obtain them. Education is but little valued among the poor where it is too cheap and easy of access, unless some other reason should promote a feeling of gratitude for the advantages enjoyed. So it would be in the case of religious books. People should be taught to buy them, and

there ought always to be some good reason, either of necessity or of feeling, for presenting them as free gifts.

We do not wish, however, that the clergyman of a parish should turn bookseller; such an arrangement would be equally inconvenient to buyer and seller, though in some very small rural parishes it would be unnecessary or difficult to adopt any other plan. Where there is a respectable bookseller, let him be engaged to keep the 'Devotional books recommended by the clergyman of the parish,' and to have a notice put up in his window to that effect. He should keep these distinct from any books he may have not so recommended. It matters little, however, who may have them for sale, provided it is known. Any other shop would do, where no desirable bookseller is in the place; or some better educated and religiously disposed old woman, some one who keeps a small school, might be a suitable person to open shop. The stock-in-trade, however, in the latter case, must be the investment of the clergyman, or taken from his fund. The sale of Bibles, and Prayer-books, would naturally be part of the same concern; and we cannot but imagine that almost every parish might adopt some plan for the purpose we suggest, which would be simple, easy of management, and calculated to do much good.

As an introduction to the third and chief part of our subject, viz.—the books which a clergyman may thus recommend, we will make a few general remarks on the wants and necessities of different classes of people, and the hold which the parochial system has over them respectively. In some remarks that have been made, we may seem to have fallen into the popular idea that the parochial system has only to do with the poor. This patronising manner of looking on the clergyman and the *poor people*, as the characters of a sentimental drama, to soothe the pious moments of fashionable gentlemen and ladies, as something external to themselves, except so far as in an occasional cottage visit they act the clerical part, is not to our taste. The parochial system should maintain its spiritual character, and in spiritual matters should exhibit the equality of Christ's flock under the superintendence of their ordained pastor. Practically, however, some classes will ever come more immediately within the clergyman's influence than others; the poor, from their helplessness, are the sanctified and peculiar care of the pastoral office; but it will nevertheless happen, that circumstances prevent their being, as a class, so ready to profit by some details of spiritual assistance, as one rather above them. Again, the higher classes are, from change of residence and other influences, more independent, and a clergyman has not that hold over them as parishioners, which is felt by people in the more striving and

busy paths of life. The better educated will also be independent of assistance from the clerical office on many points, about which the more ignorant have a claim on his counsel and advice. The many classes between the highest and lowest are practically more under the clergyman's *spiritual* direction than either extreme. They form the great proportion of the congregations of our Church, and, if on this account only, are the class most prepared for the operation of any parochial plans for religious reading. Books of private devotion have obviously no place on the shelves of those who care not for the public worship of the Church. Apart from such considerations as to the various wants of different classes, (some of which will be forced on a clergyman, and some will be the natural consequence of good taste and modesty on his part,) we may boldly state the wants and necessities of all classes are one and the same, as far as they go. As the public services are one for all, so we cannot see that there is much variety wanted in private devotions. The different circumstances of human life are but as a thin crust on the heart—the passions, tempers, and inclinations, are the same in all, as also are the antidotes, and the means of salvation. Even on the subject of language, we shall presently argue that no difference is required in more necessary devotions between the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated.

The largest class for which religious books are now wanted, as emanating from the parochial system, are the less educated middle classes, including farmers, shopkeepers, and a vast number of *employés* in every kind of service. This class, as a whole, are the most regular Church people of the present age, and they are generally an intelligent class, who are rising by means of their own exertions. Yet, from the great demand on their time and energies, which secular business usurps, they are deficient in religious knowledge, often to a greater extent than a class below, which has the benefit of free education. It is not for us to say of any class that they are negligent of private devotion, but it may safely be stated that the class we are speaking of are possessed of exceedingly few good religious and devotional books. Surely, however, they need a guide, more perhaps than any other people, to draw their minds from the distractions of business; for they have much to occupy their thoughts, and but little religious knowledge to start with. Yet industry, and a cheerful submission to labour, which are the characteristics of this class, are so highly to be esteemed, as religious virtues, that wherever they exist, a blessing may ever be looked for, and that class deserves the greatest spiritual care, as being the most hopeful, and affording the best material on which to work. There is a sterling worth, and a substantial

character about a laborious class; especially about those of it who with some distant, and often unselfish aim in view, volunteer to spend their whole strength and vigour in the yoke, when on much easier terms they might themselves enjoy the necessities of life, and leave their children no worse chance in the world than they started with. Much obstinacy and prejudice ought to be leniently dealt with in such people, considering the good foundation of natural religion which they possess, on which to build the Church's system, if labour is bestowed on them, and time allowed for the truth to work its way. In these remarks we do not forget the blessing on unambitious labour also, which looks for no earthly reward whatever.

It is time, however, now, that we come to consider the books themselves, which a clergyman may put on his list, and, as it were, make his own for parochial purposes. They should be *his own* in a sense secondary only to his own compositions; he should adopt them, and let them represent his character and teaching, in the same way that his own productions would. It is common to judge of a man by the books that are on his table; so a clergyman's parochial teaching may be told by the books he recommends. He must not, therefore, be indiscriminate in his choice, or be anxious to have many on his list, as far at least as devotional books are concerned. Of private prayers it would often be best to have but one; family prayers might be included in this one, or form a small separate book, according to choice. Of Manuals on the Lord's Supper he cannot do better than retain also but one, or one perhaps in addition to Bishop Wilson's — (the S. P. C. K. edition is not to be depended on.) Of Meditations he would have a greater variety, but half-a-dozen would be sufficient under this head. Books of instruction, catechetical, illustrative of Scripture, the Church services, Church history, would necessarily be more numerous. If we enlarged further under the head of religious entertainment, we should enter the province of lending libraries, whereas our object at present is more with books that do not so well answer their purpose if only lent. It is well, however, to have a fair number of such on the list, and good ones of this class are not difficult to find.

Religious books naturally are divided under the four heads of Prayer, Meditation, Instruction, and Amusement. These distinctions should be clearly kept in view, although the line of demarcation may sometimes be arbitrary, and one class may seem to run into another. The two first, indeed, we will consider under the head of Devotion, for though distinct subjects in themselves, they are generally to be found in the same book. Under each head we will first look to the books on the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as that Society

is the nearest approach which we possess to an ecclesiastically sanctioned publication of books, for the general use of the Church of England; though, as we implied before, such a scheme cannot really answer in the present divided state of the Church. Books of a marked character are not admitted on such a list; there is, consequently, a want of interest attaching to it; and the result often is, that neither party make any great use of the books which are thus put before them. The Society, however, has very good and sound books on its list, in spite of these influences; and as the circumstances of some parishes make it more convenient to use only what it provides, although we would not recommend such restrictions, we will, nevertheless, give its list the precedence in considering each class of books.

Under the head of Devotion the task of choosing will not be without trouble. A Catholic Manual of Private Prayers, so simple in idea, and so easy of the most general application, is yet hard to find. There would almost appear to be a providential reason why the Church has not, by common consent, agreed at least in this one thing, viz. in recommending some manual as the foundation of all daily habits of Christian life. The difficulty has been productive of good in very many cases, since it has occasioned private manuals to be drawn up by the clergy, for the use of their own parishioners, which of itself is a most desirable practice, both on account of the appropriateness likely to be the result, and the anxiety thereby shown to encourage devotion. As an instance of the benefit resulting from such a book of prayers, we venture to insert an extract from a private Letter of a clergyman, whose experience of his own book extends over twenty years. 'I find that people of all ranks rest upon that book, without ever laying it aside, and that children with their fidgety fingers, and grown people with their dirty ones, and old people with their horny ones, among the poor, go on to use it, and to prize it, at a rate which often makes me wish it was what it ought to be.'

The Christian Knowledge Society sets a good example in the manner of getting up books for parochial use, and this is a great point in establishing their permanent use. We hope that other books will improve in this respect, but many at present are in far too small print for old eyes, and by no means put together to withstand the wear and tear of constant use. Devotional books 150 or 200 years old are good models often of print and binding. The type in the early editions of our great divines of about that period is generally large and clear, while the book itself is small, and therefore easily put away or carried about. Good strong leather also and effectual stitching made them lasting and convenient books. We recommend this subject to the

notice of publishers as likely to promote a regular circulation, even if at rather an advanced price. At any rate, when a book has passed through the ordeal of a first edition and established its position, let it be bolder in the second, and come out in more lasting costume. If books are to be companions of the Christian's life, and not merely read through and laid aside, they must be made of like material with their owners, and with them be able to endure a few reverses of fortune, and the ups and downs of the world. This, however, is a point which entirely depends on the price people are willing to pay. If there is a demand for strongly bound religious books, it will soon meet its supply. The blame of their being too lightly got up, rests not on the publishers, but rather it is an index that the ultimate destination of the books is not among the poor, or even for regular use among any, but rather to feed the craving which a few have for collecting a variety of such books, or perhaps as samples among the clergy. When the latter is the case, we may have hope that those which seem most fit for parochial use will ultimately be thus applied, and for that purpose be put into a proper dress.

From the exterior we look to the contents. The Society has several very useful manuals and devotional works, but on the whole it is deficient, considering the magnitude of its pretensions and its ample field of choice. Bishop Andrewes, Ken, Nelson, Wilson, Beveridge, Hall, and a few other standard English divines, are on its list; but, on the other hand, Mr. Trimmer's name occurs six times to Jeremy Taylor's once. 'The Golden Grove' is the only work of this Shakspeare among divines in the whole catalogue. This gives us some clue to the general inclination of a certain kind of modern theology. Trimmer *versus* Taylor, is indefinite and generalizing piety, unilluminated by any brightness of imagination, and conveyed in what is called simple language, *versus* the practical and explicit teaching of Catholic truth, and the holy contemplations of divine mysteries through the medium of a profound and energetic human intellect. Now it is an interesting question, about which there are various opinions, as to the sort of language most suited to the ignorant and illiterate. It is often said that fine language is all very well for those who can understand it, but the poor require to be taught in a plain and easy manner. It certainly is an axiom of rhetoric that, barring a slight allowance for the over-awing effect of an apparent incommunicable depth of thought, the language used must appeal to the heart through the intelligence, and therefore must be in the first place understood. But what is called plain language goes farther than this; it often commits a great rhetorical error in neglecting to use the natural

language of the heart when addressing those peculiarly the children of nature; in its effort at simplicity of words, it forgets the assistance which the imagination will give to the comprehension of the unlearned. However simple mere language may be, an uneducated mind finds it hard to work out its meaning if it is a dry intellectual problem, and so requires a careful and regular digestion of the whole sentence in order to arrive at its object. Add, however, a little of that language of the heart which is common to the learned and unlearned, we mean the fancy or imagination, and then the ultimate idea will be arrived at sooner, even if a few hard words have to be swallowed in rather gaping bewilderment. This latter obstacle, however, we gloss over, not as arguing in defence of hard words in modern writing, but only with reference to such writers as Jeremy Taylor, whose style it was, in common with the age, to use an elaborate Latin phraseology. Good and striking language is essential in the devotional books of all classes, but especially are the uneducated dependent upon it. Those who have greater advantages and greater powers of applying the mind, can understand and receive ideas in spite of imperfection and dryness of style; but to the poor, a dry style is as emptiness: they can absorb no ideas from it. As an illustration of the difference of style, we will compare the openings of two discourses on prayer. The first is from 'The new Manual of Devotion,' published by the Society, and the second is Taylor's.

'The reasonableness, as well as necessity of frequent prayer, is a truth so well established among Christians, that it is hard to account how a duty, attended with so many advantages, should be so much neglected as it is: one would be apt to think, that some men who profess to believe that "God is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him," are not in earnest, since they are so negligent in paying him that duty of homage and adoration, which even nature itself, without the help of revelation, would teach them to be due from the creature to the Creator.'

We do not say but that this is well written, and conveys a truth accurately and clearly expressed; as compared however with the other commencement of a like discourse, there is a want of fire as an incentive to the mind.

'The soul of a Christian is the house of God; "Ye are God's building," saith S. Paul; but the house of God is the house of prayer; and therefore prayer is the work of the soul, whose organs are intended for instruments of the Divine praises; and when every stop and pause of those instruments is but the conclusion of a collect, and every breathing is a prayer, then the body becomes a temple, and the soul is the sanctuary and more private recess and place of intercourse.'

Some of the small collections of prayers published by the Society, are from the best authors, as Ken and Wilson; but, on the other hand, some are liable to the objection of coldness and stiffness. The Deity is addressed too simply under the one

general name, and the tone of the prayer refers too exclusively to the condition of him that prays, rather than having for its object to raise the mind to communion with heavenly things after the proper offices of confession and humiliation have been performed. The component parts of prayer are often mixed up together in one general strain, without sufficient reference to the doctrinal faith of a Christian, and consequently too neglectful of our membership with Christ in all the privileges, the difficulties, and the life itself of humanity.

'The Devotions of Bishop Andrewes' are a great contrast, however, to some of these smaller collections on the list. The peculiar fault we have been speaking of is far from being found in Bishop Andrewes. There is a strikingly Christian tone in all his prayers. They are the effusions of a heart deeply impressed with the *life* of Christ and the circumstances of our redemption. We would strongly recommend the large print edition, from its clear type, convenient size, and strong binding. 'The new Manual of Devotion' is a good and comprehensive book, with a well arranged index, which is most essential when many different occasions are the subjects of its contents. The 'Office of Daily Devotion' (from Hele's select offices) is also considered to be a good parochial book. We could mention favourably several others to which no names are attached, as the 'Pious Parishoner,' and others also for which the author's name would be a sufficient guarantee; but it would be far beyond our purpose to review the whole list of the Society. Those who prefer using its books, can, with the assistance of a catalogue, at once pick out books of standard value and good Church views, to fill up any parochial list he may wish to keep.

In the general world of religious literature we must also decline undertaking to review all the books and reprints which are now before the public. 'The Practical Christian's Library,' however, deserves special notice as a most excellent series. It is chiefly composed of reprints and abridgements from the best divines of the English Church, though it includes also a very useful form of 'S. Augustine's Confessions,' and 'The Imitation of Christ.'

Dr. Hook's 'Devotional Library' is another publication of somewhat the same kind, though of smaller size and cheaper in price. Their appearance in consequence does not imply a very prolonged use, for the print is too small except for good eyes and a favourable light, while the whole book would infallibly tumble to pieces if handled by rough fingers. The plan of them is exceedingly good, and the seasons of the Christian year are admirably marked by suitable contemplations.

In both of these series, Ken's prayers are adopted from his

Winchester Manual. Excellent as this book is, it is too much broken up, and too comprehensive in its original form, to be taken as a regular manual of prayers; its more proper place is that of a guide to the Holy Communion. Andrewes' Prayers, we believe, will be found most adapted for general use. There is still room, however, for a well arranged, clear manual, printed in a separate form. A large book, too comprehensive in its subjects, hinders a regular and systematic use of certain daily prayers. The work of arrangement is all that is required, for ample material in Andrewes, Ken, Taylor, and many others, at once presents itself. Among all the manuals of private prayers we know of, none include all the necessary acts of devotion in their regular order and under their distinct heads, so that no difficulty may occur in finding out what should be used, and in referring to confusing directions. For general use, however, this is most necessary. If a week is the period chosen for the round of a prayer-book variety, which is probably the most desirable plan, let each morning and evening be complete in itself, and also let it be divided into the several actions of piety, which Jeremy Taylor defines as—1. An act of Adoration; 2. Of Thanksgiving; 3. Of Oblation; 4. Of Confession; 5. Of Petition; 6. Of Intercession; 7. Of Meditation, or reading of the Holy Scriptures. All these, except the last, which the Bible would supply, might be printed in full with the various heads distinctly marked. At the end of the book there should be prayers for special seasons and occasions, to be selected when appropriate, but a complete service of devotion should be ensured independently of this. Some manuals appear to be all occasional prayers, while those for daily use occupy too insignificant a proportion to the whole, and others also are without any, and also without the divisions of each part of devotion. Between the extremes of too numerous headings which have to be put together at the time of prayer, and of too uniform and general an act of devotion, we want simplicity in the use, and completeness in the whole service. 'Holy Thoughts and Prayers' in Dr. Hook's 'Library,' reprinted from 'Laud's Summary,' is well arranged for the seven hours of the day and night, and from its ecclesiastical and devotional tone, is a valuable companion, especially for those whose occupation gives them opportunity for frequent religious exercises. A collection called 'Officia Anglicana' is very highly valued by those whose opinion is important.

Any plan for a manual of private devotions must depend, however, on a variety of outward circumstances, which make it difficult to arrive at a scheme for general use. The frequency of prayer is one thing to be considered; the opportunities of public prayer which are enjoyed, and the views taken of family

prayer, are other important items. Bearing on these subjects we will extract some valuable remarks from 'The whole Duty of Man.' With the exception of that on the Society's list, we are not aware of what modern editions there are of this invaluable and practical work (the one before us is of 1696), but we cannot recommend it too strongly to the notice of all who wish for books of general use. The prayers, which form a separate division of the book, might well be printed by themselves, if it did not appear so sad a loss to omit any part of the work. The notice of Family Prayer in the following address suggests considerations which we will briefly attend to:—

'CHRISTIAN READER,—I have, for the help of thy devotion, set down some Forms of Private Prayer upon several occasions. If it be thought an omission that there are none for families, I must answer for myself, that it was not from any opinion that God is not as well to be worshipped in a family as the closet, but because the providence of God and the Church hath already furnished thee for that purpose infinitely beyond what my utmost care could do,—I mean the Public Liturgy, or Common Prayer, which for all public addresses to God (and such are family prayers) are so excellent and useful, that we may say of it, as David did of Goliath's sword, "There is none like it."'

Family prayer, rather than private prayer, we might almost say, was the taste of the age, judging from the great number of such that have been published of late: yet it remains uncertain whether it is generally considered as private or public prayer; for one or the other it must be, unless it is but a short invocation for the Divine blessing on and as a family. Some look on it as the union of private prayers; but the prayer of the closet might suffer from this view: others take the view of the passage just extracted. Others, again, look on it as a public service, but having an advantage from its greater freedom. These middle religious services are, however, based on a sectarian idea. Family prayer, therefore, would, we imagine, be safest if placed in the light of a substitute for the Church's service, and, therefore, where all the household had an opportunity of attending Morning and Evening Service, a short invocation only of the kind we alluded to would be most appropriate. The question then remains whether the full Church Service should be performed in a private house (excepting, of course, the purely clerical parts, if read by a layman), whether a selection from it, or whether prayers from other sources, should be adopted. The full Church Service would be in danger of losing its distinctive character, if separated from the Church and habitually used without the reverence of holy places. It remains, therefore, between selections from it or other prayers. The former plan is very general, and where it has been the practice in a family, no other prayers are found to answer the same purpose;

but the caution should be observed, we think, not to use the more solemn prayers of the Church's holiest offices too promiscuously. The Confession, for instance, or the Sanctus from the Communion Service, are liable to be used with too common feelings and without becoming reverence if introduced into ordinary family prayers, according to a collection of 'Family Prayers' from the Prayer-book, 'by a Graduate of the University of Cambridge.' Worst of all are the strictly objective prayers taken from the Sacramentary,—the Baptismal Office, and the Eucharistic Service,—for use as Family Prayers. That a collection composed by one of our own most respected Bishops is much used, we look on as a sign of reverence for episcopal authority rather than a general conviction of its peculiar excellence. It is too much composed of bits taken here and there from the Bible and Prayer-book and mixed up with generalizing expressions. The ear, perhaps, has just caught a similar sound when a conclusion of the sentence introduces altogether a different tone.

The forms in Canon Hamilton's 'Family Prayers' contain most excellent collects, but the whole plan, we cannot but imagine, will be found impracticable for general use. Such great variety of posture, and so many responses on the part of, as it were, the congregation, appear awkward in most households. The church and a room cannot be made similar places, nor suited for the same kind of service. Mr. Gladstone's 'Manual of Prayers from the Liturgy' while open to the doubtfulness of using liturgical forms in private, is not clear in arrangement. We do not indeed see what occasion there is for selections to be prepared from a book so thoroughly in every Churchman's mind as the Prayer-book. A few marks in the pages will answer every purpose, and certainly be easier of reference than any book of selections arranged on another system, which still requires reference, but which has not the advantages of general familiarity.

But we will return to 'The whole Duty of Man.' The private prayers for the morning and evening of one day are distinctly placed under the several heads of 'Thanksgiving,' 'Confession,' &c., and in their general wording are admirably suited to members of the English Church. The following remarks then occur on the subject of more frequent devotions, which we think appropriate to the present as to the writer's age:—

'In the ancient Church there were, besides morning and night, four other times every day, which were called Hours of prayer, and the zeal of those first Christians was such as made them constantly observed. It would be thought too great a strictness now in this lukewarm age to enjoin the like frequency: yet I cannot but mention the example, and say, that for those who are not by very necessary business prevented, it will be but

reasonable to imitate it, and make up in public and private those four times of prayer, besides the offices already set down for morning and night, and that none may be to seek how to exercise their devotions at these times, I have added divers collects for several graces, whereof every man may use at each such time of prayer so many as his zeal and leisure shall point out to him, adding, if he please, one of the confessions appointed for morning and night, and never omitting the Lord's Prayer.

'But if any man's state of life be really so busy as will not allow him time for so loving and solemn devotions; yet certainly there is no man so overlaid with business but that he may find leisure oftentimes in a day to say the Lord's Prayer alone; and therefore let him use that if he cannot more. But because it is the character of a Christian that he hath his conversation in heaven, it is very fit that besides these set times of prayer, he should, divers times in a day, by short and sudden ejaculations, dart up his soul thither; and for this sort of devotion no man can want leisure, for it may be performed in the midst of business: the artificer at his work, the husbandman at his plough, may practise it. Now as he cannot want time, so, that he may not want matter for it, I have thought it not unuseful, out of that rich storehouse, the Book of Psalms, to furnish him with some texts which may very fitly be used for this purpose; which, being learnt by heart, will always be ready at hand to employ his devotion; and the matter of them being various, some for pardon of sin, some for grace, some for the light of God's countenance, some for the Church, some for thanksgiving, &c. every man may fit himself according to the present need and temper of his soul. I have given these not as a full collection, but only as a taste, by which the reader's appetite may be raised to search after more in that Book and other parts of Holy Scripture.'

Such a rule as is here suggested is, we think, the most suitable for a manual of prayers intended for general use in the present day. The morning and evening devotions should maintain their more necessary and complete character, while intermediate hours are left to a freer choice and a more voluntary arrangement both in matter and in manner. Confusion sometimes arises from the manner in which a great variety of prayers creep into a collection for different ages, and other circumstances of life. As appropriate collects and occasional prayers these are most necessary; but the foundation of all prayer should be what is common to every age and every state; it should indeed look to the height above and to the depth of the human heart, and not depend on the variations of human affairs. The chief parts of devotion may, therefore, be the same throughout a whole life. A child may pray in words which it need not alter further than adding to them as the responsibilities of life increase. The varieties of individual character come under the head of Self-examination; which we say nothing of here as a distinct subject, supposing that every person who possesses religious books will have instruction upon this point contained in one or other of them. Few of our recent manuals introduce a sufficiency of Psalms; a feature in which the old 'Hours' and 'Primers' excel.

We will now conclude our notice on Manuals of Prayer,

fearing that we have not done much to clear the maze of choice, but on many accounts this subject is better to be left to the influence of local or individual causes, as the Church does not issue an authorized book for general use. We would not interfere then with this state of things, but recommend above all things that where there is need of such a work, and the ground is not previously occupied, a clergyman should draw up a collection for his own parishioners, or adopt one which has thus been drawn up, and which he has reason to think favourably of. Where, however, the choice is among the more public collections, we should point to Bishop Andrewes' as the best to select, though by no means desiring that others should suffer by the preference. Ken, Nelson, Wilson, Kettlewell, are open to any one, and our main point is not to recommend particular books, so much as to establish it to be part of a clergyman's parochial work to use what influence he has, that every person should possess devotional books.

A Guide to the Holy Communion is included in some of the books we have spoken of, but where this is not the case, there are several excellent manuals on this subject alone. Wilson's is in too general use for any remarks. 'Steps to the Altar,' in the 'Practical Christian's Library,' is a plain and a useful book, well calculated to teach and to guide the devotions which should be gone through before and after the celebration, as well as to implant a deep reverence, in a doctrinal point of view, for the sacrament itself. 'The Holy Oblation,' published by Cleaver, is also a book which has met with very general approval for its high devotional feeling. The notice in the introduction, on the manner of celebration, though sound in itself, is, we fear, so inconsistent with the custom of most places, that some caution might be necessary, lest the weaker brethren should be offended thereby. A second edition will perhaps modify this obstacle.

Another branch, however, of devotional books we must now consider, which may be called the Meditative books, that is, which are suggestive of faith, of practice, and of good habits of mind. 'Resolutions respecting Religion,' from the work of Dr. Beveridge, is a valuable work on the Society's list; under this head also Bishop Hall's 'Contemplations,' Sutton's 'Disce Vivere,' and 'Disce Mori.' Great omissions, however, occur on the list in books of this description, which we hope will be filled up in time. Dr. Hook's 'Meditations for every Day in the Year,' and also other little works in his series, on the particular seasons of the Church, are remarkable for the freshness and vigour which is maintained throughout. The 'Practical Christian's Library' is very useful in supplying the best writings of the Church under this head. The 'Confessions of S. Augustine,'

from their profoundly searching tone of self-examination, and the idea which is conveyed of the whole man, body, soul, and estate, being the concern of religion, is calculated to do much good to many thoughtful minds, even of humble education. The 'Imitation of Christ' is of similar use in the direction of morals, that the 'Confessions of S. Augustine' are in the control over the thoughts; it is a text-book of reflections on the duties of life, which can never be too highly spoken of; it is likewise equally admirable as a manual of heavenly contemplations. It is full of the simple language of the heart, and, consequently, it is never tedious—it captivates the imagination, and brings back the wandering thought.

The 'Library' we now speak of, to which these books belong, is indeed an excellent guide, both for devotion and instruction. Many on its list we ought already to have noticed more fully under the head of Prayer, but we must make up for this neglect by strongly recommending any one who thinks of commencing any system of distributing books, either on a large or a small scale, to order the whole series, or make a liberal selection from the list. The whole number is, we believe, now thirty-eight, at an average price of about one shilling and sixpence each. Ken's 'Practice of Divine Love,' Horneck's 'Daily Exercises,' are exactly the books which the Clergy should strive to circulate. One name, however, of which we have already spoken, stands preeminent in this class of religious writing. In Jeremy Taylor there is a sweetness, and yet a severity of style; a richness in all the ornament and grace of writing, together with the plainest and most practical common sense, that make him peculiarly acceptable to all classes and all minds. The educated in him find a model of elegance and poetical imagery, while the poorer class of readers will feel the heart warmed, and the fancy captivated, by the constant freshness and variety of language in all that comes from his pen. Yet Jeremy Taylor has been little brought before the poor of late years, partly perhaps from an erroneous impression that his style is too *fine* for their understanding, but chiefly, we suspect, because he is so powerful a witness to the true Catholic spirit of the English Church in her *reformed state*. Of many writers in the seventeenth century, it may truly be said, that their style is not suited to the present day; but this arises more from their prolixity, and in some cases from their dulness, than from any intellectual superiority over the comprehension of the poor. Of Jeremy Taylor, however, it may be said, as of Shakspeare, that though full of the characteristics of his age, as every natural and observant writer must be, yet there is a something in him which from the sympathy it meets with in the secret principles

of the human heart and mind, enables him to live beyond his own generation, and be a guide for every age, when the peculiarities of his own have long passed; whereas in the generality of writings a vacuity will exist, if you remove the eccentricities of style, the habits of thought, and the topics of interest which characterise their age. Great exceptions, however, there are in most ages, and many in the seventeenth century, but none in practical divinity more conspicuous than Jeremy Taylor. The 'Golden Grove' has been published some time in the 'Practical Christian's Library;' 'Holy Living' and 'Holy Dying,' have lately appeared in the same cheap form; and the 'Life of Christ,' in an abridged form, is now also published. The last-named is probably its author's greatest work; the whole of it is, however, too large for general circulation, and the present abridgement, from the parts selected, and their arrangement, is a good substitute for the original.

Belonging to a later age, but deserving of a prominent place on any clergyman's list, is Law's 'Serious Call to a devout and holy Life.' It is enough to say of this book that it answers to the title, and at the same time is written with profound knowledge both of divine law and of human nature; and contains a philosophically correct adaptation of the one to the other. It is serious in tone, interesting in matter, practical in detail, and Catholic in doctrine.

Of several books of devotion and meditation, which have been translated from Avrillon and other foreign writers, it is not within our present object to speak, as they do not appear so much adapted for parochial circulation as for the peculiar wants of a more ascetic and retired life than the clergy have, except under peculiar circumstances, to deal with. To those however who might appear ready to receive their exalted tone of piety and devotion, we would heartily commend them; together with two or three very religious collections for 'the sick and afflicted,' written under the initials R. B. At the same time, with the rich storehouse of practical divinity possessed by our Church, we may count one chief advantage of foreign devotional books to be, in that it is always beneficial to receive fresh life and vigour from the good example of others, and to promote the communion of saints by sharing the holy thoughts of other lands and other branches of the Church. This part of our subject we will now conclude, with some remarks from Mr. Marriott's 'Hints on Private Devotion,' on reading in general.

'Although no other books can be compared to the Holy Scriptures in respect of their authority, and none ought to be allowed to displace them from our reading; yet it is not to be imagined that the power of writing was given in vain to successive generations, or that it was to be without its exercise in producing helps to devotion and Christian practice.

‘The Religion of Christ is the same in all ages, and therefore needed only to be recorded once for all; but the occasions of its application to life and practice are manifold, and it has pleased God to leave the use of these for the trial and exercise of Christians from age to age. It is not anything new and artificial, then, that we are to feel in devotional reading, but rather such arrangements, combinations, and applications of old truth, as may help to fix it in our minds more firmly, and to diffuse its influence through our lives.

‘Some portion of the Sunday, at least, could be given by most people to this kind of reading in addition to that which they give to the Holy Scriptures themselves. And on other days few are so engaged, at least, all the year round, but that they could find time for a short chapter of practical or devotional matter, and give it sufficient attention to draw much profit from it.

‘Various kinds of books may be thus used. Sermons are suitable for times when we are sufficiently at leisure to read one through at once, and when we wish to combine instruction, more or less, with practical edification. Short religious poems admit of a more desultory use, and may be taken up at odd times, the hold they take on the imagination compensating for the disadvantage of surrounding distractions. Books of practical reflections, especially such as are divided into short chapters, may be conveniently used, by saving a small portion of time for them, in connexion with our regular devotions; or at some time of the day, when we can be quiet for a little while. Thus, a few minutes daily, would soon take you through such a book as “Thomas à Kempis, on the Imitation of Christ,” and perhaps with great profit. Biographies, with few exceptions, come rather under the head of ordinary, than of devotional reading; but those of eminently holy men may be taken into connexion with devotion, where there is sufficient time for using them. Some practical treatises, which are not arranged for short daily readings, may be studied with great advantage, by assigning them half-an-hour or an hour at a time, if possible, at regular intervals. Such a book as “Taylor’s Holy Living and Dying” ought to be read in this way; but sooner than leave a very good and important book unread, it may be well to divide it as best you may, and take such portions at a time as you can. Only, in dealing so with such a book as the last-mentioned, it is but fair to yourself and the writer, to take a moment at the commencement of each reading, to recollect where you are, and to delay your finishing the book in order to further your mastering it. Books of meditations may also be used in the same way as those of practical reflections, though they have another and more complete use, which is more properly their own, and which belongs to the head of Meditation.

‘Many persons almost wholly neglect this kind of reading, from a notion that it will do them but little good, and that they could any how accomplish but so little of it, that it would be hardly worth while. This is a very great mistake, for Satan and the world will not be slow to fill up intervals of time which are naturally capable of such use; and, on the other hand, if well used, they would, at last, accumulate effects of no small value. One good book, fairly known, even as it would be by three months reading at five minutes a day, is a great possession, and may prove a resource in calamity or sickness, or a support in trying circumstances of daily life, far beyond what careless readers suppose.

‘The great error of modern reading is *inattention*. We are apt to read in order to be amused, or to search for something new to gratify us for the moment, rather than in order to occupy our minds with the whole subject concerned, and to secure our hold of it. It is well worth while, then, to be careful in the selection of our reading, not despising a book because it is a common one; (really some people seem to think they know enough of a book when they know that it is accounted a good one, and what is its subject); nor grasping at great numbers and variety, but taking up what

we are assured, by competent advisers, or by a partial examination, is, on the whole, good and valuable, and then to *read through* what we have chosen, carefully, and perhaps even repeatedly. It is often of very great use to know where to find matter suited to a particular occasion, or for the reading of a person under particular circumstances, for the sake of others as well as ourselves. And the writings of holy men, read in the way above suggested, become to us a kind of friends and counsellors.'

Under the head of Instructive books we place those which are illustrative of Scripture, of the Catechism, and the Services or History of the Church. The Society has several on its catalogue whose titles plainly rank them under these various heads; but as we cannot afford space to review in order the works of Gastrell, Mann, Travell, Ostervald (in three volumes, price 11s.), Sellon, Trimmer, and others, we must content ourselves with simply referring to its own list, sanctioned by its venerable authority. Generally speaking, however, commentaries on Scripture will not be found of much service in a parochial library, such as we are speaking of; for they have more to do with the critical than with the devotional reading of the Bible, though, from their own imperfection, they have often but little to do with either. The real books which are wanted, are such as will dispose and help people to read the Bible in a practical and devotional manner. The sort of books which we have already discussed will, we think, produce a greater awe and reverence for the Divine Word itself, since they are as courtiers under Its throne, leading us up to It—than any works which encourage the more curious examination of details. For instance, would not reading Taylor's 'Life of Christ' produce a greater veneration for the sacred text itself, when read in a devotional manner, than would the remarks generally to be found in notes and commentaries? Notes, from their broken style, are inevitably dull, if beyond the merest exposition of short facts; to excite interest, a writer must always feel interest; whereas the human mind rebels against being roused into warmth for a few lines on one subject, and then being expected to go on *ad infinitum*, rising up to a climax of spiritual contemplation on each verse as it comes before it, without any connexion of ideas. Short and energetically expressed discourses on certain whole passages of Scripture, such as are many sermons, may be of great service, but the whole system of notes is only useful for information of facts and for the purposes of critical reading. For reference, a good commentary is essential (if it can be found); but we can scarcely imagine that for continuous reading, especially among the poor, it will prove attractive, or calculated to dispose people the more for reading the Bible. In the 'Practical Christian's Library' there is a useful little book, 'A Short Explanation of Obsolete Words in

our Version of the Bible,' which from its size may be in the hands of every one, and will be a great help to the poor, without in the least interrupting the flow of the passage which he may be reading. Books on the geography of the Bible are well calculated to give interest to the scenes recorded in Holy Writ. Mr. Blackburn's '*Handbook round Jerusalem*,' for instance, is a book which many would read with pleasure and advantage. Sacred biography, again, or short historical treatises: but these we only mention as good subjects: to enter upon the various merits of the number of books, both on the Society's list and elsewhere, on Sacred Geography, History, Biography, would be far beyond our present opportunities or space. We wish rather to call attention generally to the *reading of the people*, as the concern of the parochial system, rather than to presume to offer a complete treatise, including a full list of books. On the Church Catechism we must most strongly recommend Bishop Beveridge; unless there is a special reason to prefer another, this should always be on the Clergyman's list, for the use of his elder parishioners; it is an agreeable variation from the short questions and answers of a school-book, which will be appreciated by those who may be unwilling to confess themselves on a par with their own children. On liturgical subjects, we would mention the following—'*Selections from Hooker*,' '*The Churchman's Companion*,' published by the Society; '*Companion to Sunday Services*' (Edwards and Hughes), '*Conversations on the Church Service*,' '*Trower on the Gospels and Epistles*,' '*Nelson's Fasts and Festivals*,' and cheap editions of '*Wheatley on the Common Prayer*.'

Except as forming suitable presents, a clergyman will find that the lighter class of religious books more naturally belong to the lending library than to a permanent position on the shelves of the poor. Yet it is very important that care should be taken to put people in the way of interesting reading, which may also be calculated to enlarge the mind, cultivate the taste, or sweeten the disposition. Such books as the following would be read with great interest by the poor, as well as other classes; some indeed have now proved it for themselves: '*The Old Man's Rambles*,' '*Agathos*,' '*The Shadow of the Cross*,' '*Old Man's Home*,' '*Captive Maiden*.' In these and many other publications (Mr. Monro's Allegories belong to a different type, and have considerable defects, but have their merits too,) the present school of religious story is characterised by a simplicity and sweetness of imagery, a thoughtful insight into the history and tendency of human affairs, and a faithful Christian story which edify while they amuse, and instruct while they but to entertain the fancy.

The Society has many books under this head, and also

judiciously brings out a little scientific information in a popular form; but libraries confined to its publications are deficient in life and spirit, and have not the benefit of novelty, which in this sort of reading gives an allowable stimulus and interest. Poetry must not be forgotten in the parochial list of books. Hymns are introduced into many devotional works; but independently of thus making use of song in more direct acts of worship, it is well for each person at all capable of appreciating the influence of poetry, to have some collection of Church poetry at his command. There are several such books in a convenient form, and most suitable in all respects for general use.

It is time now that we bring these too hastily expressed thoughts to a close. We fear that the want of system and clear arrangement in what we have said, will leave the practical working of the question without any advancement; but yet a great object is gained if by any means the clergy and others can be induced to look on the subject of religious reading within the range of ordinary parochial supervision. People of course may read what they like, and therefore the clergyman's recommendation may be of little consequence; but people also may believe or do what they like, but yet the clergy consider faith and practice as important concerns in the discharge of their parochial duties. The influence of the clerical office, as that of Christian grace itself, is purely voluntary; nay, it is easily repelled, and draws back at but slight discouragement; and here is its very strength. The better feelings are called forth when the Church's gentle and voluntary control is seen in contrast with the stern decrees of human law.

At the risk of recapitulation, we will in very few words suggest two or three little libraries which a clergyman might wish to be in the possession of the more hopeful of his flock, and, as far as opportunity allowed him, might present or recommend to young persons at Confirmation. A Bible and Prayer-book, of course, are presupposed in every case; as indeed the proper use of them has been presupposed in all the remarks we have made; and again we will say, that the Bible will never suffer from other religious books. On the contrary, if the Bible is the only reading a person ever has, there is not the contrast between it and all other writings to impress the veneration of it on the mind. Those who are accustomed to the varieties of reading may not be aware of the effect which this contrast has on themselves, and the extent to which their own veneration for Holy Writ is founded, as a secondary influence, on that circumstance. A high spiritual state of mind might drink of this fount of Eternal Truth as its common beverage, but the more ordinary condition of men requires many precautions to ensure the high standard of reverence which is due to sacred things.

'The Whole Duty of Man' and Taylor's 'Life of Christ' would be suitable together, and be sufficient, as the former comprehends many devotional offices, and the latter a vast fund of meditation. Again, Andrewes' 'Devotions,' Wilson 'On the Lord's Supper,' and Sutton's 'Disce Vivere.' These last are on the Society's list. From the same list also might be taken the 'New Manual of Devotions,' Beveridge's 'Resolutions respecting Religion,' and Sutton's 'Disce Mori.' Or, again, 'Hele's Devotions,' Nelson's 'Practice of True Devotion,' and Hall's 'Comfort for the Afflicted.' From other sources there might be chosen together, 'Wilson's Sacra Privata,' 'Steps to the Altar,' and Taylor's 'Holy Living,' 'The Golden Grove,' 'The Holy Oblation,' and 'The Confessions of S. Augustine,' 'Andrewes' Devotions,' Kettlewell's 'Guide to the Penitent,' 'The Imitation of Christ,' and a book on the Holy Communion.' The latter should always be included, either as a separate book, or in a more general manual of devotions. Again, Spincke's 'Private Devotions,' Horneck's 'Daily Exercises,' and Beveridge's 'Explanation of the Catechism.' The collection should, as a general rule, include prayers, both regular and occasional; an office for the Communion, a book suggestive of meditation, and a guide to doctrinal truth, either in a direct catechetical form, or obvious in the design of one of the books.

These, which we have mentioned, are of course only the books which seem more proper as constant companions, not only for occasional reading; as also they are only the more necessary parts of a Christian's private library, and do not include others which may be adapted to individual tastes and circumstances of life.

One word we must also say on the means of encouraging the circulation of religious books, and establishing the idea, that a Christian according to his opportunities should use them. This should be done, not by an extra-parochial system, such as societies and public meetings, but quietly, as an ordinary part of clerical duty, and a subject of conversation in parochial visits. An occasional sermon expressly on the subject, or the appropriate introduction of it, would not be out of place; nor, on such an occasion, would be a collection towards the fund which we have already said should be at a clergyman's disposal for this purpose. Such, however, and a hundred other particulars, cannot be discussed as general subjects, for they will vary with the plans and notions of every clergyman in the management of his parish. Let the duty be more widely felt than it is, and we doubt not that means will be accessible, and simple easy ways of arranging the machinery be discovered in abundance.

ART. VIII.—1. *An Inquiry into the Doctrine of the Church of England upon Absolution.* By the REV. WILLIAM MASKELL, M.A. Vicar of St. Mary's Church, and Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Exeter. London: Pickering. 1849.

2. *A Letter to the Rev. W. Maskell, M.A.* By the REV. F. T. HILL, M.A. Incumbent of Estcot Church, St. Mary, Exeter. Exeter: Waters. 1848.

3. *Auricular Confession.* A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Leeds, October 29th, 1848. With a Preface, Appendix, and copious Notes. By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D. Vicar of Leeds. London: Rivingtons.

'If the doctrine of the Church of England be indeed doubtful upon this point [sacerdotal absolution]—and doubtful I cannot conceive it to be—then I humbly offer all that I have said as materials towards discussion. For many a year we have neglected inquiry about sacerdotal absolution altogether. Is it a truth of the Gospel, or is it a fiction or pretence? Whatever it is, let us try to settle it.'—P. 227.

So speaks Mr. Maskell, and so would speak his reviewer, with not less sense of the greatness of this question, nor of its difficulty; for while its roots reach to the profoundest depths of theology, it connects itself with the practical life of every Christian. We would fain be able to bestow upon it such calm and studious attention as did the learned Morinus, during those twenty-five years which elapsed, as he tells us, between the announcement and appearance of his work, '*De Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ.*' Such leisure is not afforded men in these railroad days. Even Mr. Maskell's learned volume was written in twice as many days as the French divine devoted years to his labour (Preface, p. x.); and we almost tremble to think how soon we must submit the lines we are writing to the judgment of our readers.

The hesitation with which we enter on what must of necessity be a hasty and imperfect consideration of this great subject, is somewhat alleviated by the character of the main work which lies before us. With Mr. Maskell it is always satisfactory to converse, because he is everywhere calm, candid, precise,—and because he evidently approaches the subject with a mind well stored with the most valuable materials.

Of the other works with which we have headed this article it will not be necessary to say much; Mr. Hill's letter, though written in a pleasing tone, is not very deep, nor in our judgment perfectly consistent: while of the third work on our list we wish to say as little as we can, lest we should say anything

inconsistent with our sincere respect for its author. The larger part of it is foreign to our subject: and the references which it contains to his own conduct are sufficient to assure us that the theory of the late Master of Rugby can never consist with the well-known practice of the Vicar of Leeds. Even respecting Mr. Maskell's work we must observe, that had it been presented to us as a premeditated treatise, instead of a 'diatribe extemporalis,' we should certainly have looked for a more philosophical setting forth of principles, such as give their peculiar value to the writings of Hooker, or Taylor, or any of our older divines. The custom of those writers, before they approached anything of a technical nature, was to lay a deep foundation in the general principles of human nature and the Divine economy, and thus to show us the causes which led to those errors which it was their object to refute. 'Ἐπεὶ οὐ μόνον δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ ψεύδους. τοῦτο γὰρ συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν πίστιν. It would be unreasonable, no doubt, to censure Mr. Maskell for turning aside from questions which were forbidden by the limits prescribed to him. But we cannot help imagining that had he allowed himself scope for a more profound consideration of the *things* about which he treats, his judgment respecting the force of the *words* which he has occasion to consider might in some cases have been modified.

'I shall not,' he says, 'argue at all whether sacerdotal absolution, as that term is used in our Church, does or does not convey the Divine grace and pardon: I am justly warranted in taking this for granted.'—P. 6.

Had Mr. Maskell given us a more full account of what the *thing* is which sacerdotal absolution communicates, he would, perhaps, have more clearly realized his own position, and done more justice to the opinions of others. The deficiency is not to be charged so much on himself, as on the following circumstances which have compelled him to appear somewhat hastily before the public.

'In August last,' he says, 'at the visitation of the Bishop of the diocese, I preached at Totness. My sermon contained statements upon chief doctrines of the Christian faith, which, left to recollection only, might very easily have been mistaken or exaggerated. The Bishop, with the concurrence of many of the clergy, desired that the sermon should be printed, in order that himself and all who had heard it might have an opportunity to judge of it after deliberation. In expressing this desire, his lordship declared at the same time, that there were statements in the sermon, to which, as he heard them, he did not assent.

'When published, the sermon caused excitement and adverse remark in several parts of the diocese. . . . In particular, twenty clergymen addressed a memorial to the bishop, calling on his lordship for the expression of some grave episcopal censure of the sermon.'—Pref. p. vi.

One sentence only is quoted from the complaint of these (as we hear) Plymouth Brethren.

'The statement [in the sermon] that the absolution pronounced at the administration of the Lord's Supper is intended only to meet the case of venial sins, . . . we allege to be in opposition to the form itself, in which the priest pronounces these words, "*Almighty God have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins.*"'

Mr. Maskell's remarks on this sentence show the design and extent of his work, which has been (perhaps unfortunately) narrowed by a desire to grapple with this particular objection.

'This sentence,' he says, 'as it seems to me, (coupled with the fact that no objection was made against my interpretation of the form in the Office of Visiting the Sick) can only mean, that in their opinion, the form in the Communion Service conveys remission of *all* sins. In other words, the efficacy which I restrict to a form of absolution after oral confession, is by them extended to the form after a general confession in the Liturgy. If on the contrary the memorialists had denied the grace of absolution, or explained it away;—if, that is, they had declared my doctrine to be unsound, *because* absolution is only a preaching generally of the promises of God; or a particular declaration of His promises to an individual; or again, is only exercised in the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist;—this would have been another, and an equally intelligible line of argument: but then they would not have found the errors on which it must be based treated of, except very briefly, in the following pages.'—Pref. ix.

We feel persuaded that if our author had taken a wider range, he would not only—which is less material—have done better execution on his opponents, but likewise better justice to his subject. The objectors, in all probability, have only followed the common practice of those who do not realize the true character of the Church, and desired to call her authorities to their aid, without once considering the principle which they were admitting. To ask for an episcopal sentence, as if it could decide in an arbitrary manner a question of doctrine, is on a par with the application of the same party a few months ago to the House of Commons to give a new standard of truth to the Church of England. Such recklessness implies, that those guilty of it have never realized what is meant by an external standard of truth or falsehood: their own inward caprice is their real guide; and they can afford to make use, at any moment, of a rule which pleases them, because, should it displease them, they are prepared at any moment to throw it away. Such persons could have no real belief in the authority of those other offices which they quote. And if we would convince them of the reality of the subject we are discussing, and would set the truth itself in such a light as may recommend it to unbiassed minds, we must go somewhat higher than our author has done, and consider the principle on which absolution depends.

Two main systems of religion lay claim to the belief of Christians: according to one, the Gospel is a *new law*; it is a *new creation*, according to the other. The first supposes that

man being the inheritor of a corrupt nature, and being found incapable of that perfect obedience which was prescribed by God's written law not less than by the dictates of nature, a new law was provided by the Gospel, by which easier terms are offered to mankind. This better law owes its existence to the coming of Christ. In Him God exhibited to the world a Divine Person, who not only set a pure example and imparted sublime doctrines, but by His sufferings and death laid up an exhaustless store of merit. Instead, therefore, of obedience to the old law, which had been found impossible, the new law required nothing but an hearty belief in the mission of Christ. Thus do men gain part in what He has done; and a verdict of acquittal must be entered for them, because by the inward act called faith they appropriate to themselves the merit which has been stored up by Christ. Still it must not be supposed that a holy life is unnecessary; on the contrary, their gratitude for being let off on such terms is sure to lead them to real obedience. And, indeed, to repose with perfect confidence in the mission of Christ, is in itself a proof of no inconsiderable proficiency in morals, since it implies the extinction of pride, the most deadly and pertinacious of human frailties.

To render this system more complete, some add the idea that God selects a part of men to be the subjects of His kingdom, the rest being absolutely excluded; and that the inward feeling of faith, together with the tendency to all other excellences, is a compulsory gift bestowed upon His favourites. But though this theory may be essential to the logical compactness of the system which has been described, it is not in practice universally appended to it.

Quite contrary in all its results is the system which would represent the Gospel as a new creation. The two theories agree, indeed, in supposing man a fallen creature, and that the remedy for the fall has been provided only through the mercy of Christ. But in the mode in which that mercy is vouchsafed they vary. For, according to this second system, the law of God can undergo no alteration; His grace and holy will cannot be moulded to suit our weakness; it is we, rather, who require to be changed, that we may be conformed to His absolute perfection. And what is the process by which this change is made? It began in the Head of our race, Jesus Christ, when, 'being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the 'cross.' Thus, by union with our nature, did He exalt it, and in His own person afford an example of that perfection which was necessary in ours. The beginning having thus been made in the Son of man, the better seed has been spread abroad by

the communication of Himself, through sacraments, to all who were willing to be joined to Him. But here, as in the other system, His obedience unto death is the sole perfect fulfilment of God's law; for, though the ancient nature has been taken and reformed by Him, yet in Him only does it reach its state of normal excellence; in others it is only tentative and approximate, it never attains its end in this present state, it shows only the point towards which its lines are convergent: the ultimate focus lies in the infinity of a future being. According to both theories, then, men's trust must plainly be in the *merits* of Christ alone; and in both, faith alone can save them: but according to the first system, faith saves on account of the excellence of its nature; according to the second, through the excellence of the object on which it relies. So that here there is no formal substitution, no sentence of acquittal is passed; the culprit cannot, by a pure act of his mind, put another person in an arbitrary manner in the place of himself, but the merits of the Perfect Member of man's race extend themselves as widely as His nature extends itself. If men are 'accepted through Christ,' it is because they are really 'found in Him;' and the virtue of His death is coextensive with the efficacy of His Manhood. Let us express the truth which we are aiming to set forth in that depth and richness with which it was contemplated by the greatest mind of the ancient Church. 'Ea porro justitia quæ vivit in seipsa, proculdubio Deus est, atque incommutabiliter vivit. Sicut autem hæc, cum sit in seipsa vita, etiam nobis fit vita, cum ejus efficitur utcunque participes: ita cum in seipsa sit justitia, etiam nobis fit justitia, cum ei cohærendo justivivimus, et tanto magis minusve justisumus, quanto magis illi minusve cohæremus.' (S. August. Ep. cxx. 19.) In God only lies the source of holiness, as the cause of life, which extends in an infinite chain from Him to His creatures. The Gospel is that new creation, whereby, through the Son of His love, He has communicated it to a fallen race. This is the new election, the better covenant, which has superseded every other relation of God to man. In Christianity 'neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but the new creation. And as many as walk according to this rule, grace be on them and mercy, and on the Israel of God.' We are not concerned, then, with the notion of a mere verdict of acquittal, obtained by pleading that which is not our own. What is here spoken of is the extension of that new nature, which carries with it the acceptableness which it has derived from its perfect Possessor. For His sake does it avail, when it is shared by the lowest members of the mystical Body of the Lord. Where this better nature is present, and so far as it is pre-

sent, is its possessor looked upon with favour. And since this is a question of less and more, since there are degrees in our adherence in Him, to whom to be united is our peace, a single and simple sentence would not do justice to its fluctuating state. There is a difference, of course, between the state of those who *are*, and the state of those who *are not* accepted; sin preponderates in the one, in the other grace; but there exists not that lasting division which there would be if by the positive designation of a judicial sentence man's position was determined for evil or for good. In S. Austin's words, '*tanto magis minusve justus sumus, quanto magis illi minusve cohæremus.*'

The two systems, then, before us are opposed, in that while both refer our acceptance with God to the merits of Christ, the first supposes that we lay hold of these merits and apply them for ourselves; while Christ actually bestows Himself upon us, according to the second. On the first view, our merciful Redeemer is the stream which flowed into the camp of Israel, or the manna which fell around it, and which each man who felt his thirst or hunger went forth to seek. When each man had once filled his vessel with the life-bestowing gift, he had by him in store what was needed for his preservation. But on the second hypothesis, the Mediator is like that brazen serpent, to which men's eyes must be perpetually directed, that from it might flow forth into the suffering soul a perennial stream of health; or like Moses as he stood aloft with extended arms, that he might breathe perpetual power into the sinking host. So long as we continue in this state of sickness and warfare, we need to be ever united to that Source, in which only is the life of our souls. We cannot fill our vessel with Christ's merits, and say we have enough; because what we need is not a single sentence of acquittal, but that new nature which only can be acceptable with God. The Gospel is not merely an escape from the harshness of the law's censure; rather, it is union with that Source of purity which has been set forth for the renewal of the world. For, 'with Thee is the fountain of life, and in Thy light shall we see light.'

It were easy to draw several inferences from what has been stated. We may see at once why the former of these systems was in all ages likely to find favour with the opponents of a historical Church and of a constituted ministry. Amidst the corruptions of the middle age, when the popular danger was no doubt that of formalism, earnest men were glad to find some principle of connexion, other than that external bond in which many unworthy members were included—and some principle of reference to Christ, irrespective of the prostituted forms of the Gospel. Such a bond was found in the idea, that true Church

union did not arise from actual incorporation with Christ through the sacraments of His grace, but depended on that decision by which the Almighty determined the number of his elect in the secret decree of His irreversible will. Hence the strong tendency to the Calvinistic theory among devout members of a corrupt communion: and hence, also, the desire to seek Christ through the private action of their own hearts, instead of seeking Him through faith in those mystical ordinances, whereby His man's nature is communicated to His brethren. And this last tendency becomes still more attractive in an unbelieving and presumptuous age, when men are disposed to reject those external influences which are independent of themselves, and to trust merely to their own inward acts for their salvation.

This tendency will meet us as we proceed to the question, which now lies before us, What are we to say respecting the sins of believers? That men sin, after receiving God's grace as well as before it, whether they profess belief in Christ or no, is an undeniable fact. What is the effect of their sins? Those who say that a sentence of acquittal has been registered so soon as men put their trust in Christ, neither deny man's sinfulness nor excuse it. On the contrary, they admit that it is a burthen and grief to the justified man, of which he continually complains. They would judge ill of the man who did not feel its bitterness; but it does not militate, they say, against his pardon. The sentence of acquittal has been passed; it cannot be undone—or at least while he holds his faith it cannot: so far, therefore, as concerns his pardon and acceptance with God, he has nothing more to do. The voice which is gone forth is not a matter of more or less, and he need not therefore trouble himself to obtain that which is already settled. True, good men of this party, if any signal offence was committed, would express fear that the man's original faith, and therefore that his acquittal, was defective: but this is an inconsistency in their theory for which we may thank God; its legitimate result would be such a statement as Mr. Maskell quotes from a series of extracts which were condemned by the Archbishops and Bishops in the year 1530.

'Thou owest nothing to God but faith and confession; by confession I mean not the whispering of sins into the priest's ear, nor yet the confession of thy sins to God, but with S. Paul, "if thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is Christ, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised Him from the death, thou shalt be saved;" in all other things He giveth thee liberty after thine own will; thou mayest do all things without all jeopardy of conscience.'¹—P. 89.

¹ Wilkins, iii. 734. Mr. Maskell is quite right to copy Wilkins's spelling, which we have not attempted to do; but we do not know why he does not carry out his principle, and write 'Criste' and 'Saint Pawle.'

After all, this is not much more than was said by a greater man than the anonymous pamphleteer whom we have cited; but said, we sincerely believe, under some hallucination, which prevented its writer from discovering the monstrous results of his doctrine. 'Vide quam dives sit homo Christianus, qui etiam volens non potest perdere suam salutem, quantiscunque peccatis, nisi nolit credere.'

Now, when we turn to the other view of man's state under the Gospel, we see at once that since man's acceptance with God depends upon his oneness with Christ, whatsoever is fatal to the cause, is detrimental to the consequence. And such clearly is the effect of sin; for its tendency is to 'grieve the Spirit,' and thereby to deprive men of the indwelling of Christ. 'Into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin.' Sin of any sort, therefore, is a detraction from the perfectness of the union; indulged sin is incompatible with its existence. The very corruption of man's nature, therefore, is so far forth prejudicial to the presence of Christ; but since that presence was especially designed to remedy it, it is not so prejudicial as to expel Him from the heart. But the indulgence of direct and allowed sin plainly cuts men off from God, until by an equally express and direct act of repentance its influence is counteracted. Hence arises the distinction between *mortal* and *venial* sins, which are not two classes of offences arbitrarily divided from one another, but the epithet is assigned with a view of discriminating between that presence of natural corruption which continues throughout our mortal life, and those actual steps towards hell, which require to be actually retrodden. S. Augustine speaks of the existence of a sin which is not unto death: 'Peccata sine quibus nec vos eritis, qui justificati et sanctificati estis;' though he thinks it would be difficult and dangerous to attempt its definition. (De Civitate Dei, xxi. 27. 4, 6.) The School writers, by defining it to be such a disorganization of the soul as does not, however, draw it away from God, its chief end, have but expressed their assent to the truth, that a corruption exists in the soul which is yet not incompatible with the predominance of God's grace. (Summa, ii. 1. Q. 72. 5.) And hence the different tone in which concupiscence is spoken of by different parties; the one asserting it to be positively *sin*, and therefore mortal; the other, that it 'hath the nature of sin.' Were it indeed mortal sin, there could then be no new creation 'in righteousness and true holiness.' But because it is *venial*, i. e. capable of pardon through the overpowering presence of grace, therefore 'he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him.'

But how then are sins, whether venial or mortal, to be got

rid of? They can only be corrected by the predominance of grace. They need, therefore, two things for their extinction—an act on our part, and an act on the part of God. It pleases God to allow us by penitent faith to lay hold originally on Christ; it pleases Him to allow us to seek Him again on faithful repentance. These are all that we can offer either in the first place, or in the second. Repentance, of course, to be complete, requires sorrow for sin, or contrition—confession of our fault—and, so far as we can render it, amendment. This is what we should contribute, with a view of obtaining that forgiveness which is purchased for us only through the merits of Christ. But then the success of this effort must come from that Divine power, which is made perfect in our weakness. ‘The Father hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of His dear Son; in whom we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins.’ And how is this act performed on the part of the Most High? Holy Scripture tells us, that those who were left in charge of Christ’s kingdom, were expressly commissioned to exercise the office of ‘remitting or retaining sins;’ that ‘the keys’ of ‘the kingdom’ of God’s ‘dear Son’ were committed to them, and therefore that by their instrumentality this work is done. And the Ordination services of the Universal Church have continued to advance a corresponding claim even to the present hour. Since the true principle of our acceptance with God is that grace which flows into us from union with Christ our Saviour, those whose office is to be the channels through which come men’s spiritual gifts, are of necessity a medium likewise through which they receive forgiveness. ‘The Voice of the Lord is mighty in operation; the Voice of the Lord is a glorious Voice.’ It is not like some idle sound, or a vague rumour coming at random, tending no whither; but it is ‘the word which goeth out of His mouth;’ it has a sacramental power, being the instrument as well as the sign of His will. It never can ‘return unto Him void,’ but it ‘accomplishes that which He pleases, and prospers in the thing whereto He sends it.’ Imputed righteousness is the coming in of actual righteousness. They whom God’s sovereign voice pronounces just, forthwith become just. He declares a fact, and makes it a fact by declaring it.

Such is the effect in general of God’s power, according to that system which deals with the Gospel as a new creation in righteousness and true holiness. The acts which are done by Christ’s ministers according to this system are real acts. A true and real effect attends them for the renewal of the soul; and through the same medium through which grace is truly given, reconciliation with God is truly attained. And now, therefore,

it is sufficiently apparent why absolution is a *real* act according to the one system, and not according to the other. If men are accepted in God's sight according to what they *are*, and not merely according to what they are *accounted*, then it is plain enough that whatever alters their real state, alters the view which is entertained of them. He who conveys grace, conveys forgiveness. But let men's acceptance be independent of any real alteration in themselves—let it be their object merely, by pleading that amount of merit which Christ incurred, to obtain the publication of a favourable sentence,—and it is plain that to pronounce this sentence of absolution could not be committed by the Supreme Judge to any inferior minister. For then must the Almighty abnegate that supreme power which is essentially His, and commit men's final destiny to their fellow-creatures. It is often asked, 'Who can forgive sins but God only?' and without admitting the somewhat questionable authority of the Pharisees, as those do who rest on this passage of Scripture, we are ready to allow, in a measure, the justice of their conclusions. Mr. Maskell, indeed, objects to the assertion, that

'if judicial, this power is also at the mere will and pleasure of the priest. In one sense it is, but in no other sense than that in which all judicial power may be said to be exercised according to the will and pleasure of the judge. Although strictly judicial, the sacerdotal form of forgiving sins is as strictly ministerial. The ministers of Christ, whom He has appointed to dispense His grace, act not upon their own authority, nor in their own name, but in the name of God, according to plain laws, and by certain means prescribed by Him.'—P. 170.

We assent in great measure to our author's statements; but let us consider a little what is involved in them. Imperial power upon earth is a sort of semblance and shadow of Divine Majesty. And what renders it such is, that within the narrow and confined limits of this present state, it exerts a final and irresponsible authority. If it be said that

'Earthly power doth then show likest God
When mercy tempers judgment,'

this is not only on account of the goodness with which its rule is exercised, but also because nothing shows more clearly the absolute and irreversible influence of the ruling will, than its arbitrary deviation from constituted laws. For thus it is referred to the will of man, as a first principle, whether pain shall be inflicted, or mercy exercised, on his brethren. What is the result, then, when persons address themselves to an absolute monarch for the forgiveness of their offences? Suppose that, by some moral or physical process, the ruler possessed power of infusing such loyalty as he desired to see extended, into the hearts of his subjects. Suppose the process to be one which

required, indeed, their co-operation, but which might, on his part, be discharged through subordinate functionaries. There could plainly be no transfer of his indefeasible right to be the fountain of mercy, in his employing his servants to distribute the gifts of loyalty among those who sought for them. And if it was his pleasure to bestow at the same time that free pardon which his subjects had no right to claim—if he chose to give mercy to those by whom loyalty was sought and prized—then to distribute the one would be a real communication of the other. Yet such a communication would plainly be dependent on the condition of the receiver: it would be a real gift of mercy, but a gift by which all would not be profited. Now, that which an absolute monarch might do from arbitrary choice, it has pleased the Lord of all to effect through the gift of His own Son. What He bestows on His creatures is not any *inherent* virtue of loyalty, but that communion of Christ's nature which is the especial endowment of regenerate men. 'Know ye not how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates?' 'And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the spirit is life because of righteousness.' On those, then, who are 'found in Christ,' is bestowed further such forgiveness as is gained, not by their 'own righteousness, which is by the law,' but through 'that righteousness which is of God by faith.' And therefore may it naturally be bestowed through the ministry of God's servants. Their declarations take effect, so far forth only as those who participate them are worthy candidates for the blessing. If it be asked, as is sometimes demanded, whether pardon is not obtained on sincere confession, and whether it hangs suspended till absolution is pronounced,—the answer is, that since we are not concerned with the technical declaration of a sentence, but with a medium through which flows a perpetual stream of heavenly gifts, it is not possible to restrain it within the artificial divisions which are relevant to the limited nature of human agents. We might as well inquire whether pardon takes effect when the intention to pronounce it uprises in the absolver's mind into a decided purpose, or when it is embodied in actual words; or it might be proposed to discriminate between the moment at which the words are uttered, and that at which they reach the hearers' ears. Such niceties are best avoided by saying that the agency of the receiver and that of the giver are both required to the completeness of the act of absolution. Confession in itself implies pardon, but then it is such confession as is made with a view of obtaining the sentence of absolution. 'The purpose of God standeth fast, 'having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are His, and, 'Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from

‘iniquity.’ There must be an application of pardon on the one side, but it must be with a view of drawing out the *gift* of pardon on the other. ‘Contrition, however perfect it may be, does not remit deadly sins,’ was the doctrine of the Schoolmen, ‘nisi in ordine ad claves Ecclesiæ.’—P. 272.

We have sufficiently explained, then, how the gift bestowed in absolution may be a *real* gift, and yet dependent on the inward state of those by whom it is received; how God’s ministers may be the medium of doing a *real* act, without any infringement on the indefeasible sovereignty of His divine will: and it is equally clear that such could not be the case, supposing the thing sought was an arbitrary sentence of acquittal, and not such a gift of union with Christ as involves acceptance with God. Looked at as a whole, indeed, God’s dealings with men are acts of arbitrary mercy. It was the Father’s pure mercy to give His Son for the salvation of the world; it was the Son’s pure mercy to give Himself ‘a ransom instead of sinners.’ But each man’s individual salvation is not in the same degree an act of arbitrary mercy. It is God’s arbitrary act when those whom He has elected to this privilege are chosen by baptism into Christ, when they are made ‘members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones.’ But when thus chosen, it is the natural consequence of their oneness with Christ that God should view them with favour. ‘Who shall lay anything to the charge of God’s elect? God that justifieth? Christ that died? yea, rather that is risen from the dead, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us?’ But if this truth is lost sight of—if every act whereby men obtain mercy is supposed to be equally an act of arbitrary favour—how is it possible that the Almighty should delegate to others the power of pronouncing a sentence, which pertains essentially to the exercise of His own sovereignty? When a king appoints judges, he actually transfers to them a part of that supreme power which would otherwise be exercised by himself in person. Those who are acquitted by them cannot be judged again; their country has decided on their case, and justice is satisfied. Every ecclesiastical judge, in like manner, has a power which excludes the personal interference of the prelate from whom he derives his authority. For in all such cases there is a necessary reference to that essential quality of humanity, which makes man the source of all his actions. The judge’s will—enlightened, indeed, by precedents, and aided by such information as the advocates supply—must be the ultimate point of reference. In this sense, then, God’s ministers cannot be invested with a power of judicature, which is inseparable from that Supreme Mind by which the universe is administered; and the constant statement that such power is

never¹ claimed for those who are authorized to absolve, is a decisive proof that man's acceptance is not supposed to rest upon such an arbitrary basis. None can doubt that the real doctrine of sacerdotal absolution was received by S. Jerome; yet he says, in reference to the gift of the keys (S. Matt. xvi. 19.)—

'Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Phariseorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur: quum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita, quaeratur.'

And then, after instancing the case of lepers, who were required to show themselves to the priests—

'Sic et hic alligat vel solvit episcopus et presbyter, non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii; sed pro officio suo, quum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus.'—iv. 75.

The last words have reference to the public penance, which was then the appointed means of obtaining absolution. But S. Jerome is as plainly opposed as Mr. Maskell to the idea that the priest possesses any arbitrary power of passing sentence. Were man's forgiveness an arbitrary process, irrespective of his character, it could be pronounced only by the supreme authority. How this authority could pronounce it consistently with what is declared in Holy Writ—how the Most Holy could accept unrenowned sinners—is another question. But those who attribute reality to the absolution of the priest, must suppose a recreation of man's race, whereby God makes His servants 'meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.' This process began in the Lord, that it might be completed in His servants. In Him it was wrought perfectly, because natural oneness with God caused the Spirit to dwell in Him without measure; in them it is in this world only an inchoate and imperfect process, which derives its virtue as well as its desert only from Him.

And now, then, we may approach the question raised by Mr. Maskell with some confidence. That question is simply this: In the English Prayer-book occur three forms of absolution—one in the Daily Prayer, one in the Liturgy or Communion Office, a third in the Visitation of the Sick. Is it the intention of the Church that a real absolution is given in each or any of

¹ 'Those divines who have supposed that they must describe the difference of the Confessions in the article of absolution, by saying, that according to the Catholic view the priest is empowered to act on his own authority; while according to the Protestant (*i. e.* Lutheran) he only declares the will of God, *i. e.* lets sinners know it,—understand not a syllable of the peculiarities of the two Confessions. No single individual was ever possessed by the illusion, that by himself he could forgive sins; and the true meaning of the Protestant declaration that they are forgiven, is never perceived by such writers.'—*Möhler's Symbolik*, § 33, p. 293.

these cases; and if in any, then in which? It is Mr. Maskell's own opinion—and he never advances one which he does not support with learning and ability—that though the second form 'may convey remission of venial sin,' yet that to the third only does the full character of an absolution belong.

'So far as I am able to comprehend the teaching of our Church, she holds the grace of absolution to be given, and to be given only, to the true penitent after a distinct confession by word of mouth of all known and remembered sins: such confession to be made to a priest, not for the purpose of asking counsel and advice, but in order to receive absolution through his ministry. Hence the third form in our Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the absolution contemplated and advised in the exhortation which follows the appointed notice of Communion, alone convey and assure the grace of sacerdotal absolution, because they alone fulfil the required conditions.'—P. 104.

Before we say anything respecting this position of Mr. Maskell's, let us shortly detail the steps by which he arrives at and maintains it. He begins by stating the opinions of the chief English divines by whom he has been preceded: Cosin, Overall, Sparrow, Comber, Hamon l'Estrange, Nicholls, Wheatley, Warner, Shepherd, and Bingham, cap. ii. pp. 10—41. Their diversity excites his surprise: he meets, he says, with six different theories; to which he himself adds a seventh. (pp. 43, 44.) Then follows the principle which gives him confidence in adducing his own view, notwithstanding the existence of so many contrariant opinions. His intention is only to refer to those ancient rules of the Church of England which have never been annulled, and which therefore have the same authority which they always possessed. 'It is,' he says, (p. 8,) 'a vulgar error, that the Book of Common Prayer owes its existence, not its modification, to the era of the Reformation. Hence men neglect those ancient sources from which a decided expression of the Church's judgment can alone be gained.' We may add—what those who look into Mr. Maskell's other volumes will readily see—that no one is better fitted to tell us what is to be found in the ancient authorities, which few English Clergymen have opportunity to consult. We heartily wish that he would render a further literary service to the Church by giving us an edition of the '*Pupilla Oculi*.' With this ancient and valuable guide to the Clergy—of which we had never heard till it was brought into note some years ago by Mr. James Hope, and which is still a desideratum on our own shelves—he seems as familiar, as a young aspirant after preferment with Hodgson's Instructions.

We imagine that the position asserted by our author cannot possibly be gainsayed. Mr. Hill, indeed, seems to question it, (p. 8;) but considering the general tone of his pamphlet, we

think he can hardly design to deny it; indeed, it is sufficiently established by the constant reference in our ecclesiastical courts to authorities of earlier date than the Reformation. These references have increased since practitioners in Doctors' Commons have begun to look more acutely into the past; and the time will doubtless come when even the Queen's Advocate will get up the Canons of the first four General Councils. But let us hear our author.

'We declare therefore that the Church of England now holds, teaches, and insists upon, all things, whether of belief or practice, which she held, taught, or insisted on, before the year 1540, unless she has since that time plainly, openly, and dogmatically asserted the contrary. This we declare in general. And in particular, as regards that most important question, the right interpretations of the various services in our Common Prayer Book, we further add: That whatsoever we find handed down from the earliest rituals of the Church of England, and neither limited nor extended in its meaning by any subsequent canon or article, must be understood to signify (upon the one hand) fully and entirely all, and (on the other hand) no more than it signified before the revision of the ritual.'—P. 50.

Starting, then, from this basis, our author produces the most satisfactory proof that, anterior to 1540, general confessions were recognised and in use—that they were to be found just as at present in the Daily Prayer and the Liturgy ('in prima, in completorio, et in principio Missæ,' are the words of the '*Manipulus Curatorum*;' Maskell, p. 78): but that these general confessions were expressly stated not to avail except for the remission of venial offences; and that such individual confession of sins as is contemplated by our ritual for the Visitation of the Sick, (not according to the Wesleyan use, the confession of virtues,—'qui recitant bona sua in confessione;' Maskell, p. 76,) was strictly enjoined as being the only means for obtaining plenary absolution. We need not follow our author through his learned appeal to 'the canons and constitutions of diocesan and provincial councils from the 13th to the 16th century,' confirmed by the concurrent testimony of our greatest canonists, Lyndwood, John de Athon, Hostiensis, the authors of the '*Pupilla Oculi*' and the '*Manipulus Curatorum*.' (p. 224.) It will be enough to quote the last work but one, as distinctly stating the existence of general confessions; and likewise that they do not remit any but venial sins, because they are not sacramental, as that absolution is which is pronounced authoritatively after individual confession.

'Per confessionem generalem delentur venialia. Pro quo nota, quod duplex est confessio generalis; videlicet, una sacramentalis, quando quis in secreto confitetur sacerdoti quædam peccata, quorum meminit in speciali, et alia venialia in generali, et tunc illa generalis confessio ex quatuor habet quod valeat ad remissionem venialium in toto vel in parte, scilicet ex contritione confitentis, ex humilitate confessionis, ex oratione sacerdotis, et ex

vi clavium. Alia est confessio generalis non sacramentalis, quæ fit publice coram multis, et hæc habet efficaciam ad remissionem venialium ex tribus primis et non ex vi clavium.'—P. 73.

These points having been established in the fourth chapter, the fifth traces the parentage of the actual forms at present found in our Daily Office, Liturgy, and ritual, and shows them to be exactly moulded on ancient originals which occupied corresponding places in the earlier service books. 'The above are 'the forms of absolution to which the three forms in our present 'book correspond, and from which it will be at once evident 'they are derived.' (p. 98.) And thus is our author carried on to his main conclusion, That when the Church of England, in transfusing her services into the vulgar tongue, employed and recommended general confessions, while she yet carefully retained the form of individual confession and absolution which she had always adopted, her meaning must be gathered from the common force then put upon words, and from the definitions which are found in her authorized commentaries. Until the definitions respecting 'general confession,' which we have cited, were superseded by some other explanation of the word, they must clearly be accepted, he says, as its signification. In reference, therefore, to the second form of absolution (in the Liturgy), our Author says—

'I must especially call upon the reader to remember that the term in the rubric "*a general confession*," was as well understood in that day by all persons, and the intention and the effects of it, as in later times both the term and the effects of such a confession have been first forgotten, then confused, and then misrepresented. I solemnly require the reader to reflect and to remember, whether his opinion and judgment, as to the value or efficacy of this general confession and absolution was adopted and determined on *before* or *since* he knew, as a fact, that this same general confession and absolution are nothing new, but simply retained from the old liturgies after the example of the practice of many centuries. Do people argue from the language, "pardon and deliver you from *all* your sins?" What is such an argument worth? If it is worth any thing now, of the same force was it in the year 1547. Are these words stronger, are they fuller, do they seem to be more large in their purpose and consequent effects, than—"dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducatur æternam?" What did that form mean in 1547? Where is there one single atom, one pretence of proof, that the same form meant more in 1548?'—Pp. 109—111.

Before we say one word in exception against Mr. Maskell's conclusions—and the rest of the volume is but the development and proof of what has just been stated—we wish to notice one important fact which he seems to us to have ascertained. Whatever meaning the Church attaches to the three forms which have been noticed, it is plain that all have come down from early times; subject therefore, unless some grounds of exception can be found, to the same rules and principles by

which they have been ever governed. What modifications the two first forms have received from circumstances, we shall notice presently; but certainly none has been adduced which affects the third. Its use is not always required, as it was formerly; when required, it is to be directed by the same principle—absolution, that is, must not be given individually, except upon full confession to a priest by word of mouth. Mr. Maskell has most successfully refuted an objection of Wheatley's, who supposed that this form could not be intended to convey a direct remission of sins, and must have reference to the removal of the Church's censures, because it is followed by a collect, which seems to imply that forgiveness is still required. But this collect, our author shows, only retains its original position, (p. 123.) And since absolution has been shown to be built on that doctrine of a new creation, which implies perpetual accessions of pardon and of grace, each step in the ladder is in reality but a natural introduction to a higher round. We repeat it, then, that though individual absolution is not of universal necessity according to the principles of the English Church, yet that, whenever used, it is required to be preceded by special oral confession. The one plainly implies the other. The service of which one makes part, is an office which implies the presence of the other. There are other offices which are to be construed on other principles; but where this service is used, it must be used as a whole, and its integrity respected.

We come now to the point at which we are compelled, however reluctantly, to differ from our author. And since, in much which awaits us, we shall have to do battle against a person of such learning and ability, we desire to fortify ourselves by recalling the importance of the principle for which we contend. For surely it is no trifling point which we are called on to abandon, when it is contended that general absolutions are not a channel of pardoning grace. To the mass of men, what real channel of pardoning grace will remain? To what *ordinance* can the clergy look as transmitting the blessing of a perpetual forgiveness to their people? Our author's principle therefore must needs involve a wide alteration in the practice and opinions of attached ministers of our Church. They must turn to some new quarter, if they are to feel any assurance in solemnizing the means of grace, or setting forth the hopes of glory. And such changes cannot be lightly admitted. In this case we feel a strong persuasion that they are not requisite. The two general forms of absolution are available, according to our view of the Church's teaching, as a positive means for the transmission of forgiveness: their efficacy in itself, and looking only to the side of the giver, is not less full, perfect, and comprehen-

sive than that of the most authoritative sentence, which after private confession by word of mouth is pronounced to the individual penitent. That peculiar advantages attend this last ordinance, we shall subsequently observe; but those advantages are relevant to the circumstances of the penitent, not to the authority of the absolver. A real gift is truly bestowed through the office of the priest; and this gift is not in itself less complete or less effective, because the more painful path of private confession might render men more apt for its reception. What is before us at present is the efficacy of absolution in itself. We will first show that the validity of public absolution is taught by our Church, and then offer some general considerations by way of confirmation.

Mr. Maskell's argument has already been stated. Three forms of absolution were in existence at the death of Henry VIII., A.D. 1527. Of these, two were held by all canonists to convey nothing more than the remission of venial sins (even if they conveyed so much). The third alone was held to convey plenary forgiveness. Since the Church has since that time decreed no formal alteration in the relative effect of these several sentences, why do they not continue to be opposed to one another as they were before? Our answer is, that the Church *did* declare her intentions to be altered, when she sanctioned the Order for the Communion, which was promulgated in the beginning of March of the following year, and which is given by Wilkins, (4. 11), and by Sparrow, (Collection, p. 17). They date it A.D. 1547, either because it was set forth before March 25th, or because it had been agreed upon and prepared during the previous year, (Eccles. Mem. 2. l. 8. p. 96.) Mr. Maskell describes it more accurately as 'the Order of the Communion, set forth in 1548.' Now, by this order, as our author says, 'the obligation to confess' (privately) 'and be absolved before communion, was distinctly and totally removed.' (P. 106.) A notice was set forth, by which the parson should warn his parishioners, before he ministered the communion, 'that they prepare themselves thereto.' The benefits which they were to receive, were first plainly unfolded. 'By the which passion we have obtained remission of 'our sins, and be made partakers of the kingdom of heaven; 'whereof we be assured and ascertained if we come to the said 'sacrament with hearty repentance.' Then come 'the way and means thereto.' And under this head it is expressly required that 'such as shall be satisfied with a general confession,' shall 'not be offended with them that do use to their further satisfying the auricular and secret confession to the priest; nor 'those also which think needful or convenient for the quietness 'of their own consciences particularly to open their sins to the

‘priest, to be offended with them which are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the Church.’

Now, as our author refers frequently to the effect which changes must have produced at the moment at which they were made, we would notice the mighty revulsion in men’s thoughts which must have been engendered by comparing this statement with the decree of Innocent III., A.D. 1216. The importance of this order, ‘*famosum et multum allegabile*,’ as it is still called in the Canon Law (12 de Pœn. Tit. 38. L. v.) is shown by the provision which occurs in the body of the statute; ‘*Hoc salutare statutum frequenter in Ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ignorantie cœcitate velamen excusationis assumat*.’ Now we maintain, that as the intention of the Mediæval Church, as this very provision implies, is to be gathered from its doings,—as its canonists did in fact adopt this method of ascertaining the purport of its teaching,—so is the purpose and aim of the English Church to be learnt from its authorized actions. It is not needful that we should inquire what was the full intention of the Church previously to 1548, and whether her gifts to men may have been wider than her own expressions. It is sufficient for us that we can at least ascertain the full intention of the English Church, and that we find it harmonize with her declarations. When she entered upon the field, she found the predominant opinion, even if it had not been formally sanctioned, to be as follows: first, as the Council of Trent expressed it three years afterwards: ‘*Est sacramentum Pœnitentiæ lapsis post Baptismum ad salutem necessarium*,’ secondly, ‘*Sunt quasi materia hujus sacramenti ipsius pœnitentis actus, nempe contritio, confessio, et satisfactio*.’ (Sess. 14. 3, 4.) And by ‘*confessio*’ was plainly meant such private confession to a priest as Innocent III. had enjoined. The remission of sins thus implying two things, an act on the part of God, and an act on the part of man—this last act having been defined in a certain manner, and the necessity of certain conditions to its integrity having been absolutely affirmed; to give a different view of that act, to affirm that remission of sins could be obtained, though it was performed differently, was in fact to introduce a different definition of the nature of penitence, and so to innovate on the whole system of Mediæval Theology. The declarations of remission of sin, which were formerly made, were always to be checked by the thought that ‘*confessio quasi materia hujus sacramenti*,’ and that this ‘*confessio*’ was the individual pouring of sins into the ear of a priest. But let such definition be removed, and the general declarations of pardon were no longer limited by such a condition. How far they may have availed formerly, we need not

inquire; but now that they are pronounced at large, and not restricted by any subsequent condition, no limit is assigned to their effect.

Such a view of the changes made A.D. 1548, is borne out by consideration of the contrary tendency of the bull, '*Omnis utriusque sexus*,' &c. For it was this, and the enactments which attended it, whereby the largeness of that '*Remission of sins*,' which had been pronounced generally in former times, was professedly limited. We need not attempt to substantiate what Dr. Pusey has so learnedly established in his well-known note on Tertullian, that private confession was not *required* in the earliest ages. This point is fully admitted by Mr. Maskell, who indeed shows himself in many places to be a thorough Anglican, conscientiously attached to the rules and principles of our Church. But how did the general confession of ancient times die away? It yielded by a gradual process, as the corruption of manners indisposed men to the public admission of their sins, and the advancing authority of the clergy imposed in its place a compulsory system of private confession.

This series of changes may be traced pretty near its source, in the instructions of Leo the Great to the Bishops of Campania. The custom, however, was long maintained, that for glaring sins a public penitence was exacted, while for private offences against God, men were instructed that their private repentance gave them part in the general promises of the gospel. To assist them in deciding whether their sins required the medicinal influence of public penitence, was the office of the Penitentiary. To such individual repentance does S. Augustine refer both in the '*Enchiridion*,' (cap. 71,) and in the '*De Civitate Dei*,' (21. 27, 4). In neither case does he seem to have known any other alternative, as essential to pardon, than either that private confession to God, whereby members of Christ's Church were entitled to forgiveness, or such public humiliation as was necessary to atone for public scandal. The same thing may be inferred from the passages which Dr. Pusey quotes from S. Chrysostom.

Now, while such was the common practice, what was there to limit those general declarations of pardon, which the public ritual always contained? When the Church had given a technical meaning to the word confession, it may be said indeed that no benefit could follow the absolution which she was empowered to pronounce, unless the conditions of her demand were complied with. Suppose this true, it is inapplicable at all events till this technical meaning had been given to confession. It cannot limit the effect of those benedictions which meet us whenever we open the '*Sacramentary*' of S. Gregory. We turn almost at random to his service for Quinquagesima Sunday: '*Vitiorum*

‘sordibus emundati, et caritatis ardore solidati, cœlestem hereditatem percipere valeatis illæsi. Amen.’ Or again on the Feria 4ta post Palmas: ‘Ab eo sempiternæ vitæ munus percipiatis, per cujus temporalem mortem, æternam vos evadere possitis.’ Or once more take the Twentieth Sunday after Pentecost: ‘Purificat omnipotens Deus vestrorum cordium arcana, et benedictionis suæ vobis tribuat incrementa. Amen. Ab omnibus vitæ præsentis periculo exuamini, et virtutum spiritualium ornamentis induamini. Amen. Quo illius adjutorio fulti, sic ei serviatis in terris, ut ei conjungi valeatis in cœlis. Amen.’

Now, at this time, no rule so bound up absolution with the act of the penitent, that it was supposed it could not take effect unless it had been preceded by private confession. What could limit therefore the generality of these acts of blessing? Why should not all penitent men take advantage of them? We say nothing respecting the precatory form in which these sentences of absolution are expressed, because its common use has been sufficiently vindicated by Morinus; and if the *thing* bestowed be really pardon, it matters little in what form it is conveyed. ‘A benediction,’ says Mr. Palmer, ‘seems to have been regarded as equally valid, whether it was conveyed in the form of a petition or a declaration, whether in the optative or the indicative mood.’ (Antiquities, ch. 1. p. 1. § 6.) It was not till a new rule exacted a further condition, as among the qualifications of a penitent, that any doubts could be entertained about his state. This rule came in so gradually, as insensibly to change the Church’s doctrine. We find general forms of absolution still lingering in later times, when men were at a loss exactly to explain their efficacy. Such are those general denunciations of pardon, bestowed upon men even in their absence, respecting which Morinus professes himself utterly perplexed. ‘Quid doctores sentiant, terram inter et cœlum suspensus,

Μεσσηγὺς γαίῃ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντος, *

audire magis velim quam ipse proferre.’ (De Pœnit. viii. 26.) He instances the general absolutions given by Gregory VII. and by Peter of Cluny; and those which according to ancient custom were promulgated on Maundy Thursday. An example of the last sort was supplied by the practice of the Church at Rouen, which appears plainly enough to have been a relic of that ancient system of public reconciliation, which had been superseded by the private confessional. ‘Sancta quoque feria 5. Pœnitentibus publicis datur absolutio, postquam coram omnibus peccata sua confessi sunt, quæ scilicet omnibus cognita sunt, aut quæ sunt ejusmodi, ut publicata scandalum non pariant. Verbi gratia, cum parentes incuriâ quâdam infantes

‘suos suffocarunt, et his similia. Postquam igitur sese accusarunt, penitentia illis injungitur, et publica absolutio confertur.’

This practice, still in great measure maintained at Rouen, according to the testimony of Harley, its Archbishop, in the time of Morinus, furnished, he maintains, an explanation of the general absolution, which at the same season was pronounced throughout France. We cite it as an example that the ancient practice, which did not limit the efficacy of a general absolution to those who had made individual confession to a priest, had not been so far effaced by the bull of Innocent, but that some traces of it were left in the ritual of the Church. And so Morinus himself appears to have felt; for he adds:—

‘Absolutio igitur illa publica non erat antiquitus nuda et exsanguis ceremonia, sed vera, realisque peccatorum remissio, cujus usus ubique hactenus non omnino obsolevit.’

He adds soon afterwards:—

‘Facile tamen adducor ut credam absolutionem illam quotannis solemniter datam ab aliquot seculis, in majori Ecclesiarum parte, in quibus abolita non est, esse tantum ceremonialem. *Quamquam enim verba sint eadem quæ antiquitus, intentio tamen Ecclesiarum, si paucas forte excipias, non est amplius eadem*; nec res absolutione subjectæ ut antiquitus disponuntur. Quapropter Sacramento penitentiae ut illius pars, non videtur amplius adnumeranda, sed inter ea, quæ Scholastici Sacramentalia vocant, reponenda. Sic tandem de antiqua institutione sua paulatim eo usque deflexit.’—*De Pœnit.* viii. 26. 9.

We have arrived at this point, then,—that general forms of absolution occurred in the ritual, in the time of Morinus, which the traces of ancient usage, retained in some remote corners, proved to have been originally designed to possess plenary efficacy; but that such forms required to be construed differently, since the new system of laws completed by the decree of Innocent had altered the intention of the mediæval Church. Are we not justified then in affirming, that when the Church’s laws returned to their old course, her formularies would resume their ancient significance? That such was the design of the general absolution and confession introduced in 1548, is evident enough. For not only was ‘a humble confession to God’ required, but also ‘the general confession to the Church.’ The last are not idle words. How little soever our present usage may be an exact return to the custom of antiquity, yet such a result was clearly desired by our Reformers. ‘Erit, si volumus Dominum Jesum solide regnare super nos, et disciplina tota penitentiae atque emendationis peccatorum in Ecclesiis restituenda,’ Bucer’s remark on the Communion Service, (*Script. Angl.* p. 491.) It was plainly hoped, therefore, that the general confession would be as real, and the general absolution as valid, as in the days of S. Augustine. In the last were retained those general terms

which had been originally designed to convey plenary forgiveness to the penitent; and since the previous limitation was withdrawn, their full efficacy was again to be exerted.

That such was the general history of the Church's proceedings might be shown at large, if our limits allowed us to enter fully into the question. For example, in 1549 the Daily Prayer did not contain the form of confession and absolution, which was confined to the Liturgy. But then the Liturgy, as its rubrics testify, was designed to be daily celebrated in cathedral and many other churches, and on the week-day not unfrequently even in parish churches. When the use of the Liturgy or Communion Office was found to be infrequent, the Confession and Absolution were prefixed to the daily Morning Prayer. This was the change made in 1552. As yet, however, the Church was only feeling her way to the full expression of her opinion: the notion might be discerned, that the Holy Communion should be preceded by a more formal declaration of forgiveness. In the Daily Prayer the minister was not enjoined, as in the other case, either to stand up or turn towards the people. Towards these things, however, the Church was slowly progressing. Bishop Sparrow recommends them as manifestly suggested by the requirements of the service, and they were formally prescribed by the Scotch Prayer-book of Laud. Thence the one has found its way into our rubric, and both, we suppose, into the practice of all intelligent officiators. The absolution moreover has been assigned specifically to the *priest*. Now, looking at the general nature of the Church's offices, these matters, except the last, are not essential: the true efficacy of the office is indicated by Bishop Cosin, even when he doubted respecting the exact description which ought to be given to it;—it is the admission of the penitent sinner to that place in the Church's list, with which the gift of pardon is intimately associated. And here we would express our conviction that Mr. Maskell has greatly overrated the differences which prevailed among preceding ritualists. Their systems are not six or seven, as he alleges, but only two. The one supposes that a real gift is bestowed in absolution, the other denies it. Mr. Maskell himself is the only real exception to this rule, since he joins alternately with both parties. The divergency in their mode of speaking does not affect the gift which is bestowed, but only the manner of describing it. Now, it is a matter of comparative indifference whether the Church's ministers are to be understood as praying or preaching, as judging or declaring,—the real question is, whether their instrumentality is employed by the Most High in bestowing on penitent believers the gift of pardon. Even Wheatley, though an apparent exception, is not

essentially opposed to his brethren. He imagined, indeed, from the authoritative tone of the Absolution in the ritual for the Sick, that it must refer to the mere relaxation of ecclesiastical penalties; but then he goes on to add the further argument, that the real absolution is comprised in the prayer which follows. This position Mr. Maskell has effectually overthrown, by showing that the prayer occupied the same place when the form of Absolution was certainly designed to be efficacious. And since the process of pardon is not a sentence passed once for all, but the admission to a higher life, its greatest steps do not exclude some further advancement. The argument, therefore, of Wheatley is a needless refinement, which further inquiry shows to have as little ground in history as it has in reason. In like manner it seems that Bingham designed to represent absolution as equally necessary, when it could be had, with the sacraments of grace. All that he asserts is, that 'if God can save martyrs and believers without visible and external baptism, He can absolve them without visible and external absolution.' (Lett. 1st on Absol.) So that both of these writers may be referred to the same class with Cosin, Sparrow, Overal, Comber, and all our great canonists, who have ever declared with one voice, that in her absolutions the Church acts with a real power, truly dispensing to the faithful and penitent that gift of pardon of which it has pleased her Father above to appoint her to be the channel. As her requirements during the middle age led her expositors to suppose the plenary exercise of her gifts to be limited to a certain specified line of operation, so has the different conduct of the English Church suggested a different conclusion to her intelligent observers.

And this becomes still more clear, if from the consideration of individual expressions we mount to the general principles of her office towards men. For the Church is the revealed line of God's action in that work of re-creation in which it has pleased Him to labour. She is the appointed channel, the living law, through which the Mediator, who was once visible among men, is spiritually present. Her ordinances, therefore, are all replete with life, her voice is the utterance of God's oracles, and her children are bound by true union to the Most High. When He took our nature in the Virgin's womb, there commenced that mysterious work, of which every sacrament, and every declaration of God's forgiveness, is a consequence. In this work He is the sole original agent; He delegates to no man an independent authority,—He himself cleanses, feeds, forgives, accepts the sinner,—His ministers cannot exclude their Chief, or occupy any separate position. Of all this Mr. Maskell has evidently a just appreciation :—

'The spiritual life,' he says, 'is as real as our earthly. Having been new-born in Baptism, and at that time made children of God, even as by our natural birth we are children of men, we must, whether we would have it so or not, if we would be saved at all, go on and grow. We must grow in heavenly strength, and power, and capability. This increase comes to us, not of ourselves alone, or by our own efforts, but in God's Sacraments, the means of grace and aid which He has appointed. If we increase, then we are subject to no decay; no, strictly, not even in our bodies, for they die only in order to immortality. That which is sown is not quickened except it die. But if this growth be checked, or marred, or stayed, then we must seek for remedies: as the earthly body is helped in sickness and disease by medicine, and restored to its full powers again by bread and wine.'—P. 243.

But though our author in this and other passages does justice to the reality of that process whereby the Most High re-creates men to be 'conformed to the image of His Son,' there are statements in his work which might convey a contrary impression. It is plain that God's process of renewing mankind is *one* process, whether it employs the medium of the two great Sacraments, or works through the instrumentality of other sacramental ordinances. Those whom He forgives are really forgiven, His favour is a true acceptance; He who benefits us is a single agent, and therefore one channel through which He bestows His gifts cannot in the nature of the case interfere with another. If those who are united to Christ in the Eucharist are truly united to Him, they cannot wait for some other mean for the acquisition of forgiveness. Pardon is implied, by the nature of the case, in the favour of the King. Adoption to be His heir removes, *ipso facto*, the stain of slavery by which men were formerly discredited. He will not adopt those whom He does not truly make partakers of that higher nature which He bestowed upon mankind in His only-begotten Son, but when so adopted, they need no other process of enfranchisement. We may quote a remarkable precedent from our national history, in which the rules of English law were expounded by one of those great minds, who discovered in them their true origin in the deepest principles of man's nature. For thus it is that human law has its real dignity; it is the fullest expression of those maxims of unwritten truth, the possession whereof belongs to man as the residual image of the Most High. When Sir Walter Raleigh was employed in the king's service after he had been convicted of treason, Lord Bacon told him, on his proposing to sue out a formal pardon:—'Sir, the knee-timber of your fleet is 'money: spare your purse in this particular; for upon my life, 'you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already: the 'king having under his broad seal made you admiral of your 'fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers 'and soldiers.' It detracts not from the applicability of Lord Bacon's rule, that this noble spirit was sacrificed to the jealousy

of the Spaniards through the baseness of the pedant king: He with whom we have to do is no 'captious sophister,' to use Hooker's words; the large and liberal maxims of His just dominion are but imperfectly represented by the uncertain equity of the children of men. Now we think that Mr. Maskell's work does not do full justice to this great principle. There is a technicality about some of its statements, which would seem to imply that absolution was a distinct and independent gift, separable from the general course of the dealings of God. We are sure that such cannot be our author's intention, but such seems to us the effect of those limitations, whereby he seeks to prevent one ordinance of the Gospel from clashing, as he expresses it, with another. (P. 195.) The result of this system would be, that too much would be assigned to the *mean itself*, as an independent process;—that the personal interference of the real Agent, whose efficacy in one line could not encroach on His efficacy in another, would not be adequately appreciated. It is this constant reference to the great Author of men's salvation, who is truly to be discerned in all the ordinances of His grace, by which alone the Church's system can be vindicated from the imputation of formalism.

Perhaps our author has been in a measure led to this result by the conclusions which are not unnaturally suggested by those gross perversions of discipline which prevail at present in the Church. Church discipline differs, of course, from that of the State, because the main object of this last is the benefit of the community: whereas the improvement of the individual should never be lost sight of in the former. The Church's sentence, though not indifferent to the design, 'that others may be more afraid to offend,' yet seeks in the first place that the offender's spirit 'may be preserved in the day of the Lord Jesus.' Such is the statement of our Prayer-book: such is the order of S. Paul. 'The Church aims,' says S. Chrysostom, 'not at destroying the sinner, but the sin.' Perhaps the necessity of guarding against the misrepresentations of the Novatians may have led even the ancient Church to lose sight in some cases of its true object, but it was reserved for the secularity of modern times wholly to forget it. Of this Bishop Gibson made just complaint in the last century, and it is noticed in the truly apostolical Charge, which has just been published in New Zealand.

'In its origin,' says Archdeacon Wilberforce, Church Discipline 'is a part of the Divine rule of the Church; but it has been treated as though it took its rise from the appointments merely of society. Its true object is the salvation of souls, but the security of the State has been the end proposed to it. For the spiritual sanctions which should attend, it has been guarded by the doubtful weapons of human coercion. As God's ordinance, it was the greatest blessing; as man's enactment, it became the most intolerable curse.'—*Church Courts and Church Discipline*, p. 18.

It must surely have been these abuses which led Mr. Maskell to say that 'Excommunication, and the lighter censures of the Church, which sustain outward unity by enforcing outward discipline, are powers of a very inferior kind.' (P. 171.) No doubt excommunication, when seized upon by the State, and employed for a temporal purpose, is desecrated and destroyed; but, looked at in itself, what is it but a result of that Divine rule which was committed to the Apostles? And this whole system of the Church, whereby its officers bless and heal and edify, we cannot pass by, and get rid of, as though we had some other mode of approaching to God. Our author considers the Church of England to be justified by ancient practice in declaring auricular confession not to be essential to salvation. Since he maintains that no absolution is valid which is not consequent on such confession, it follows that absolution also is not essential. But since he adds likewise that the two great Sacraments were not appointed for the purpose of communicating the gift of pardon to Christians, we ask, What means, which do impart it, remain to the Church? How are men to be assured of the forgiveness of sins? So far as we can see, the result would be to leave men to something very nearly bordering on natural religion. This we are sure cannot be our author's intention; we mention it only as the difficulty by which his system appears to us to be embarrassed. For let it be allowed that general absolutions are not of full prevalence in conveying the remission of sin, and we are wholly unable to find our way out of the following dilemma—Either the Church would do wisely in requiring individual confession, as Thorndike maintained, but as is not maintained by our author—or else forgiveness of sins is to be sought for in some other way than through the ordinances of the Gospel. Now this last alternative appears to us to be equivalent to a transference of men's hopes to natural religion from that which is revealed. And, therefore, we should infinitely prefer the view of Thorndike to that of our author. Mr. Maskell, indeed, refers us to the statements of Scripture, and to our 'Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' (P. 152.) But if these truths are set forth, rather as giving us a different view of the character of God, than as providing the means whereby we are to approach Him, they come to little more than an enlightened kind of natural religion. What is characteristic of Christianity, is that channel of intercourse with the Father, which is opened to us through oneness with Christ. Our author tells us, indeed, that absolution is not stated in Scripture to be essential, as are the two great Sacraments of the Gospel. But is not union with Christ in His Church declared to be essential? And is not that ministry of His servants

—one portion whereof is the laying on of hands—a step in this necessary course? Do we not pray for the sick, therefore, that they may be preserved in the unity of the Church? Is it not essential to have ‘our fellowship with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ?’ ‘The necessity of believing the Holy ‘Catholic Church,’ says Pearson, ‘appeareth first in this, that ‘Christ hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. ‘We read at the first, that the Lord added to the Church daily ‘such as should be saved; and what was then daily doing has ‘been done since continually: Christ never appointed two ways ‘to heaven; nor did He build a Church to save some, and make ‘another institution for other men’s salvation.’ Of course we do not presume to judge individuals, who will be dealt with according to their several opportunities, and to the general principles of the government of God; but we are safe in affirming that such pardon of sins as is implied in the whole principle of God’s government of the Church, must needs have some authorized channel for its transmission. And what can be the usual channel of such a gift, save the instrumentality of those, the very charter of whose office is the possession of the keys? We cannot admit, then, that the ordinary exercise of absolving power, as expressed in the general declaration of God’s pardon, is without forgiving efficacy. It seems to us a real link in that golden chain, whereby Heaven and earth are bound together. Its principle is God’s presence through Christ in the kingdom of His grace, accepting the humble and penitent ‘in the Beloved.’

We are unwilling to leave off, without noticing a difficulty which will naturally suggest itself, and which Mr. Maskell states with his usual force. If private confession is not absolutely required, how comes so painful a duty to be ever recommended? ‘If confession,’ says Mr. Maskell, ‘is not a necessary preliminary to that great benefit which absolution confers, why should ‘men practise it?’ (P. 162.) It is his anxiety lest the usage itself should be absolutely abandoned, which has led him to seek for some authoritative ground for its use, and this ground he finds in its inseparable connexion with true sacerdotal absolution. Now, we are as fully satisfied, as we doubt not our author is, that private confession is a singular mean of personal improvement to those who duly use it, and that its prevalence would be of the widest benefit in the present day. And such has been the avowed sentiment of almost all our great divines. Like the Church herself, they all recommend, though few prescribe it. ‘Confession unto the minister,’ says Bishop Ridley, ‘which is ‘able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, ‘wounded, and ignorant conscience, ‘indeed, I ever thought ‘might do much good in Christ’s congregation, and so, I

'assure you, I think even at this day.'—(Ridley Letters, p. 338, Parker Society.) 'That confession hath been greatly abused, it cannot be denied, as many other things in the Church have been also; yet ought it not therefore to be rejected and cast away, but rather restored to the old purity, and to the use for which it was first instituted. And so shall it not only not hurt, but also profit very highly, and bring much utility and profit to, the Christian congregation.' (Bacon's *Potation for Lent*, p. 100.) But we need not accumulate authorities, since none can be more striking than those which are cited by our author himself; and the expediency of the custom is freely allowed by Mr. Hill, (p. 14,) and by Mr. Perceval, whom Dr. Hook quotes with approbation, (p. 83.) Indeed, Bishop Overall takes yet higher ground—'If he have committed any mortal sin, then we require confession of it to a priest.' (Maskell, p. 13.) And Bishop Sparrow observes, 'It would be considered, whether any deadly sin be not a weighty matter.' (P. 18.)

Now with all these authorities for the practice of confession—with the conviction of its utility, which, we must add, is deeply impressed on our own mind,—we should be sorry to adopt any line of argument which should deter men from its use. But is it so in the present instance? What is the exact place which confession holds in the process of forgiveness? There are plainly two parties to be considered—the superior who forgives, the inferior who is forgiven. It is as the representative of the first that the priest is empowered to convey pardon. We may employ the distinction which is introduced by Fulgentius in the case of Baptism: 'Manifestum est, quod sicut officium credulitatis et confessionis pertinet ad catechumenum; sic effectus baptismatis pertinet ad ministrum.' (De Baptismo *Æthiopis*, cap. 5.) On this division depends the true and justifiable sense, in which the efficacy of all sacramental ordinances is said to rest not on the virtue of the *opus operantis*, but on that of the *opus operatum*: (we would say parenthetically, that we quite agree with our author in regretting that modern custom has restricted the use of the word sacrament more closely than has been thought necessary by the Church.) In all sacramental ordinances, of which the authorized means for the forgiveness of sins is plainly one, the *power* is deduced from the side of the giver, the humble posture of an applicant is that which is necessary in the receiver. This is the only true sense in which sacraments can be said to produce their effect *ex opere operato*. The tendency of Socinianizing Divines is to rest the recovery of man on the exercise of his own faculties—on his repentance, faith, emotions; that is, on something which remains to be done or designed by himself within the narrow kingdom of his own

being. On the other hand, the Church maintains that everything really *meritorious* was effected by Christ alone during his earthly pilgrimage. The *work* was *done*, the victory achieved; what now remains, is its application through those sacramental rites, whereby the Head unites Himself to His members. In this respect, then, sacraments derive their force from what has been done already by Christ, and not from what remains to be done by men. Thus it is that salvation is not attained by our own merits, but through the merits of Christ. Apply this rule to the case of forgiveness. That portion of it which depends on the gift of God is independent of any thing which man contributes. But there is needed likewise sincere repentance on the part of the receiver. Now, if it be asked why confession is essential, we answer, that it is not indeed any part in that series whereby God bestows His free mercy, but that it is needful to the full development of that work which is required of the penitent. With this view is it commended in Holy Writ. It is part of that process, whereby men tread back the path of sin. But is it indifferent, as Dr. Hook implies, to whom we confess? 'These their griefs,' he says, 'they may open to one another, not of necessity, observe, to a priest, but to any friend.' (P. 24.) If so, why should the Church have enacted by special Canon, that confessions should not be revealed by her priesthood under pain of irregularity (incompetence, *i. e.* to hold any preferment)? And Dr. Hook omits likewise to notice, that when reference is made in the Communion Office to confession, 'the benefit of absolution' is closely joined to that 'ghostly counsel and advice' which men are to solicit. Is there no natural connexion between these two services? Is there not a natural fitness in seeking one, where we seek the other? Can any person convey God's forgiveness to the doubtful and dejected, with more hope of obviating despair, than those whom they have taken for their spiritual confidants? There is a plain relation in the nature of things between these offices, and the Council of Trent refers not unnaturally to this circumstance, as being a reason why the two offices should be united. In fact, they have in common been conjoined; if Dr. Hook, as we gather, is often solicited for advice, it is not merely, we will answer for it, from men's just respect for his wisdom and holy life, but because those who have recourse to him are likely to entertain a belief that some real gift is to be obtained through sacerdotal absolution.

The danger which seems to be apprehended by such persons as Dr. Hook is, lest a mere formal penitence should take the place of genuine repentance. They do not suppose that sin may be too much feared, or that union with God can be too earnestly solicited. Their notion is that real repentance will suffer

detriment by the use of private confession. Now whence could such a consequence arise, but from the mistaken supposition that a defalcation in the earnestness of the penitent might be made up for by some peculiar benefit which is conferred in the process of absolution? This is the error which, whether justly or no, has been attributed to some of the Schoolmen. Attrition, a mere imperfect, preparatory penitence, has been supposed to be sufficient—not, as we are told, through the increased life infused into it; but through the lower standard, which it is enough to attain. The virtue of absolution has not been introduced in order to augment the amount of the man's repentance, but to compensate for its absence. We need not stop to inquire whether the Schoolmen are justly charged with such a notion: the niceties which were introduced by the Aristotelian doctrine of habits were no doubt, as Morinus remarks, sufficiently bewildering. But no such perversion is of necessity involved in the principle before us; on the contrary, it is the very error against which we should most warmly protest. Each part of this process should stand entirely upon its own basis. There are those who think the sincerity of their repentance so sure a pledge of pardon as to render the absolution of the priest superfluous. They transfer the *opus operantis* to the opposite side, and do away therefore with the necessity of a Divine intervention. On the other hand, the efficacy of absolution must not detract from the reality of that repentance with which men seek it. It is with the precise view of calling forth that earnest repentance, which is its necessary preliminary, that the assistance of the priest should be called in. The necessity of referring to him as the channel of absolving grace suggests the expediency of consulting him as an authorized expositor of the reality of penitence.

We refer then to the nature of the case, and to the ancient practice of the Universal Church, as well as to the rules of our own, as furnishing sufficient evidence that none are more fitly to be chosen, when we confess our sins, than God's priests. The opposite supposition indeed must have its root in something like Dr. Arnold's theory, that the best man in every community is in reality its priest. When Dr. Hook refers us to the words of S. James, 'Confess your faults one to another,' as showing that in this respect priests are only like other men, we would remind him that 'Pray one for another,' is no denial of ministerial efficacy in the offering of the people's supplications? To us the command, 'Confess your faults one to another,' seems a general exhortation to the spirit of confession; which, like the command, 'Be subject one to another,' must subsequently be explained according to the general laws of the Gospel. The Queen's crown
 1 the Noble's preeminence are not forbidden, because all men

must be subject to one another; and because the general spirit of confession is to abound, we are not to suppose that one man cannot have an especial appointment to hear, and others to render it. Indeed the preceding order to send for the presbyters, especially if we are to translate the following words with Hammond, 'if he have committed sins, absolution shall be given him,' would go far to point out the official nature of the confession recommended. But we do not require so much as this; we rest here on the general necessity of the duty. Confession is to be made because, in their own case, men are bad judges; because it engenders humility for past sins, and watchfulness against their future recurrence; because men greatly need such a healing discipline for their own minds. And the confession thus made is to be made especially to God's priests, because to them pertains that office of absolution which is the natural mode of applying the remedy for sin; and because such has been the custom which the universal Church has always recommended. Such is the mode prescribed by our Church to those 'who feel their conscience troubled with any weighty matter'—and 'it would be to be considered,' says Bishop Sparrow, 'whether every deadly sin is not a weighty matter.' And surely the solemn imparting of such a secret to those whom the Gospel authorizes to convey forgiveness, must be far more solemn and comforting than the mere communication of a secret to an unauthorized fellow-sinner. 'When S. James exhorts all Christians,' says Bishop Taylor, 'to confess their sins to one another; certainly it is more agreeable to all spiritual ends, that this be done rather to the curate of souls, than to the ordinary brethren.' (Hook's Serm. p. 39.)

We differ then from Dr. Hook, in that we consider the office of confessor to be an essential, and not merely an accidental, part of the priestly character; we suppose it to arise necessarily from the professional duties of the clergy, and not from the casual circumstances of their social state. If a poor man loses a cow, or if his potatoes fail him, he comes to the parson of the parish to head his subscription list. Such an act of charity grows naturally out of the habits and position of the clergy, but it is not a strictly priestly act. A charitable squire would do it as well. Now we affirm, that to hear confessions *is* a priestly act, which the most devout squire would not do so well. And why not? Because the process is not intended to stop there, but to go on to the subsequent act of absolution; and the two acts have a natural relation to one another. But it is said, 'If confession were a means of grace, we should be directed to have recourse to the minister of the parish, because, in the administration of the means of grace, the efficacy de-

'pends not upon personal character, but upon the Divine commission.' This were a conclusive argument, were there not two parts in the process before us—confession, which is the act of the penitent; absolution, which is the act of God. Were the last only in question, the commission of the minister would be all that it would be needful to consider; take into account the first, and his character and qualifications are plainly important. Is not this admitted by the Church of Rome? She surely supposes absolution to depend on the minister's commission; yet, because it is to be preceded by confession, she allows a choice of priests.

So was it too in the ancient Church. Origen, or whoever writes in his name, advises men to look diligently to whom they confess—'to prove their physician:' but he intends plainly that God's ordained priests shall be the physicians sought. To suppose that the character of the confessor is immaterial, is to overlook the human part of this compound process; just as to suppose absolution imperfect, if not preceded by individual confession, is to forget that the grace conferred depends wholly on that portion of the process which is Divine. And neither of these extremes is sanctioned by our Church. She has a just sense that confession and absolution are correlatives—that where the first is employed, its mode of employment must be such as to draw out the second—or else she would not recommend private confession. But unless she grounded its employment on the necessities of the party who needs pardon, rather than on any limitation in the power which pronounces it, its use would not be recommended, but enjoined.

It may be said that such a practice can never be revived; that it is inconsistent with the very virtues of the English character, and with the habits of modern life. All this may in a measure be true. And it may be true also, that to rest on the judgment of another for the constant regulation of our common life might be an injurious sacrifice of free agency. Perhaps an occasional use of this remedy, in the case, as our Church suggests, of weighty sins, would be the wiser alternative. Yet even this is not likely to become usual, unless it first gains such frequency among the clergy themselves as may enable them to recommend it to others on their own experience. We must look to such an use of it as S. Augustine was contented to require for Church discipline at large. In that corrupt time and country, he aimed at maintaining a stricter mode of life among those who were especially devoted to the service of God; among those who were inmates in the palace of the bishop, or in the houses of the clergy; while the community at large were rather to be leavened by the spectacle of this rule, than to be directly

coerced by it. To them public exhortation and advice was to bring home the fruits of such salutary discipline. The effect of faithful preaching was to convince them of the evil of such habits as they refused to surrender. '*Turba iniquorum generali objurgatione ferienda.*' (Lib. iii. con. Pet.) Now might not such a result be hoped for, if a stricter life, and the habit of confession, were to grow among those who are devoted to the altar? How could men more fitly prepare themselves for the solemn imposition of hands than by the confession of all preceding offences? How could the sentence of absolution, which then they seek, be more consoling to their own minds? If the custom of 'retreats' is ever introduced among our clergy—and we can hardly doubt that some earnest-minded bishop will at last arise to introduce it—we are persuaded that nothing will more naturally ally itself with the seriousness which will thus be called forth, than the practice of individual confession. It is but the natural result of combining a true belief in the efficacy of absolution with a real anxiety to escape from sin. While these things, as too often in the history of our Church, have been divided; when earnestness has been without faith, belief without fervency; such efforts led of necessity to a wish to escape the Church's system, rather than to use it. Let faith only be married to zeal; and spiritual life will again centre in the heart, and circulate through the whole framework of the Church's body.

So far as regards the laity, we are satisfied that the revival of this wholesome usage, in such measure of course as our Church recommends it, must be brought about, not by abstract statements of its necessity, but by the development of those wants to which it affords the natural supply. The treatment must be like that of the judicious physician, who restores the languid digestion, not by overwhelming the stomach with food, but by stimulating the appetite which desires it. Mr. Maskell has some good remarks on the inexpediency of bringing such a subject as this before the public. It is like those medical discussions, which are absolutely necessary, it may be, but which had much better take place in a learned language. For there is no topic on which greater ignorance prevails in the present day, and which gives occasion to more blasphemy and misrepresentation. The true way, then, to recommend it to the laity, is to call into being those wants which it was designed to satisfy. The reason why men in general think confession and absolution an useless process, is because they have so superficial a sense of the evil of sin. The remembrance of it is not really grievous to them, nor its burden intolerable. Those whose preaching, therefore, is real and comprehensive—who deal with the great mysteries of sin and holiness—who have themselves a high

standard of practice—who discern what is meant by union with Christ, what holiness should be consequent on His true presence,—these teachers will of necessity lead men to confession, because a religion of forms and phrases will not satisfy their hearers. Among the earlier leaders of what is called the Evangelical party, when a true quickening shook the dead bones of the last century, there was much, no doubt, of this real life. It was partial, perhaps, and defective, because not built upon large views of Catholic truth. We remember a work, by a good man of this school, which records the life of a person who had sinned grievously, both against his neighbours and against God. His conversion and rapid growth in holiness is described, and the few last months of his life are depicted as quite a period of sanctity. He mastered, at once, the Calvinistic system, and understood the Epistle to the Romans better than old students of Scripture; but not a hint is given of *restitution* to the many parties whom he had unjustly defrauded. His past sins do not seem to have troubled his own conscience, nor does the reality of any regret, which he might evince, appear to have been tested by his spiritual advisers. A partial view of the great truth of expiation, withdrew attention from our Lord's own rule of compensation. 'First be reconciled to thy brother,' is the command of Him through whom our offences against men, as well as against God, can alone be expiated.

It is almost needless to observe, that the grand fault of the party which professes to follow those good men, who revived Evangelical religion in the last age, is their *want of reality*. The tradition which they follow was good in its time, because it was a sign of life; but it was originally too narrow, and is now worn out. Its living seeds are now embraced in that wider system which is growing up among us—alas for those who are content to live upon its husks! We believe that the deadness and barrenness of their own preaching is now a common feeling among those who are determined to wear nothing but the old clothes of their predecessors. Their old phrases are effectually used up. Except they abuse Puseyism they have nothing to say. The deep mysteries of truth, the state of man, the means of spiritual advancement,—those great things which the Church teaches, and which may be drawn forth from the treasury of her earlier writers by those who are more interested in learning their relations to God than in opposing Tractarianism, are left to others. We are happy to have to do with writers of a different school in the present article. We feel ourselves in the presence of the living. If Dr. Hook is jealous of confession, it is merely lest men should substitute a formal, for a real hatred

of sin. If Mr. Maskell questions the efficacy of general absolutions, we can see that his fear is that men will be satisfied with an imperfect confession. We think their views in a measure erroneous: but, agreeing as we do with such writers in the root of the *things* themselves, we are persuaded that the difference between us is of that verbal nature which fuller explanation tends to abate. We are convinced that all the writers before us would aim at furthering that higher standard of practice, by which alone private confession can be really extended. It is thus that many persons have already been led to it, either at present, or in past periods of our Church's history. Many, we believe, now desire it—wait only till they have found such an adviser as Origen points out. We are sure that the faithful preaching of Christ must engender such a wish; and thus only would we have private confession recommended. We speak to those who, as Bishop Sparrow expresses it, 'would be sure of pardon.' (Maskell, p. 19.) Without telling men that general absolutions are abstractedly insufficient, we may yet remind them that the fullest confession is safest for themselves.

For while we do not yield to our author in appreciating the benefits of private confession, if rightly used, we should see great danger in what we believe to be the ungrounded opinion that a general absolution is without plenary efficacy. One evil, to which we are satisfied that it would directly conduce, would be a low estimate of the benefits of public worship. No one can doubt how imperfectly those benefits are at present appreciated. How usual is it in country parishes to hear men say, that they can read good books, and have good thoughts at home! The idea that any peculiar benefit attends the worship of the great congregation is in a large measure lost. Now, if there be anything which is a real and true corrective to this tendency, it would be the conviction that the absolution given in our Daily Service is a true conveyance of remission of sins. Let this be faithfully set forth to the next generation, and who can affirm that they will not be better church-goers than their fathers?

Such an expectation is no reason, of course, for admitting any statement which is not strictly true; but it is a ground for receiving with caution any view of things by which the ancient system of belief would be invalidated. For look at the condition of all the Protestant communities in Europe. Who thinks of frequenting their meetings for the purpose of worship? Who attends Church unless the preacher's talents excite interest? And why should it be otherwise? There is nothing *done* in these assemblies by which men's condition is changed: nothing is communicated on the part of any higher Power, whose aid is

essential. And what makes the difference between such meetings and our own? In our churches, though our people may be but ill instructed in what they seek, there is yet an increasing perception that by this medium heaven and earth are united; that Divine gifts descend from God to man; that through His favour thus bestowed the Divine life is supported—that its supernatural influence is thus to be diffused through the whole extent of Christ's mystical body, and the unity of the collective Church to be extended and maintained. So far as regards venial sins, Mr. Maskell would admit this to be done. He would attribute to the ordinary actions of the Church's worship, what was attributed of old to the daily repetition of the Lord's Prayer. For our part we must go further. Allowing that there is a distinction between venial and mortal sins,—between those which do not and those which do separate from grace,—we yet believe that the difference in the mean necessary for their cure is a difference in the repentance which they require, and not in the authority or office of the forgiver. He who raised the dead, could at the next moment cure the stammering tongue or rebuke the incipient fever. In the patients thus benefited the contrast was infinite: none at all in the power which healed them. But the difference in the requirements of penitence must not be transferred to the absolving sentence which removes sin. Christ speaks equally through all the Church's offices. By those whose conscience is loaded with remembered guilt, who fear justly enough lest their repentance should be insincere, and their contrition imperfect, He is to be sought in such formal manner, as may assure them that they have obtained all such help in their part of the work as may be gained from one who has an especial commission to deal with consciences. They should seek one in whom the natural resources of an holy life are enhanced by the especial authority of the Apostolic commission. In falling at such a man's feet, they have a peculiar assurance that the present Lord, who through His servant's lips is about to speak the sentence of remission, will aid them in the arduous work of their penitence. It is not that their work will be done for them by their fellow-sinner: they must repent for themselves; it is their own contrition which is needed; but here they find one who deals with such cases not out of the stores of his own natural wisdom, but as the servant of the Great Absolver. To whom then can they more fitly seek for aid? And what is there in heaven or earth which can be more strengthening and comforting than the sentence of consequent remission—a sentence which our Church provides, not for those only who are sick in body, but for those sicknesses of the mind, by which all grievous sinners may plead that they are

afflicted? For the Service for the Sick contains in it an express reference to those who are troubled in mind, which shows that this part of man's nature is not lost sight of.

But suppose such a season to be past; suppose a man living in peace with God, in union with his Master; and is not that continual declaration of pardon which he daily hears a signal blessing? Our author himself says that he cannot separate deadly from venial sins; like S. Austin, he cannot draw the line between them. How then can he affirm that the gift of life, which he admits is sufficient for the extinction of the one, does not overflow to the curing of the other? Unless some plain law of the Church, some clear rule of her present practice, intercept her blessings, we see not how their influence can be thus restrained. We remember hearing it stated as an objection to the irregular practice of beginning the service by a metrical psalm, 'I cannot sing till I am forgiven.' Let the true nature of the gift of pardon be appreciated, let its just relevancy to the only Lord of pardon be truly felt, and such, we are persuaded, must be the issue. Christian forgiveness is no arbitrary sentence, to be once passed, and then registered in the heavenly archives; it is a law of life, whereby the true Source of life diffuses Himself through all His members. Each absolution is a remission to the sincere believer of all sins, because it is an engrafting into Him in whose favour is life. Things small and poor and limited, are, in truth, great and noble, because they maintain our hold on that Divine principle which is the exhaustless source of grace. For 'with Thee is the fountain of life, and in Thy light shall we see light.'

- ART. IX.—1. *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Prohibited by Holy Scripture, as understood by the Church for 1500 Years. Evidence given before the Commission, &c. with a Preface.* By E. B. PUSEY, D.D. *Regius Professor of Hebrew.* To which is appended a Speech delivered in the Court of Queen's Bench, &c. by Edward Badely, Esq. M.A. Barrister-at-Law. Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1849.
2. *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister considered. A Charge delivered at the Visitation in 1842.* By J. B. HOLLINGWORTH, D.D. &c. London: John W. Parker. 1849.
3. *Against Profane Dealing with Holy Matrimony, in regard of a Man and his Wife's Sister: a Tract by the Rev. JOHN KEBLE, M.A. Vicar of Hursley.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1849.
4. *The Report of Her Majesty's Commission, &c. examined in a Letter to Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart. M.P.* By ALEXANDER J. BERESFORD HOPE, M.P. London: Ridgway. 1849.
5. *The Sound Policy of the Existing Law of Marriage, &c.* By GEORGE WRAY. London: Cleaver. 1849.
6. *A plain Statement of the Grounds on which it is contended that Marriage within the Prohibited Degrees is forbidden in Scripture.* By HUGH BENNETT, M.A. &c. London: Rivingtons. 1849.
7. ΣΤΙΤΕΝΕΙΑ. *A Dispassionate Appeal to the Judgment of the Clergy, &c.* London: Cox. 1849.
8. *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister repugnant to Christian Feeling, &c.* By the Rev. PHILIP HALE, M.A. London: J. H. Parker. 1849.
9. *A Resolution of the Proposed Quære, &c. Reprinted from Hammond's Works.* Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1849.
10. *Three Letters addressed to the Bishop of Oxford, &c.* By the Rev. E. S. FOULKES, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College. Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1849.
11. *Letters in Favour of a Repeal of the Law, &c.* By the Rev. W. W. CHAMPNEYS, Rector of Whitechapel; the Rev. THOMAS DALE, Vicar of St. Pancras; the Rev. J. H. GURNEY, Rector of St. Mary's, Marylebone; and the Hon. and Rev. H. MONTAGU VILLIERS, Rector of Bloomsbury. London: Seeleys. 1849.

As we have on more than one occasion, and, indeed, so recently as in our last number, spoken on the subject of the suggested change in the Marriage Laws, we shall at this period, and in this form, do no more than very briefly say something on

the present position of the question, with the single view of showing to our own immediate class of readers, how peculiarly the matter is a clerical question, and how very emphatically it becomes the direct personal duty of the Clergy to show a decided interest in the matter.

From merely glancing over the names of the first ten publications just recited, it might be thought that the Clergy were unanimous in their view of the matter. No. 11, however, shows that this is not the case. We make no question that this last 'Tetrachordon' has been got up deliberately, for a specific object: it seems intended now to make the struggle a party one; to represent it is a mere form of the old dispute between Tractarians and Evangelicals. This is a most unchristian course: it is an aspect from which we have all along desired to keep the whole case clear. Upon those who have commenced it let the whole undivided consequences fall, of the evil which may accrue to us all from the introduction of this element of strife into the matter. Although it may be quite true that those among us who realize more fully the binding nature of Church authority, may be quite satisfied with *that* single argument against any change in the existing laws as applied to them; yet, in this matter happily, even to those who are not disposed to pay that deference, there remain sufficient objections to the repeal, quite apart from the question of Church authority.

In other words, it is but a poor shift to place the matter as one solely dependent on the claims of Church authority and the private interpretation of Scripture. On the one hand the whole body of Presbyterians, who certainly are neither Romanists nor Romanizers, are against the relaxation: the General Assembly of the Scotch Establishment has just forwarded its formal protest and appeal to Parliament: on the other hand, the leading Roman Catholic divine, Dr. Wiseman, is on the same side of the dispute as Mr. Hatchard and Mr. Montagu Villiers. But, since we last took up the subject, the whole stream of writing has been in one direction: all who had anything to say wrote 'against the profane dealing with Holy Matrimony:' we were daily making way both in Parliament and out of it—when suddenly it seemed desirable to suggest that the opposition to Mr. Stuart Wortley's bill was 'only a Tractarian movement: Dr. Pusey was at the head of it.' And then, as though to meet name with name, four London Clergymen of considerable reputation as preachers, and as the leaders of the Evangelical body, are advertised as taking an opposite view. That it is only an affair of name against name—that Messrs. Champneys, Dale, Villiers, and Gurney, are produced only to be quoted, is clear from the fact that on the one hand, Dr. Pusey gives his evidence before the House of Lords—evidence

which he corrects, republishes, prefaces, annotates through 180 pages; evidence which it must have taken him weeks upon weeks to prepare and digest, in a good-sized octavo; while, on the other hand, Mr. Dale, characteristically enough, comes out with his opinion, his *ipse dixit*, his judgment; his condemnation of the law of the Church, upon half a sheet of note paper. Dr. Pusey, too, forms an opinion; but he forms it by ranging through the whole of Christian antiquity; he argues from Scripture and the Fathers, the Councils and Commentators; he surveys Ecclesiastical and Political History; he traces the law of the whole subject: upon grounds of interpretation of the original texts in the Greek and Hebrew he forms a judgment; he collates contemporary authorities; he cites the law of nature, the Roman law, the Imperial law, the Canon law, the English law; he argues the question on grounds of morality and policy; he tries to see how relaxations have succeeded elsewhere; he does not confine himself to the primitive, or Roman, or Anglican, or continental view; he turns the subject to every possible light. This on the one hand: on the other, Mr. Champneys in two pages; Mr. Dale in half a page; Mr. Gurney in four pages; and Mr. Villiers in a page and a quarter, are produced—are to be quoted as the great London rectors of the great London parishes in favour of the repeal.

No more than this: what the four gentlemen in question are as divines or theologians, the world knows without any information on our part. These gentlemen have succeeded to their large and lucrative livings in the ordinary course: one has been presented by his College, and one by himself, and the others by their family influences. These accidents, which have contributed to their position, attach no weight to their opinions. Are they, then, more qualified to give judgment in the case because they have immense parishes, and live in London? Quite the reverse: Mr. Villiers, we see, observes that in his pastoral visitations he never inquires who the wife was: Archdeacons Hale and Sinclair and Mr. Tyler have in their evidence before the Commission frankly owned that their large parishes gave them no additional insight into the matter. Why, then, are these four gentlemen of London produced at this crisis? Simply because they are gentlemen of London, with large parishes, and large congregations. *Valeant quantum*: this is their claim to be heard. They will sound well; they are a voice, but certainly nothing else. For upon what grounds is it that, reluctant as they profess themselves to agitate or to obtrude, those deep opinions have been formed, which the gentle violence of friends has extorted from these gentlemen? Let us take them *seriatim*.

Mr. Champneys begins by taking the law of Levirage:

'because God *commanded* a brother under certain circumstances to 'take his deceased brother's widow—and because God can command nothing immoral—therefore, if the principle of such a marriage is not immoral, we see that it would be expedient.' Now first, it will be well to remind Mr. Champneys, that Almighty God does not *command* the man to marry his brother's widow: it is permitted—it is for civil purposes encouraged, but not enjoined; the widow was allowed to claim her right; but very many reasons, as we have ourselves shown, released the brother from this obligation; and the submitting to a very slight formal penalty entirely freed him from it. We do not find in the case which the Church is reading at this very moment, that of Ruth, that the 'near kinsman' incurred any blame, even though he refused to fulfil the legal and political injunction of marrying the widow: he did not choose 'to mar his own inheritance;' he therefore transferred, and all, as it seems, without any sin, his title, or duty, or right, whatever it was, to another. Most certainly the whole case looks, as indeed it is, merely a civil matter, like the Hebrew law of heiresses; and it is impossible for any reader of Holy Scripture to suppose that the near kinsman was actually violating any 'command' of God. Besides, it is rather playing with words, to say that God would not 'command' anything immoral; and that marrying a wife's sister, or a husband's brother, is not immoral, because under certain circumstances God 'commands' it—or, as we have seen, rather in a single case permits it. In point of fact, if this argument of Mr. Champneys is good for anything, it proves rather too much; it proves that even brothers may marry their sisters. Thus, we want to show, for example, that brothers *may* marry their sisters. As before: 'God cannot command anything immoral;' but God did command mankind to increase and multiply: in the first generation after Adam and Eve, brothers and sisters alone could marry: therefore, as God cannot command anything immoral, and as He did under certain circumstances command brothers and sisters to marry, so such a marriage cannot be immoral. And then from this isolated permission for a brother to take his brother's widow when there were no children, upon her demanding marriage, Mr. Champneys goes on to conclude the expediency of a wife's sister being married, just because there are the motherless children! Sarah was Abraham's niece. This was a marriage clearly approved of by God. Such a scriptural instance, according to Mr. Champneys, would show, that as God could approve of nothing immoral, there is nothing immoral in *such* a marriage. Again, Abraham was directly 'commanded' to sacrifice Isaac. Is it therefore that infanticide is not immoral?

Mr. Dale's 'deliberate judgment' arises from his parochial

experience that 'cohabitation without marriage is almost invariably the result' of the prohibition: but as Mr. Dale does not mention the amount of his induction, we really are precluded from following this crude and hasty talk—this off-hand, unreasoning, dictatorial language, which neither befits the subject, nor the respect due to those from whom he differs.

Mr. Gurney, we believe, considers it a class question: he freely admits that to alter the present law would entail very serious hardship upon all the middle and higher classes; he owns that in 'his own rank of life more good is likely to be obtained by leaving the law in its present state;' but that 'in the case of the poor, because they very often have 'but one room, and there is danger of sin between the widower 'and his wife's sister, if under these circumstances they live in 'compulsory contiguity,' therefore it is better to prevent this possible and hypothetical sin—possible and hypothetical we say, because neither Mr. Gurney, nor Mr. Montagu Villiers, who repeats this argument, venture to say that they ever knew of a single case of it. Mr. Dale is the only person who produces the astounding statement that this is 'almost invariably the result;' and on that ground seeks to legalize what his own Church judges to be incest. We do very seriously and solemnly urge upon the Clergy the vast danger of this terrible argument, which is based upon possible sins.

If we are to be asked to legislate contrary to a rule which the Church has always either directly founded upon, or collected out of, Holy Scripture, and to decide so serious a matter upon the accidental circumstances and habits of the poor, and upon imaginary cases,—let us see how long we should be able to defend such a prohibition as that against marrying a father's widow, *i. e.* a stepmother. True, this is the case of the incestuous Corinthian, 'such fornication as is not so much as 'named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's 'wife.' But we will undertake to prove, from a not very minute collation of the evidence and arguments adduced in favour of the present relaxation, a very strong case indeed against even *that*. First: it is not a case of consanguinity; and many of the witnesses have already intimated their desire to release all cases of mere affinity from any restriction. Secondly: though it may seem that Scripture is precise, all that it need mean is, not to have a father's wife while the father is alive; and this has been urged as its 'probable' meaning, (Pusey, Pref. p. xxiii.) Thirdly: to enforce this prohibition, entails great hardship on the poor, in assumed and conjectural cases; and its repeal might prevent a possible case of possible sin, in such an instance as this. A father leaves a young widow, his second wife; his son also happens to be a widower. 'Who can look at the mother-

less children so tenderly' (Champneys) as the stepmother of their father? 'Who so likely to bear with their little waywardness?' (Id.) 'When she has got almost a mother's place in the affections of the children, it seems cruel to turn her away.' (Gurney.) 'It is almost always desirable that a man left with a young family, among the poor, should marry again. Upon whom can he reckon often but' (Id.) his stepmother? But an unhallowed union is possible between two persons thus thrown together; therefore the law is wrong: let them marry. Most earnestly do we deprecate the thought that Messrs. Champneys and Gurney would permit such a marriage: but does not this conclusion flow from their premises? Is not this a legitimate result, one which we must fairly make up our minds to, if we tamper with the Table of Prohibitions? Once admit the force of the argument derived from the demoralizing influences of the dwellings of the poor, and we must consistently allow even brothers and sisters to marry, because incest between them may occur—or, as we all know, has occurred, under such circumstances. It is only by putting these shocking cases, that the fallacy of such appeals as Mr. Gurney's can be made patent.

We do very earnestly entreat the Clergy not to be led away by names in this unhappy matter; it is not a party question. Calvin and Beza were as much in favour of this prohibition, and as distinctly founded it upon the Divine law, as Hammond, or Archbishop Parker, or Dr. Pusey. Cardinal Cajetan and the most immoral of the popes were as strongly on the other side as the four London rectors. Perverse ingenuity cannot make it a question of Romanizing or Protestantizing. It is one which affects the very foundations of social morality: the passing of Mr. Stuart Wortley's bill will blast the peace of thousands of families; its very discussion is productive of unutterable pain. We have ourselves shown—and Mr. Beresford Hope's pamphlet has subsequently drawn out at considerable details, the mere made up and hired character of the evidence adduced before the Commissioners. The position in which it will place the Clergy is one of extreme danger. The law of the Church remains, and must remain, what it is. No Act of Parliament whatever can release the Clergy from their canonical obedience to the Table of Degrees. Any marriage solemnized by the Clergy under the passing of the proposed bill will subject them to ecclesiastical censures. Already a very earnest declaration has been numerously signed, by which the Clergy bind themselves under no circumstances to celebrate such unions.

A conflict between the Church and Parliament is very earnestly to be deprecated; and a conflict is only to be avoided by the rejection of the Bill. To this single object all our efforts must be

directed. No parish is too small—no body of the Clergy too insignificant—to petition. Neither a moment nor an opportunity is to be neglected: let it be made a matter of personal, as of immediate, duty to protest. And with the view of concluding with a practical direction, we subjoin a communication and form of petition already in circulation.

SIR,

A COMMITTEE of Members of the Church of England, assembled at Mr. J. H. PARKER'S, 377, Strand, on the 21st of March, 1849, have prepared the accompanying Form of Petition against Mr. STUART WORTLEY'S Bill for altering the Law of Marriage, which they take the liberty of recommending to those in your neighbourhood who concur in their opposition to the proposed measure.

It is of great importance that the feeling of the country should be, as far as possible, expressed upon this subject *before the 19th of April next*, when the second reading of the Bill will be moved in the House of Commons.

The following Members of the House of Commons have expressed their willingness to take charge of the Petitions against the Bill, which, if directed as Petitions to Parliament (open at each end), will go post free:

A. J. B. HOPE, Esq. M.P. 1, Connaught Place.
H. K. SEYMER, Esq. M.P. Carlton Club.
S. H. WALPOLE, Esq. M.P. Lincoln's Inn.
JOSEPH NAPIER, Esq. M.P. House of Commons.
ROUNDELL PALMER, Esq. M.P. 11, New Square, Lincoln's Inn.
F. R. HAGGITT, Esq. M.P. Carlton Club.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

377, STRAND, LONDON,
March, 1849.

J. WHITAKER, *Hon. Sec.*

P.S.—In every case when a Petition is forwarded to any of the above Gentlemen, it must be in handwriting. All separate Names can be forwarded to Mr. PARKER, 377, Strand, at whose house a Form lies for general signature, and will then be presented as one Petition. All Petitions addressed to Members of Parliament, endorsed 'Petition to Parliament,' and forwarded, like a newspaper, with the ends open, will go post free.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament assembled

The humble Petition of the [undersigned Inhabitants of the Parish of A. B. in the Diocese of C. D.]

SHEWETH,

That having been informed of the introduction of a Bill into your Honourable House for the purpose of Legalizing the Marriage of a Widower with his deceased Wife's Sister or Niece, we beg to represent our conviction that such a Marriage is contrary to the Divine Law, and that its legalization would be prejudicial to public morals, and in the highest degree injurious to the interests of Society.

We, therefore, humbly pray your Honourable House not to pass the said Bill.

N.B.—Each Petition must have at least one Name on the sheet containing the Petition itself.

NOTICES.

'SHORT Sermons for Family Reading,' by the Rev. Samuel Rickards, M.A., Rector of Stowlangtoft, and late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. (London: J. & C. Mozley, and J. Masters.) These Sermons are of a different type, in many respects, from the higher class of Sermons to which we have been most accustomed of late. They are not pictorial: they do not enter minutely into states of mind, or draw particular characters. They enforce, with that originality which is the result of a true living apprehension of it in the writer's own mind, one great and common idea—that of duty. It is man's nature to be under a law. If he is to be happy, he must be happy according to his nature: that is to say, in and through obedience to the Divine law. 'Thorough Obedience, the Fountain of Happiness,' the title of one of the Sermons, might be adopted as the title of the volume. And the peculiarity in the tone of the writer, is his pointed and definite conviction of the connexion between happiness and performance of duty, being not one of ultimate consequence only, but of present sensation. Unrestricted human nature, distracted by a perfect license of choice amid a countless crowd of objects surrounding it, is a miserable image. We can no sooner realize it than the idea of limitation becomes in itself delightful; we catch at it as a positive relief: it is like a harbour after the wide sea. And when we take into account that this limitation is not an arbitrary one, but the limitation of Divine law, the advantage is complete. Here, certainly, is peace and confidence; an assurance that it is well with us if we are within its precincts. This is the point then: a man is happy in the very consciousness of obedience. But this obedience must be true and genuine, and not impaired by reservations, to give this happiness: and this note of warning ever accompanies the one of promise in this volume. The combination of great strictness and great cheerfulness in it is indeed most striking. The writer says expressly, on the one side, that obedience, so far from not procuring happiness, has not even to wait for it; that it has it *here*, because it is in truth part of its essence. 'The Apostle does not encourage the notion, which some Christians are content to adopt and act upon, that duty must be done at one time, and the reward of duty never expected till another time—that we must embrace the Gospel because it is true, and the only way of salvation, yet expect little from it at present, but what is trying, and difficult, and painful. S. James, in this very place, expresses quite the contrary. He says, that let our duties be what they may, provided we are careful to take those only for our duties which Christ has made so; and moreover, to the best of our power, to do all we have reason to believe he intends; we must not then catch eagerly at happiness from the world, and we need not wait for happiness till we go out of the world; but we shall have happiness, very great happiness, as much happiness as is good for us at present, while we are doing these things, and in the doing of them.' But then, on the other hand, he says—

'It (the text) does not say that if we receive and profess the Gospel, and take Christ for our Saviour, we may then safely take a large share in the enjoyments of this world, and show to others, by all means we can, what a cheerful thing religion is. This is a sad and ruinous mistake, and only shows how really ignorant some professors of the Gospel are, and how successfully Satan tempts them still, in spite of all the Gospel warnings, to make the foolish attempt of serving two masters that never can be served together.'

In this way the idea of a severe tranquil self-restraining happiness, as the proper state of a Christian in this world—a happiness resulting from the constant power of making himself do what he ought to do—pervades this volume. With this leading idea running through, there is considerable variety in the shape of explanations of Scripture, and thoughts on men and things. Thus the practical inferences drawn from the character of Jehu; the reflections on 'Barzillai, or the Wisdom of Old Age'; on 'Joseph in Prison'; on the 'Unjust Steward'; on 'the Church's Man of Rank.' The Sermon upon 1 Timothy i. 5, which bears the title of 'The Inseparable Chain,' and describes good thoughts producing action, good action producing faith, and this faith producing love, is a singular specimen of completeness. The style, as simple as style can be, yet always careful and elegant, harmonizes with the religious tone; nor is its effect impaired but rather heightened by the occurrence of a few choice quaintnesses and chaste rusticities, which a scholar-like mind can well afford to employ when they happen to serve the purpose of apter expression; especially when we remember that the Sermons were addressed to a village congregation. It is unnecessary to say that this simplicity is connected with considerable point and vigour, for real simplicity always must be vigorous. The volume is, on the whole, calculated to leave lasting practical impressions on a reader's mind.

'Journal in France in 1845 and 1848, with Letters from Italy in 1847, of Things and Persons concerning the Church and Education, by Thomas William Allies, M.A., Rector of Launton, Oxon.' (Longman.)

We must begin with stating, that we regret the publication of this book, and are far from agreeing with all that the writer advances, either on the side of the French Church, or to the disadvantage of our own. Having said this, however, we gladly acknowledge that the book contains much interesting information with respect to various religious institutions in France, besides giving us some valuable incidental insight into the argumentative position maintained by the leading and most intellectual divines in that country towards opinions and persons out of their own body. We shall avail ourselves of this latter department of information for making one or two reflections, not bearing upon the informant himself, but upon the subject-matter of his information.

We must confess that the glimpses here given us into the controversial politics of the French Roman Catholics have not tended to increase our idea of their soundness and solidity. On the contrary, we appear to see in them a very remarkable deficiency in coping with existing facts, as presented to them either in particular quarters, or in the state of society at large.

For example, on the subject of devoted and self-denying intelligent Christians, who yet live voluntarily out of the pale of their Church, and are therefore, on their broad theory, out of the pale of salvation. This is a most important and very large existing fact. Two Churches especially, comprehending together more than a hundred millions of professing Christians, present this fact largely to them. It is evidently a fact that should be met; and how do they meet it? A divine, whom the French clergy could certainly not call an unfair representative of them, no less a person than M. Lacordaire, *loquitur*:—‘Monsieur, there is only one thing which can excuse a person for not belonging to the Church, and that is invincible ignorance. You know in certain cases even the heathen can be saved. But such a person cannot be in invincible ignorance; for there are only three things by which a man can be prevented from seeing the truth: either the truth in itself must be of insufficient power to convince him; or there must be a defect of the understanding; or a corruption of the will. But the first is out of the question. Either, then, there must be a defect of understanding—but in the cases of the leaders of the Anglican movement that is out of the question, because they are men of great powers of mind, of great distinction; there remains, then, only the corruption of the will. Such men are condemned; that is, as explained at the commencement, ‘put out of the pale of salvation.’ Now, let us observe what this assertion comes to. It amounts to saying, that whereas ordinary members of the Anglican Church are within the pale of salvation on account of their blindness and ignorance, some of her most devout, conscientious, and self-denying members are out of it because they possess knowledge. The less religious minds are better off in God’s sight than the more religious ones. Ordinary Christians have grace: very extraordinary and superior ones have not. The mass have a much better hope of heaven, than the individual whose saintliness shines out so conspicuously and preeminently from among them. If this is not a *reductio ad absurdum*, we know not what is. M. Lacordaire himself begins to have some suspicion of this; and after making this full and compact statement of his theory, attempts to insert a modification. But is there room for it? Let us see. ‘When, indeed, you come to the *individual*, I will not attempt to judge: it is written, “*Nolite judicare*,” for it is utterly impossible for any human being to know the inward state of another. I will only say of the *class*, that such persons cannot plead invincible ignorance.’ The qualification, then, here made by M. Lacordaire of his previous statement, is that he was not speaking in it of individuals. But this is not a qualification of, but a total contradiction to, that statement. He *was* speaking of individuals in that statement; viz. of ‘the *leaders* of the Anglican movement.’ Nor could he possibly, according to the nature of the argument, be speaking of anything else but individuals. For the whole question of invincible ignorance is necessarily concerned with the case of individuals, as exceptions to a certain general rule. The general rule is certain; but the question is, whether individuals are not in certain cases excepted from it. M. Lacordaire, in the statement he makes, allowing the exception in the case of some individuals, distinctly disallows it in the case of others, and brings *them* under the full and awful action of the general rule. Having done this, he cannot withdraw the individual as the

subject of those remarks, and substitute the class: he was discussing expressly the question of exceptions to a class—viz. the class of persons formally excluded from salvation, because outside of the Roman Church. M. Lacordaire's view is accordingly inconsistent and unmeaning. He says and he unsays; first asserts that certain persons are not within the pale of salvation, then asserts that they may be. It is plainly a case of a person having a fact before him which he cannot cope with, and of which he has no consistent account to give.

To turn to another subject—that of the worship of S. Mary. The divines with whom Mr. Allies converses take, as a general rule, the softening and reducing line with respect to this fact, arguing that it is less than what it is ordinarily asserted to be; and that the view taken by objectors of the position of the Virgin Mary in their system is a highly-coloured and exaggerated one. But what is the line taken in a well-known book of recent publication, referred to with great pride by the Roman Catholic body, here and elsewhere? The author of that book takes the facts of the worship of S. Mary as they stand before him, and provides them with what he considers to be the basis they absolutely want, in order to their support and justification. And what is that basis? It is that the Virgin *is* what the Arians *supposed* our Lord to be; our Lord being, according to the Arians, the Demiurge, the actual Creator of the universe. The Arian conception, he says, of that all-but Divine Being—a Being 'who was begotten ineffably before all worlds, and who made all worlds; who was the God of the Evangelical Covenant, the Lord of Saints, the Object of worship, and the Mediator between God and man'—wanted an actual personage to substantiate and fill it. That personage was S. Mary. 'There was a "wonder in heaven;" a throne was seen far above all created powers, 'mediatorial, intercessory; a title archetypal; a crown bright as the 'morning star; a glory issuing from the Eternal Throne; and a sceptre 'over all;' and S. Mary 'was the predestined heir of that great Majesty.' Now certainly, whatever may be our opinion as to their truth, we can allow that either of these lines of defence is singly a consistent and intelligible one. It is quite open to the Roman Catholic body either to justify their *culte* of the Virgin, on the ground that it is less than it is ordinarily supposed to be, or to justify it on the ground that, being quite as much as it is ordinarily supposed to be, it has a doctrinal basis to support that amount. But for the same body to take both these lines together, is plainly inconsistent and self-contradictory. It is evident that the theory which makes use of the Arian hypothesis admits the full general fact with respect to the worship of the Virgin, as ordinarily stated by objectors, (for the wildest Protestant never charged the Roman Catholics with holding that the Virgin Mary was God; and this theory expressly assigns her a form of being, which was imagined by its original conceivers, for the very purpose of expressing *all but* Deity :) and admitting the general fact, justifies it by a new and original doctrinal position respecting the Blessed Virgin. The other explanation, on the other hand, shrinks from admitting the commonly understood and received facts, as regards the *culte* of the Virgin, and shows a disposition to smooth them over and explain them away. The Roman Catholic body, we repeat, may use either the one or the other of these explanations, but they cannot logically avail themselves

of both together; and therefore we mention this as another point on which the Roman Catholic body, as a whole, appear to us to show considerable weakness and inconsistency of reasoning, and on which we have been rather confirmed in such an impression by Mr. Allies' book.

We must add one more remark to this already prolix notice, upon another and, as we think, an important point. The open infidelity of the great mass of the French nation is a miserable fact, with which we are most of us now sufficiently familiar. Mr. Allies says: 'There is nothing 'on which all those with whom I spoke were more agreed, than that "le respect humain" was against the Church, and against "religion;"' and he remarks forcibly: 'What a fact is this alone, whereby to estimate the state 'of a country! If hypocrisy be the homage which vice pays to virtue, 'where stands that country whose public opinion requires no hypocrisy in 'the open profession of unbelief?' Now what we remark throughout this volume, is a total absence of the smallest disposition on the part of the French Church to regard itself as in any way, directly or indirectly, accountable for the condition of things in the nation whose Church it has been. And Mr. Allies must permit us to say, that we observe the same omission in his own reflections on the subject. The infidelity of the nation is always alluded to as a simple fact, which the French Church has indeed to oppose by action, but with which it is no more connected in the way of responsibility, than it is with the geological strata or the air and climate of the country. Now we are not going to assert that the question of responsibility in such cases is one to be as shortly and summarily settled as a *prima facie* view of the facts would sometimes dictate: it is a question to call for much grave criticism and comparison of the various moral influences previously at work in the world for its decision. But this we may confidently say, that justice ought not to speak energetically in the case of one body under such circumstances, and be wholly mute in the case of another. What evil, moral or religious, in the social or ecclesiastical condition of this country, has not been charged to the fault of the Church of England by controversialists of the last ten years? Has she not, for example, been made accountable for the whole fact of Wesleyanism and other Dissent? And are we to be told in another case, that a whole nation is to turn infidel, and yet that the Church of that nation has no responsibility of any sort or kind in the matter?

Judging from the tone of the French ecclesiastics in the conversations in this volume, they seem to us to take far too easy a view of the infidelity in France as the mere result of one great political commotion; as if it was to be expected to cease with the temporary cause which produced it, and it were a sort of accident that it had lasted so long. It figures always as the simple fruit of 'the French Revolution.' True; but not all the truth. For what produced the French Revolution? Was there not infidelity before that event, to produce that vast manifestation of infidelity which characterised it? Was French society believing, in the days of the popularity of Voltaire? Nay, go back a hundred and fifty years before the French Revolution, and notice the significant fact, that the great work which Paschal had marked out for himself, as the work of his life, was a book on the *evidences of Christianity*. The great temptation, in truth, to

infidelity, in France as elsewhere, began with that great awakening of thought, and rise of the spirit of inquiry, which took place at the epoch of the Reformation over the world, as well in those countries which received the Reformation as those which did not. Apart from the subject of religion, it is evident that the mind of society entered then into a new stage of activity and acumen; that it became more critical and more able to criticise, more cognisant with facts and more solicitous for evidence. Such a change of temper in society obviously renders it more sensitive of temptations to infidelity. What we mean to say is, that French infidelity is not a mere isolated fact, which sprang up out of the earth all on a sudden, like some volcanic eruption, and was no subject-matter for management and wise dealing on the part of the Church; but that it was a thing of regular growth, proceeding from natural and known causes, and therefore a proper subject-matter for management and wise dealing on the part of that Church, and most strongly and urgently calling for it.

Now, what is the management and wise dealing which the mind of educated society, in this new stage of critical power and scientific taste, has met with at the hands of the continental Church? It is evident at first sight that to such minds the whole department of false miracles, and all that is unworthy, monstrous, and ridiculous in the received legends and documents of the Church, must be a scandal. They cannot help it being so. They cannot prevent themselves being in a certain state of intelligence, and having certain powers of criticism. That has been done for them by the order of Providence. Put into such danger, then—for danger there must be where scandal is felt; and by no fault of their own—for the feeling of the scandal is no fault in itself, however the yielding to it may be—it is unquestionably, not only as an homage to truth, but as an act of provident love to her endangered children, a positive duty of the Church to lessen that scandal. If that scandal has not been lessened, then, whatever may be the sin and folly of those minds who gave way to it, and, refusing to make the distinction between what was vital and what was adventitious in the Church system of belief, threw over the whole and rushed into infidelity, those minds have not received fair treatment at the hands of the Church. Something which ought to have been done to protect them, has not been done. But has this been done? It is no desire to justify French or continental infidelity, which leads us to say that the Roman Church has most decidedly, in France and other countries, neglected this part of her duty. We cannot understand how any one can assert that she has not put decided scandals before educated minds. Is the miracle of the blood of S. Januarius, *e. g.* a scandal or not to educated minds? Is the fable of the house of Loretto (which, by the way, we see put forward in regular form, as a true miracle, in an authorized book, from the religious press of Paris, of the year 1841,) a scandal or not? It is easy to say of this whole class of legends and miracles, that they are useful for ignorant minds that cannot criticise, and have their religion warmed and stimulated by them. But, to say nothing of the question of truth, what becomes of this defence in the case of those minds that *can* criticise? There are two classes of minds in the Church, and both have an equal right to her care. Both are alike in a natural and providential state of mind, and she has no right to suit her line to either at the expense of the other.

The upshot of the whole appears to be, then, that the continental Church has not fairly met and coped with the fact of a new intellectual state of society. That state of intellect in society has nothing in itself evil in it, nothing diabolical and which cannot be dealt with: it is as strictly providential as was the mediæval state of mind: it is therefore a fact, which the Church ought to have shown the ability to meet. But the Church has not met this fact, and she now quietly sees a vast educated and intellectual population all over the world separated from her and Christian belief altogether. She keeps one part of her flock together, and lets the other take its chance. If critical minds are unable to swallow the whole mediæval mixture of the true and the fabulous, she tells them it is their own fault, and adopts the attitude of perfect irresponsibility toward the infidel mass. This, we must confess, does not appear to us to be the line which Christianity, designed as it was to meet all states of the world and all classes of minds, was intended to take. And therefore we add this to the other instances which we mentioned above, in which the continental Church, as described in Mr. Allies' book, seemed to us to show a deficiency in coping with existing facts.

'A Testimony: Poems by the Hon. Henry Robert Skeffington.' (Biden, Kingston.) These poems are very unequal, as might naturally be expected, where so young a writer leaves unrevised MSS. behind him. But the singular beauty and depth of feeling which appears in a few of them quite raises the book above the poetical level of the day. The writer does not simply reflect a certain popular standard: he has ideas of his own, and there is strength and substance in them. And there is a genuineness, too, in the way in which he evidently aims more at a thorough expression of his meaning than at an elegant and ornamental one. His ill health, and the anticipations connected with it, which he never shrank from, have given a peculiar direction to his poetical feeling; and those passages in which a mind naturally ardent, active, and ambitious, consoles itself for its early departure from this world, by realizing a scene of true life and action beyond it, are perhaps, even viewed simply as poetry, the most striking and vigorous in the book:—though very short sometimes—perhaps only a line or two occurring incidentally amid other matter, and such as an ordinary reader might easily pass over. There is one short poem bearing on this subject, entitled 'Matriculation,' which has a power and solemnity which may be called awing. The fragments on Sleep and Midnight (p. 42) are of the same temper: that in p. 9 has great sweetness. On the whole, we have no hesitation in saying that the Church has to regret a deep poetical loss in the premature death of this writer.

'Poetry, Past and Present: a Collection for Every-day Reading and Amusement. By the Editor of "Church Poetry," and "Days and Seasons."' (London: J. & C. Mozley, and J. Masters.) It is obvious that as new poetry springs up, new collections of poetry are wanted. The collection of twenty years back would not be adequate and suitable for the present day, if only for this reason. And besides, the poetical taste of society, while remaining in basis the same, is liable to considerable modifications and changes of tone and expression; and every period should be accommodated, so far as it legitimately can be, with what meets its own taste and tone.

The collection before us is a happy and successful one in this respect. It represents with great fidelity the more ethical, more refined, and more philosophical tone which poetical feeling has assumed of late years. Religion does not enter expressly into its design; and yet the general temper of the selections does indirectly harmonize with, and support the higher religion of the day. The Editor has had a general object well in view throughout the selection; an aim which has imparted a meaning and unity to his work, without at the same time impairing its freedom: and the collection is well adapted to be a serviceable guide in forming a poetical taste in younger minds, as well as a useful key to any readers of English poetry, to tell them where and under what names they will find poetry to their taste. There are some striking pieces of original poetry interspersed.

'A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of New Zealand, at the Diocesan Synod, in the Chapel of S. John's College, on Thursday, September 23, 1847. By George Augustus, Bishop of New Zealand.' (Rivingtons.) It is some time since we had intelligence of the proceedings of this Diocesan Synod, and notice of the delivery of this first Episcopal Charge in the Britain of the Southern Seas; but the 'College Press' is, of course, less rapid in production than those of London, and a long voyage intervenes between S. John's College, Auckland, and Messrs. Rivington's, who publish in 1849 the Charge of 1847. It is, however, a document of permanent interest, and belongs to the history of what bids fair to be one day a great nation, since it shows what is the agency by which that nation is to become, if it is to become so, a Christian nation. Much credit, indeed, is due to the first missionaries who settled among the Maories in times of their savage Paganism, and won their hearts by patient endurance and pacific charity. It is due to them that the powerful and organizing mind of the Bishop finds its due scope, and that his unremitting physical exertions are applied, not only to the conversion and instruction of savages, but to the well-ordering of existing Christian communities. But it is no less true that their work needed to be crowned and perfected by his.

No little vigour and perseverance were necessary to overcome the unwillingness of the native mind to submit to the regular discipline of a school. No little devotedness and self-denial were requisite to check the tendency of the missionary to degenerate into a settler, and to give to his cattle and corn-fields too much of the attention that was due to his spiritual flock and harvest. No little discernment and forbearance were necessary to avoid undue compromise or unnecessary collision, with parties within the Church and sects without its pale, to adjust relations with the civil power, and to organize the agency of the Church throughout a scattered and various population.

In all these points, what man could do has been done; and in some of them it may even be said, that the less appears in the Charge because so much has been otherwise effected, for Bishop Selwyn is not the man to take a mere flying shot at an abuse, and let it escape if it can dodge: he will run after it, and bring it to bay, grapple with it, and master it by downright personal exertion. He acts on all the minds to whom this document is addressed by other and more powerful means; but a Charge

is still no unimportant instrument in the hands of a Bishop who knows how to use it; and in this case, perhaps, the most effectual method has been taken for the great purpose of uniting the whole body of Clergy in the Diocese, by the plan of addressing them rather in the form of suggestion than of absolute authority.

The Bishop's view of the state of the Colony is more promising than could be expected so soon after it had been the scene of warfare. His sketch of the system of Church operations is such as to justify the very highest hopes of vigour and unity for the future. As to himself, he is evidently ready to take the lion's share of the work. For instance, he proposes, almost as if it were a thing of course, to 'examine personally all candidates for confirmation.' His suggestions about sponsors might furnish useful hints for some parishes in this country, especially in the days that are probably coming, when our Church will be thrown much more on her own resources, as she is in the Colonies.

As to doctrine, while he is very much against controversy, he holds his own well, and insists on the views of truth most likely to promote good understanding and peace. An extract from the passage on Sacraments may serve as a specimen:—

'That every act and every ordinance of Christ must be in itself a means of grace, must be evident from the consideration that God can do nothing in vain. It may be permitted for wise ends that some men should make the grace of God of none effect; but they cannot make grace to be no grace; they cannot alter the character of the Divine perfection by the imperfection of man. God cannot be said to hold His power subject to any condition or contingency whatever; His grace is no less divine and perfect when it is rejected of man, than when it is received. Christ was no less the Son of God when He came to His own, and His own received Him not, than when He was seen of angels, and received up into glory. And every thing which is His, His cross, His body, His blood, His sacraments, even the hem of His garment, may be at His will a means of grace, as part of Himself, and so united with His own Divine nature as to be able to transmit the power and the virtue of the Godhead. Can we believe that handkerchiefs and aprons carried from the bodies of the Apostles were the means of healing to the sick, and that even the shadow of an Apostle was believed to have a like virtue; and yet doubt whether Christ imparts His power to any ordinances of His own appointment, which are still His own acts, not the acts of His ministers? for we are but the clay which He moulds according to His will, when He puts forth His heavenly power to give sight to the blind.'

The English edition of the Charge is sold for the benefit of the New Zealand Fund, to which its profits are to be applied. At the end is added an Appeal on behalf of the Diocese, and especially the College. It may be safely said that all funds devoted to such a work, and committed to such hands, will be well applied.

And in connexion with this we are glad to announce from the S. P. G. press, 'Bishop Selwyn's Journal of his Visitation Tour of 1848;' and, which is on the eve of publication, a much enlarged and improved edition of the Bishop of Newfoundland's Labrador Voyage of last season, the first affect-

ing and interesting sketch of which has, we are glad to hope, secured so much sympathy and attention. What attracts in these narratives is the honest admission which they make of difficulties and failures in the missionary work; in this respect so favourably contrasting with too many 'Reports of Societies,' and 'Letters,' &c. which appear in them. The rough stern realities of disappointment seldom appear in the smooth Report and annual meeting.

Two new editions of the '*De Imitatione Christi*,' a larger and a smaller one; a new edition of Bp. Nicholson's '*Exposition of the Catechism*;' a new edition of Jones of Nayland '*on the Figurative Language of Holy Scripture*;' a third edition of the '*Liturgia Domestica*;' and a third edition of Mr. Hopwood's '*Order of Confirmation*,' have appeared from Mr. J. H. Parker's press.

'*Progressive Exercises on the Church Catechism*, by the Rev. Henry Hopwood, M.A.,' Part I., (J. H. Parker,) show a clear and easy flow of question and answer, and are perfectly simple, and at the same time dogmatic.

'*Questions on the Collects*, by the Rev. J. Wenham, M.A.,' (J. H. Parker,) illustrate the Collects by texts of Scripture, and explain the harder words in them.

'*Vox Cordis*; or, Prayers and a Litany for the Closet, by Mr. Sandford, of Dunchurch,' (J. H. Parker,) is the production of an earnest and devotional mind. The writer has respected ancient sources in the composition of the Litany, but has not altogether caught the form and mould of the old Litanies.

'*Tracts for the Christian Seasons*,' (J. H. Parker,) from Christmas to Easter, show great thought, and are calculated to impress. We do not altogether approve of the combination of story and lecture, which one or two of the Christmas numbers attempt. The Lecture on S. Stephen and S. John goes on awkwardly in the family circle, while one of the children is, to the knowledge of the family, being pursued by wolves. With respect to the Prayers annexed, we had rather not see texts of Scripture introduced as regular quotations in prayers, as they are sometimes in these, though Scripture language may be legitimately borrowed. The Hymns, again, are sometimes doubtful additions.

'*Brampton Rectory*; or, the Lesson of Life,' (J. W. Parker,) is dedicated 'to the honoured memory of Thomas Arnold,' and is a religious story, illustrative and commendatory of the views of Arnold's school. There is a strong Evangelical young lady and a strong Puseyite young gentleman, and a Mr. Oswald, the father, who is the sage of the book, mediating between them. One great aim of Mr. Oswald's conversation is to prove how much external High Churchmanship a person may adopt upon none of the doctrinal bases. He advocates daily prayers, weekly communions, chaunting, and church decoration. He is also a moralist, and gives advice respecting a variety of duties and lines of action. The scenes are made for him throughout, and every body acts and speaks for the sole purpose of drawing him out. Thus, Mr. Oswald's opinion is wanted on the subject of amusement, and instantly two persons begin to play at chess. Whereupon Mr. Oswald immediately stands up and declares his view, that chess is an unimpeachable recreation, and that a clergyman may lawfully use it after

the parochial labours of the day. Thus, Mr. Oswald's opinion is wanted on the subject of religious conversation, and two of the company forthwith begin to dispute about the Apostolical Succession over a supper table. 'Brampton Rectory' is without plot, character, or incident; and, on the whole, we should be surprised if it gave much additional interest to the views it espouses.

'An Essay on Priesthood, by the Rev. H. Harris, intended chiefly as an Answer to the Theory of the Church, as advanced by Dr. Arnold, &c.,' (J. H. Parker,) is a modest but well-reasoned pamphlet. The theory of the universal priesthood of Christians excluding a priestly order, has been so boldly or rather imperiously maintained of late, that an answer to it is certainly not out of season. In opposition to Dr. Arnold's flippantly sophistical description of a priest, as 'one who is made necessary to our intercourse with God, without being necessary or beneficial to us morally,' Mr. Harris explains the original and metaphorical senses of the term, and shows how the latter senses are applicable to all Christians, while the former, in subordination to the priesthood of our Lord, is applicable to those whom He commissions to represent his people in worship, or Himself in blessing. With respect to the sacrificial function of the priesthood, his language is very cautious, apparently from a fear of verging on the Roman view. He has fairly disposed of the *prima facie* case against a distinct and privileged order in the Christian Church; and those whom he answers have been too confident of the strength of their first arguments to trouble themselves with much further proof. To take any other ground, they must make admissions by no means suitable to their temper, and venture at least within range of the thunderbolts of positive revelation. In such a position, whatever they may think they have to say, they cannot but feel weaker and more exposed than within the casemates of individual reason.

'The Christian Scholar, by the Author of "The Cathedral."' (Parker, Oxford.) This is a new volume of poetry, composed partly of free translations from classical writers, partly of original pieces suggested by them. The object of the book is, as Mr. Williams states, to teach Christian scholars to read the ancient Heathen writers in a Christian way, and by Christian light—to trace in them something beyond their own beauty and wisdom—to see their significance and place in an order, wider than that confined imperfect one of classical literature and philosophy—the order of man's gradual training, various in different times, but never interrupted, for the kingdom and righteousness of God. Mr. Williams states his view of the ends which classical studies ought to subserve in Christian education, briefly in his Preface, and more fully in a Sermon preached before the University, which he has prefixed to this volume. It is a subject which is his own by right. That rare union of deep and reverent Catholic philosophy with fresh and boy-like love for old Greece and Rome, which he shares in so characteristic a way with him to whom this book is dedicated, the writer of the 'Christian Year' and the 'Praellectiones Academicæ,' renders him a fit interpreter, an affectionate and enthusiastic, yet a severe one, of the wants and anticipations, and 'thoughts beyond their thoughts,' of those on whose golden words we too often hang in dreamy and barren admiration, if we do not allow them to fascinate us into unholy sympathy.

The poetry of the volume illustrates the line of thought which is worked out in the Sermon—'Classical Complaints and Scriptural Remedies;' 'Heathen Oracles confessing Christ;' the misgivings and hopes, the erring love and noble faith, the tenderness and brightness, the repose and restlessness of ancient poetry and philosophy, taking in a wide range—Homer and Lucretius, Simonides and Horace, the Tragedians, the Republic, and the Ethics, down to the Roman Satyrists. Through this wonderful company we are led, hearing again their unforgotten lessons, but with a guide who sometimes startles, but always awes and sobers us, by those echoes from another world, Psalm or Prophecy or Gospel, to which he makes us listen.

It is in these parallels, in that sustained elevation and purity of thought, combined with keen and far-reaching sympathy, which gives the power of detecting a kindred element or seeing a deep truth, where dulness—dulness of heart or of intellect—passes it by, that the excellence and interest of the book is to be sought. There is of course less variety and choice than in Mr. Williams's preceding volumes; less of the poet's own soul, and therefore less of his labour and art and peculiar colouring. And, matched against their unapproachable originals, a series of translations do but in general provoke attention to their own short-comings. Mr. Williams has in these pages often expressed beautifully, in his own way, the thoughts and images which he found in his authors, Homer and Lucretius, Horace and Catullus; still his way is not their way.

There has been in every age of the world, since the Gospel was first preached in it, a strong disposition to perceive, in the assaults made upon the stronghold of the faith, the signs of the end of all things being at hand. And of course it is no less than the Church's bounden duty, as it is her prescribed position, to be watching for such signs, and deeming it at least very possible that they may be already manifesting themselves. Moreover, every successive age further and further exhausts the possible forms of attack, and the conceivably discoverable weak points in the defence:—and thus there is a visible drawing towards the final summing up and discharging of the aggregate *materia* which ingenuity or malice can set in array against the truth. It becomes daily more and more evident that the foe is doing his worst. There are limits to human ingenuity, for good or evil. We may say with some confidence that nothing *new*, wearing any great degree of plausibility or formidableness, can hereafter be produced against Christianity. 'The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is 'no new thing under the sun.' In Hegel and Strauss we meet again with Cerinthus and Valentinus; the old Plafonic, and the still older Brachman gnosis, are at bottom one: there is only a greater degree of subtilty in the shifts devised, and the theories hatched, in these later days, to get over the sorely-felt difficulties inseparable from any other view of the things in heaven and earth than that which the once-delivered Faith embodies. Now, it is no doubt true, that this subtilty and this fine-drawing are marks of conscious weakness in the cause which they are employed to uphold; but we must not on that account suppose that they are less likely to draw disciples after them. There is no greater mistake than to suppose that creeds and views prevail in the direct proportion of their reasonable-

ness. What disposes the mass of mankind to the acceptance of a creed, is not that their understanding is convinced by it, but that it falls in with their own notions and likings. Men generally *want to believe* a thing before they do believe it. The cause of the great apostasy in the latter days is not to be that men will have sharper wits, and be more ready to close with clever and subtle theories, than in other ages, but that their love will have waxed cold. In short, while we admit that still further attacks are to be apprehended from the rationalistic quarter, we do not for a moment believe that the secret of their success, supposing them successful, is to be sought in their own strength, but in the weakness, and that a moral one, of those assailed. No better illustration and confirmation of our position can be desired, than is afforded by the ever restless hive of foreign philological commentators on the Bible. Finer and finer spins 'the thread of their verbosity,' as dwindles the 'staple of their argument.' More and more keenly pointed are the delicate instruments with which they would sunder the massive rock, against which ruder implements have hammered in vain. Each one is satisfied that the apparently well-compacted mass is, after all, but a crystallization of man's devising, and that he himself has hit upon the *lamina* at which it is separable into its component particles. It is with some such feelings as these that we have perused Dr. Davidson's 'Introduction to the New Testament.' (Bagster.) Its object is to do more fully, what Horne has done at some length—to exhibit the present state of the critical evidence for and against the authenticity, integrity, &c. of the Gospels, (the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles are promised in a future volume,) together with the various opinions that have been entertained as to the design, date, &c. of each book. As may be supposed, there is a goodly amount of what is called 'saw-dust' in such a compilation and dissertation. The *repetita crumble* of the Valpys and Elsleys,—the old familiar questions about Papias and John the Presbyter, with ample discussions as to the credibility of the former, that favourite butt of theological wits, whom Dr. Davidson, however, makes some fight for;—all this and much more has to be worked through. Then come the less trite, though still well-known, objections or theories of modern theologians, chiefly the German; and, lastly, the newest and subtlest varieties of infidel and pantheistic insinuation and questioning, down to the very finest and all but impalpable siftings of the *cribrum philosophicum* in search of an objection. Still we must own that with these materials Dr. Davidson has produced a very readable and interesting volume. To the dryness even of the first-mentioned sort of matter, he has managed to impart an interest by the freshness of his manner; the next class is discussed with fulness, fairness, and ability; with respect to the third, he has exercised a sound discretion in rejecting from his review such cavils as were absolutely too petty to deserve notice; at least we gather so much from his statement in the Preface, that 'he had considerable difficulty in judging of the things which were considered fit to be noticed.' And so freely does the German vat run, 'Introduction,'—as it is, Dr. Davidson informs us, technically called—that the author was fain to publish his first volume by itself, because he foresaw that if he waited till the entire work was completed, he should probably be obliged to change a goodly part of his MS., in consequence of the numerous books on the Gospels which issue yearly from the German

press. He felt that by the time he should have finished his observations 'on the Apocalypse, his MS. on the Gospels would be partially antiquated.' Ready at scheming and devising theories in religion, as constitutions (now-a-days) in political matters, these fertile Teutons, the better sort of them, present us with about an hypothesis a day. Meanwhile we cannot help observing how little there is really to be said on this subject of 'Introduction' that is worth attending to. The cleverest of them can, after all, scarcely put aside for a moment the cloud which veils the inspired writers from our gaze. We are glad to observe, that to rationalistic and transcendental views, Dr. Davidson opposes a firm and successful resistance. What his own notions of Christianity are, may be guessed from his date, 'Lancashire Independent College.' It is needless to say, that, though we find him speaking of 'the Atonement,' 'the Person and work of Christ,' and the like, there is no glimmering of the Church's sacramental belief visible in his volume. Among particular discussions and results, we may mention the inquiry (pp. 3—51) as to the original language of S. Matthew's Gospel. We are not sorry to see that he rejects the 'accommodation' theory, which our Townsons and Bloomfields eagerly embrace, of S. Matthew's having himself published his Gospel in two languages. Far better let the puzzles of antiquity remain as such, than have recourse to such transparent devices to make all smooth, for the sake of stopping the mouths of gainsayers. He disallows chronological order in S. Matthew's narration. There are some sensible remarks on the supposed irreconcilableness of the genealogies of our Lord in S. Matthew and S. Luke, (p. 115.) We were disappointed to find him acquiescing, with a very brief discussion, in the late date commonly assigned to S. John's Gospel. There is, we are firmly persuaded, strong internal evidence that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had seen that Gospel; if so, either the Gospel was written before S. Paul's death, or the Epistle was not S. Paul's. We should be glad to see this point more fully entered into. The various hypotheses as to this Gospel having had a definite view of opposing the Ebionites, or the Gnostics, or the Zabians, or of supplying defects of the first three Gospels, are recounted. The author's own view is, that there is no *designed* polemical opposition: that S. John does in effect meet all those forms of error; they influenced the shape in which he exhibited the truth; but his design in writing was one which transcended them all, and only refuted by swallowing them up—a view in which, in the main, we are disposed to concur. The volume closes with a Dissertation on the correspondencies between the first three Gospels.

'Sir Raoul de Broc and his son Tristram: a Tale of the Twelfth Century. By George Ayliffe Poole, M.A.' (Masters.) We naturally mistrust the powers or the views of writers who have, as it were, to invent a providence of their own,—who seem to be at a loss how to reconcile the ordinary progress of events with their ideas of what ought to be,—who therefore snatch at any indication of visible intervention and summary Divine justice, and exaggerate and perpetuate them, as if this rare and extraordinary course suited their notions better than the ordinary one. It is dangerous to suffer the mind to dwell continuously on the thought of 'judgments' and speedy retribution, as tending to revengeful thoughts, and as contrary

to a habit of faith in the future and the unseen. To some such objection as this, we think, 'Sir Raoul de Broc and his son Tristram' is liable. That 'evil shall hunt the violent man' is, as it were, a natural law, therefore we do not quarrel with the end of Sir Raoul; but the elaborate curse pronounced on the head of his infant son, and all the curious coincidences which bring about its fulfilment, are alike repugnant to our feelings and our experience, and remind us rather of some uncouth Hindoo legend than the order of Providence under the Christian dispensation. The malediction on father and son runs thus:—There is, by the way, a point and antithesis about the wording, little suggestive of an angry man's rage—'May the curse of a caitiff and blood-stained knight fall on thee! May a bloody death overtake thee on the spot of thy craven deed! and the curse of a cursed father light upon thy son! May he succeed in no good thing, and fail in no evil thing, and may misfortune be upon all he loves.' The hapless Tristram partially fulfils his destiny; he does so to the letter in the early part of the volume; and why the malediction loses its force at the end, and allows him to settle comfortably with the fair Edith, we do not fully understand. As a story, the book is, we should say, designedly dull, as if the author feared for the simplicity of his plan if he were to embarrass himself with much incident or variety of character. Tristram succeeds in some bad things and fails in some good ones; but in no good thing does he fail more signally than in interesting the reader in his behalf. In order to infuse some little romance into the last pages, a young lady, with whose name we were barely acquainted, is suddenly and most unexpectedly introduced, struggling in the hands of six armed Pagans; but no sooner are we afforded this inspiring glimpse, than the author becomes aware that these striking situations are not in his line, and he leaves the unfortunate damsel to get out of her scrape as she can without his assistance. Eventually she marries Sir Tristram, and seems in some way concerned in the mitigation of his early doom. Mr. Poole being a gentleman of very considerable powers and research, we have on that very account the more cause to regret his yielding to the debased and debasing taste, not yet extinct, for this species of composition.

'Godfrey Davenant at College,' (Masters,) by Mr. William Heygate, is the second part of the adventures, if such they may be called, of a young gentleman at college. The principles and purpose of the writer we have great respect for and sympathy with. But these novelets would ruin any cause. Such as would read them for their principles, have too much taste to accept them as tales; while those—the majority—who take them up as story-books, are intellectually incapable of appreciating their principles. They hit no blank whatever.

'Friends and Fortune: a Moral Tale. By Anne Harriet Drury.' (Pickering.) This story opens with some truth and spirit, but soon shows itself the work of a very juvenile hand, or of one whom experience has not yet taught to discard the most childish fancies. The authoress really wishes to write a moral and useful tale, but has devised a plot which stands in the way of all such good intentions. The idea is not original: the Arabian Nights and old comedy have accustomed us to disguises, but remoteness of time or of distance is necessary to reconcile our minds to their possibility

or propriety. When an heiress of our own day, living in London, goes down for a month's visit to her connexions in the country under the disguise of her companion, dressing up her humble friend in her borrowed plumes, and all for the sake of testing the sincerity of the world, our judgment is called into play, and we at once declare against the imposture. Nothing can be managed with less grace and felicity than the disguised lady's adventures. The slights she receives are either simply natural to her assumed position, or such as she could not be subject to in a gentleman's house. Conventional characters say and do impossible things in an improbable manner: especially there is an envious young lady, who surpasses even Cinderella's sisters in outrageous insult and injury. In the end the heroine is brought, by the scenes she passes through, to a proper sense of her responsibility as the owner of boundless wealth, which the authoress, with singular *naïveté*, pleads as a conclusive argument in favour of what she admits may seem to be a very questionable scheme. And the excellent old vicar, to whom the heiress confesses the fraud she has been practising, takes the same view. 'He saw such plain manifestations of providential dealing, that he felt he would be marring God's work to say, "This ought not to be."' The conversations with which the scenes are interspersed are little superior to the plot, either in taste or feeling; the criticism, especially, is crude and pointless, and altogether below what might be expected from one who aspires herself to be a poet.

'The Inheritance of Evil,' (Masters,) is a religious fiction, intended to 'illustrate' the evils of marrying a wife's sister: a subject of the gravest and most serious importance, as we have more than once shown; but being so, one utterly unfitted for this form of 'illustration,' and obnoxious at this moment to the imputation of a mercantile motive. At any rate, we protest against 'the' subject of the day being systematically and artistically tossed up in a novel:—the Hampden case, for example, as *A Tale of the Courts*; The Oxford Statute, or the Gorham case, in a neat five-shilling 12mo. The writer of this story is not deficient in power, with a decided relish for the horrible.

'The Mystery of Marking; a Parable for Children.' (Masters.) Whatever want of dignity there may be in the somewhat trivial occupation which forms the groundwork of this allegory, whatever strangeness in its title—and we feel that on this point it may be open to objection—is atoned for by its happy execution. The idea is well carried out, the language is always impressive and appropriate, sometimes even eloquent, and there is a pervading freshness and, as it were, self-dependence, which in this style of composition are very rare qualities. The writer does not follow the set and standard forms, but works out an original thought, in which his own feelings are evidently engaged, with clearness and consistency. The references to Scripture and the adaptation of its imagery to the subject of the allegory, are among its most useful and striking points.

Dr. Mill has published 'Four Sermons, preached before the University respectively on the Fifth November, and on the three Sundays immediately preceding Advent last.' (Masters.) Characterized by the author's weight of style and fulness of matter, the present volume will be valued and read as occupying itself with matters of present and imminent interest,—the

Education question, our present Church and State relations, and the claims of the Critical School.

'The Rest,' by Mr. C. Magnay, (Cleavey,) announces itself as a 'little unconnected tale.' We are not bound to criticise what only offers such a claim upon our attention, especially when a single sentence will save us the trouble. 'As well might nymph of sea rescue from cruel Scylla devoted vessel circling in her whirls, as thou, sweet child, prevail on hardened sire to stay his hand uplifted!' (p. 60.)

Mr. Best, of Abbott's Ann, has published, in one volume, a little 'Treatise on'—or rather, historical account of—'Catechising,' (Darling,) together with a Catechism on the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, by way of exemplifying what good catechising should be. We scarcely think that catechising is a matter of book-instruction at all: anyhow, we trust that there are few Clergymen who require for their own instruction a hundred pages of print, of precisely the calibre of the 'Broken Catechism' formerly used in our national schools.

'Lateinos—the Name of the Beast,' &c. (Painter,) has on its cover a gilt representation of such a horrible monster, that we began to think its publication might entail some such results as attended the representation of the Eumenides. It is a picture which really amounts rather to a matter of police and public morals than to reviewing. There is other than a verbal similarity between the writer's name, Rabett, and his temper, which is little short of *rabid*.

'Ornamental Glazing Quarries,' (J. H. Parker,) by Mr. A. W. Franks, designed as a supplemental volume to Mr. Winstone's book on painted glass, is an admirable collection. The subjects are accurately traced, and the niceties of tint and leading preserved. The examples are classed; and an ingenious introduction displays the taste and research of the writer.

'Sertum Ecclesiæ: the Church's Flowers,' (Grant, Edinburgh,) is an extemporaneous floral symbolism, which we do not profess altogether to comprehend. The book consists of clever 'anastatic drawings of flowers,' illustrated by passages from the English poets. That certain flowers have all along been connected with certain religious holidays, we are quite aware; it is a pleasing and graceful association. But to assign symbolical flowers arbitrarily, is, we think, an uncalled-for exercise of what is not ingenuity. What, for example, has S. Peter's Day to do with the 'Yellow Rattle?' or what connexion can be established between S. Barnabas and the 'Daisy?' These, if we understand the writer's index, are put forward as authorized or traditional associations: we doubt it. And we cannot think the compiler to be depended upon; for unquestionably he has missed some floral symbolisms which are settled and familiar; for example, the Pansy is the flower for Trinity Sunday, as its old name, *Flos Trinitatis*, or its trivial appellation, 'Three faces under a hood,' proves. The present book does not seem to be aware of this, and has substituted the wood-sorrel, of which the leaf only is a trefoil. Who, too, is ignorant that the large white lily is peculiar to S. Mary? In the present garland we find this flower assigned to Easter-Day. The application of the Sundew (*Drosera*) to baptism is happy; that of the Rose to Ascension-Day—if any paronomasia is

intended—much the reverse. The poetical illustrations are selected with great taste, however; and the book is very handsome in form and print.

Mr. J. A. Baxter, of Coseley, commences his 'Church History of England, from the introduction of Christianity to the present time,' (Hatchard,) with the assertion, that 'no apology is necessary for another attempt to comprise,' &c. This position we dispute: something more than apology is necessary for eight hundred pages of what is already accessible in the commonest form. There is not in Mr. Baxter the slightest qualification for an historian: he has neither criticism, nor style, nor originality: his large book is nothing more than the most common-place reproduction of the most common-place writers—Strype, and Burnet, and Fox—written out or abridged without any attempt at discrimination, or independent research. There is not a fact in the whole volume with which even an ordinary reader is not acquainted—though a good many things pass with Mr. Baxter for facts which common sense has long since abandoned.

The very reverse of the last writer in every particular is Dr. Maitland, whose 'Essays on subjects connected with the Reformation in England,' (Rivingtons,) exhibit all the wit, originality, and point, for which the writer is so generally appreciated. And his patient sagacity in 'Fox-hunting'—his unwearyed pertinacity in unearthing a misstatement or a falsification—his genial powers of illustration, and his manful defence of historical truth against party prejudice, command our admiration for the writer's honesty of purpose, while his amusing style makes this one of the most interesting books we ever read.

The first volume of Mr. Lancaster's '*Vindiciæ Symbolicæ*,' (Vincent,) will sustain the respected author's reputation as a sound, solid Church of England divine. Mr. Lancaster quite recalls a past—and very marked—generation in English theology.

Mr. Isaac Williams' poem, 'The Altar,' &c. (Masters,) has reappeared, divested of the pictorial illustrations. The poem displays all its author's fulness and suggestive manner, but we do not think it superior to his earlier works. It is really a reflection—we are apt to think an unfounded one—on English art, to believe that the old illustrations could not be reproduced in a satisfactory way.

Mr. Robert Montgomery's 'Christian Life: a Manual of Sacred Verse,' (Hall,) is a vast improvement upon his previous works. There is a good deal of quiet earnest thought in the collection, which is, however, various in character as in subject. Occasionally unfortunate lines, which remind us of his former familiar style, occur: such as

'And dust and Deity meet face to face.'—P. 416.

(This word 'Deity' is very often employed by Mr. Montgomery, and always in an objectionable way.) And such questionable words as 'wavelets,' 'stormful,' appear. But Mr. Montgomery has refined and strained his exuberance with considerable success; and what he has lost in words he has gained in sense.

The very remarkable work, '*Hierurgia Anglicana*,' (Rivingtons; Masters,) which has been so long in the course of publication, is at length

completed. It consists of extracts from all sorts of curious sources, showing that ritual decency and a considerable amount of external pomp has always been sanctioned by the highest Church authorities. The Editors have been very diligent in their search for examples, and the result is surprising. But the work is not a mere archæological repertory; by a varied and full induction of particulars, it illustrates that principle now forcing its way in so many directions, which announces that the latter English Church sanctions what she does not in terms forbid—*sinit quod non vetat*. Nothing else reconciles difficulties otherwise insuperable.

Mr. Dodsworth has published four Advent Sermons, 'The Signs of the Times,' (Masters.) This is a subject in which Mr. Dodsworth is always full and edifying. There is a sobriety and fulness—an earnestness without fanaticism—in his mode of approaching it, alike reverential and interesting. The Sermons must have been as interesting in delivery, as they are in reading.

Dr. Christopher Wordsworth is learned, and one in whose many virtues and zeal the Church has cause to rejoice. But his 'Lectures on the Apocalypse,' (Rivingtons,) betray the foregone conclusion. One who hates the Church of Rome with the ancient polemical bitterness of the sixteenth and seventeenth century divines, is not qualified to write on the Apocalypse. His mind is already biassed. Dr. Wordsworth's feelings and language are alike strong; he seems to be quarrelling rather than teaching. What but the mist of party could have veiled the clear mind of Dr. Wordsworth when he ventures—in so very questionable a matter as deciding, which he does, that the Babylon of the Apocalypse is the Church of Rome—to rest such a conclusion upon such arguments as that the Pope wears a jewelled mitre, which is prefigured by the scarlet and pearls of the Apocalyptic Harlot—or that the Beast ascending from the sea finds its fulfilment in 'Rome rising to power amid the waves and storms which broke forth on the dissolution of the Roman empire?'

To those forearmed with sound principles, and capable of understanding with what sort and amount of allowances a book utterly ignoring Christianity ought to be read, we can afford to recommend Miss Martineau's 'Household Education,' (Moxon.) The lesser morals of life are here marked with a most decisive outline: the keen appreciation of character, and the kindly attention to mere trifles, and daily-recurring duties of temper, speech, and gesture, which go to make up home, are forcibly, often beautifully, displayed by this writer. Miss Martineau proves that she knows what mystery hangs about children, by her sensitiveness about them: she all but reverences the presence of grace in them. Experience, and a vigorous mind—these have taught her the *fact* what a mystery education, example, trifles, temptations, hints are: would that she might yet recognise the *why*!

Mr. Irons has published a metrical version of the world-famous *Dies Iræ*, Mr. C. C. Spencer adding the music. (Masters.) We regret that he has followed the Paris copy, if only for its manifest depravation of the first verse. Mr. Irons has had the happy boldness to attempt to produce the accentuated trochaic ending of the original in English double rhyme, in

which attempt if we say that he has not quite succeeded, it is in a case in which entire success is impossible. The version is elegant, and generally full of spirit.

We can state with great truth that Mr. Ford, in his '*Gospels Illustrated*,' (Masters,) of which we have received the second volume, that on S. Mark, displays varied and copious reading. His selections are graceful and pleasant as a volume; but we question whether Scripture commentary should bear this tessellated aspect. There is something too ingenious and fanciful in it; and we get rather to criticise the omnigenous style and fancies which the several writers of so many schools and ages show, than to read for profit. Mr. Ford, we suppose, has only transcribed his authors; we therefore transfer to 'T. Pierce,' in his '*Sinner Impleaded*,' the extraordinary piece of parenthetical information about 'the Master of the Sentences, (T. Aquinas,)' p. 120. The true value of the volume is in suggesting—in fact, supplying—sermon-thoughts.

'The Servants' Hall,' (Rivingtons,) is remarkably in advance of its shallow compeers, the religious fictions of the day, in its character drawing, and its minute careful handling of narrative. It is eminently successful and life-like. But it has certainly two faults; one an incongruous mixture of the little sharp details of family economy—in which the writer is quite at home, and in which, by the bye, he, or, of course, she, so gracefully avoids the vulgar, while the story must concern itself with the homely—with some very solemn and awful matters of the gravest theological importance. We do not say so much that these latter are improperly treated as such, but they are curiously out of place. The cinder-pail and confession, however much they may, and in a healthy state of things do, go on together, still do not group well in narrative. The edges want rounding off—the asperities of sharp transition and grotesque juxtaposition, smoothing down. The other fault is a literary one: the book begins and ends abruptly; it has the appearance of a slice taken vertically out of a great series of horizontal strata: there is no reason why the story—which story is not—should not have begun ten years ago, or have gone on for ten years more. The characters are none of them disposed of: they are characters, and vigorous life-like ones, but we should like to have had the beginning, middle, and end of them. As it is, '*The Servants' Hall*' is more like a promising chapter of a book than a book itself.

Archdeacon Hoare has published his last '*Charge*,' (Hatchards,) in which the writer of the article on his recent work on Baptism, in our October number, is concerned. That writer had stated that he could only find that the Archdeacon had applied the term '*Sacrament*' to Baptism *once* in his volume. This statement is certainly not correct: our contributor has made a mistake, which we regret should have appeared in these pages, and while we withdraw the statement, desire to apologise for it. But at the same time, the Archdeacon must pardon us for observing, that he is entirely mistaking the point and purpose of our paper, if he supposed us arguing that his work was deficient in its views of Holy Baptism *because* he never, or but once, called it a Sacrament. We argued that the Arch-

deacon did not hold adequate views of Baptism; and this position we enforced by various aspects of his whole work, and by various proofs drawn from it. Among the rest, as a curious illustration, still but as an illustration, and one quite subordinate to the main argument, we made the statement in question, which turns out to be untrue. But there is all the difference in the world between founding a whole argument upon one fact, and using one fact as a mere collateral illustration. What the Archdeacon means by complaining that, in what he, by an odd *hysteron-proteron*, calls our 'forthcoming number,' *i. e.* of last January, we did not contradict a misstatement which we are only made aware of by his Charge, forwarded to us in the middle of February, we do not profess to understand.

A pleasant instance of intercommunion between ourselves and the American Church, is the mutual republication of each other's books. Not only on this account, but because it is a warm and practical book, we welcome 'Bishop Hobart's Companion to the Altar,' (Rivingtons,) republished by Mr. J. Collingwood.

'A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Restoration of the Church's Unity, showing the real ground of difference between Catholicism and Evangelicalism, &c.' by an English Presbyterian, (Hatchards,) though meant gravely, can hardly be received so. The difference is made short work of: it consists not only 'in differences of opinion, but in a real difference of state,' p. 4. The English Presbyterian does not think, but he 'judges': there is no arguing with him: no protest, no plea avails. 'In the exercise of my *right* as a spiritual man to judge all things, I dare not hesitate to take the responsibility of saying of Catholics, *that in every case, beyond all dispute*, there has been the absence of the spirit of sonship, of the life of faith, and also of any sensible or conscious communion with God,' p. 8. This is short work: *cadit questio*. The Presbyterian, then, can afford to compliment us upon our fear, and religious awe, and piety, and prayers, and to urge upon the Evangelicals to appropriate all these things; only, we never knew God. In short, his picture is this: The Catholics are right in every thing they do, and profess, and teach: they only lack just one thing, the act of appropriating faith. The Evangelicals have this one thing; but they have literally nothing else: Fathers, faith, precept, discipline, Church system, order, forms, ceremonial worship, these things they ought to have, and have not. We may well let this account of the matter stand, though we suspect some latent irony.

'The Four Gospels, with Annotations: by the Bishop of Lichfield and Archdeacon Hale,' (Rivingtons,) fulfils the aim of its authors, who 'have endeavoured to keep themselves free from party bias, have consulted commentators of various ages and views, and, above all, have been careful to seek light for Scripture from a comparison with Scripture.'—Preface, p. viii.

'Reflections, Meditations, and Prayers on the most Holy Life and Passion of our Lord,' (Masters,) is by 'R. B.' to whom we owe the deep and affecting 'Devotions for a Sick Room,' &c. to which so many among us owe so much. The present volume we have only just received; but we have seen enough to answer for its great practical beauty and value. It is one which we hope to see become a standard.

'An Historical Sketch of the Prayer-Book. By Mr. W. K. Clay.' (J. W. Parker.) The name of the writer is a sufficient guarantee of its accuracy; and it will be found a useful outline on the subject. Mr. Clay has compiled it with reference to the 'general celebration of the Prayer-Book,' which was proposed for Whit-Sunday next; an uncalled-for scheme, which, as we have not lately heard about it, is, we hope, very properly abandoned—a scheme sure to increase divisions, as well as to bring most uncongenial topics into awkward prominence on one of the Church's chief holydays. Besides, there have been jubilees enough of late: the Church Missionary Society's, which failed remarkably,—that of the S. P. C. K., which only ended in a sermon.

There are four very pretty lithographs in Mr. Batty's 'Some particulars connected with the History of Baptismal Fonts,' (J. H. Parker:) and the essay displays painstaking on the writer's part to become acquainted with his subject. There is a most extraordinary slip of Mr. Batty's about an old English word, in connexion with K. Etheldred and S. Dunstan, into which he has been *betrayed*, at p. 17. We are not going to enlighten either Mr. Batty or our readers further, but the mistake is as ludicrous as any which we remember.

Another volume of the 'Magazine for the Young,' (Mozley,) on the whole the most effective and popular work with those for whom it is written, has reached us. The charm of these writers is that they are so entirely without effort or strain; the style flows, and there is no mere preachment, and donning of grave airs.

'Correspondence between the Bishop of Glasgow and the Duke of Argyll,' (Glasgow: Ogle,) is characteristic of both parties. His Grace forgets the gentleman in the polemic: Dr. Trower does not merge the Bishop in the mere gentleman. The step itself is a marked one; and it is *the* lesson which the Scotch nobility wanted.—'Strictures on the Duke of Argyll's Essay, by Archdeacon Aitchison,' (Masters,) is perhaps the most vigorous and effective pamphlet of the quarter. Nor is his Grace, as we hear, much more popular among the Presbyterians, judging from 'Observations on Church and State,' (Blackwood.) It is as Mr. Andrew Fairservice remarks: 'There's baith gude and bad o' the Campbells . . . But this Mac Callum ' More has an unco sway and *say* baith; for he canna preceesely be said to ' belong to ony o' the twa sides o' them, sae deil ony o' them likes him.'

Mr. J. M. Neale, with that remarkable versatility and activity of mind, and with that general success which reverses the character of Margites, has issued 'Tetralogia Liturgica,' (Leslie.) Grounded on the plan of Mr. Keeling's 'Liturgiæ Britannicæ,' and Mr. Maskell's arrangement of (a portion of) the 'Ancient English Liturgies,' Mr. Neale has printed in a tabular form the venerable Service Books of S. John Chrysostom, S. James, and S. Mark, together with the Mozarabic Use. So seldom, however, do the offices concur, generally from the arrangement, that the four Liturgies hardly ever meet in direct contrast or context. Mr. Neale has prefixed a learned preface, which, together with some useful notes, is written in unusually good Latin. Altogether, the subject of the book, its scholarly execution, and the manifest pains bestowed upon it, while they revive the ancient

form in which liturgical studies were pursued, ought to ensure both author and publisher that measure of success which a 'studious and learned Clergy' are bound to bestow upon an undertaking, which, like the present, is creditable, as well as a stranger to our literature. We observe that Mr. Neale is at issue with Mr. Palmer on the difficult subject of the Mozarabic *Ordo*; but the book reaches us so late in the quarter that we cannot claim, even if we possessed the capacity, to arbitrate, certainly not *ex tempore*.

The delicate and difficult task of framing 'Prayers for Children' has been again undertaken in a little manual under this title, (Bell,) of which two parts have been printed. The first part we think eminently successful, (with the exception of the hymn 'Lord, how delightful 'tis to see;' the second, perhaps, over exclusively addresses the reasoning. We are too much afraid of children not understanding what they say. Is it not often the act of worship which tells? And, if we must be critical, the language in either series is too plain and direct: some imagery, especially that of the Psalms, we have found to work well with children. As a fact, a child, with the facts of sense and thought daily bursting upon him, must be living in a constant world of wonders and marvels, in which very plain and merely rational language may be much out of keeping with the actual facts going on within him.

'Tales of Faith and Providence,' (Masters,) by Mr. W. B. Flower, is on the model of 'Tales of Endurance,' 'Tales of Heroism,' and 'Tales of Christian Chivalry.'

We are very desirous to see the question of reviving Convocation kept open. With this view we recommend Mr. T. P. Wright's 'Urgent Reasons for reviving the Synodal Functions of the Church.' (Rivingtons.) It is a full and earnest appeal, grounded upon, and working up, the views of Archdeacons Manning, Wilberforce, and Hare, and others on the subject. Kept open, we say, not settled. There are a vast many wants which ought to be recognised and felt long before they are supplied: a National Synod is a want unquestionably: its abeyance is a blot, and a most serious one: but to own this, and to go on at once to the direct consequence of supplying this want, and filling this blot immediately, by revising an old piece of framework, were it even in our power, are separate considerations. Could Convocation meet to-morrow we should augur nothing but disaster from such a consummation; and this for many reasons. There seems something not so much judical, but providential, in the fact that Convocation has been suspended. We like rather, under present circumstances, its imperfect and spasmodic action, with quite enough energy to prove life, than its more unimpeded action. With respect to the constitution of Convocation, it is true it is hardly primitive; but we should distrust such modifications as many who think with Mr. Wright would suggest. The Bishop of Oxford, as Mr. Wright quotes his Lordship, would perhaps approve of the admission of Laity after the actual Transatlantic precedent, and in accordance with a supposed Anglo-Saxon model. Whatever the consent of the laity in Anglo-Saxon times was, it was not their co-ordinate session with the Clergy in framing and passing canons. For this there is as little precedent in antiquity, as encouragement in practice or hope for the innovation. It is not

a little strange that perhaps the most awkward circumstance about the meeting of Convocation—and one which we believe had nearly been forced into curious prominence last year—viz. the right of the Colonial Bishops either to sit, or to be represented, in a National Synod, has not occurred to the writers on this subject. The Colonial Episcopate will soon equal in numbers that of the Home Bench: it is quite plain that the Upper House can do nothing without their concurrence. We are therefore pleased by certain indications to observe some prominence attaching itself to the question of how far the canonical obedience to Canterbury is to be construed: and how it is to be reconciled with the sufficiently intelligible Anglican theory of the spiritual independence of each particular Bishop. The rights of Metropolitans as co-ordinate with those of a National Synod are sufficiently indistinct and perplexing. It is known that the Bishop of New Zealand has already passed Canons in Synod: and it is said that the English Bishops of our North American Settlements are to meet for some similar purpose at Halifax on Ascension-day next. These are the right steps: because they are good as far as they go. So are such undertakings as Mr. Wright's pamphlet: so are Archdeacons' Charges: so are clerical petitions: they all tend in the right direction; they keep the subject open and before men's eyes and thoughts. And with this we are well content—at present. We bide our time.

'The Little Christian's Sunday Alphabet,' (Masters,) we only notice as an egregious specimen of that taste which we have so often complained against, in the case of the generality of so-called religious tales. This is actually a religious adaptation of 'A was an Archer:' it runs, 'B is for Bible, God's own book.'

'The Church Warder,' (Cleaver,) is a new, we believe, Church Magazine, ambitious in title, and uncalled for in plan. A good deal of it seems made up of old sermons.

'The Daily Life of a Christian Child,' (Masters,) is a pretty set of verses. We wish these books were less profusely decorated (!) with very sacred emblems,—crosses, chalices, the *Agnus Dei*. If these things could be made literally offensive, we are in a fair way of finding them so. There is great irreverence in the getting up of books.

Two very practical and life-like schemes are introduced to us by letters. 1. From Lord Lyttelton to Mr. Ernest Hawkins, on the 'Operations of the S. P. G. with regard to Emigrants.' (Rivingtons.) This letter is connected with a defined scheme now at work for furthering systematic emigration. 2. From Mr. W. W. Malet to Lord Lyttelton, on the 'Tithe Redemption Trust.' (Cleaver.) This plan has now acquired form and consistency, and meeting a plain, palpable evil in a business-like way, deserves, and will, we trust, secure co-operation. It is now acquiring the right auspices, which will secure confidence.

The 'Trin. Coll. Cam. Commemoration Sermon' of last Christmas was preached by Mr. Grote, and has been printed. (Deighton.) It is a very finished and scholarlike composition: it must be read rather as an oration or panegyric than what is commonly understood by a sermon.

Mr. Chancellor Harington, of Exeter, has published a 'Vindication of the Reformers of the Anglican Church,' from certain Erastian imputations on them preferred in 'Mr. Macaulay's History of England.' (Rivingtons.) Mr. Harington has proved his point, that Mr. Macaulay's citations were partial and one-sided; but surely *catenæ* for almost any view can be extracted from writers, especially, however, of that dislocated era. It is not our affair to set Mr. Macaulay right; but in the strange passage in which he speaks of Bishop Cooper, we suspect some confusion with Bishop Hooper.

'Mr. Oldknow's Letter to Mr. J. C. Miller, of Birmingham,' (Rivingtons,) being dignified, sober, and impressive, will, upon these very accounts, be perverted and misrepresented by those with whom it remonstrates. The same Mr. J. C. Miller having used the expression, 'There are traitors in our camp, who eat our bread, &c.' in a wild sermon which he lately preached, the expression has been adopted by a writer, or writers, under the name of Adelphi, 'Traitors in our camp; who are they?' as the title of a sharp pamphlet, in which other 'traitors' are identified.

'The Opponents of Baptismal Regeneration solemnly warned,' &c. (Rivingtons,) is one of Mr. Brudenell Barter's dignified and weighty appeals. It embodies some very curious passages, published by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, entirely assenting to the Church's doctrine in his 'Apostolical Preaching.'

'An Appeal for the formation of a Church Penitentiary, by Mr. Armstrong, of Tidenham,' is the practical form in which he proposes to embody certain suggestions which he has published in our own pages and in those of the 'Quarterly Review.' It is almost superfluous to say how distinctly and emphatically we commend this Appeal to our readers. Mr. Armstrong, besides the direct good which he proposes in this institution, will have done good service by calling attention not only to the admitted deficiencies, but to the palpable good of at least the best of the older institutions, from the Committee of which—we speak of the Magdalene Hospital—an important statement will be found among our advertisements.

Mr. Monro, of Harrow Weald, has printed an impressive and severe sermon on the 'Fulfilment of the Ministry.' (J. H. Parker.) That much of it is forcible and much needed we should be the last to deny; but does not Mr. Monro carry his view about postponing ceremonial, and symbolism, and music, to what he calls winning souls, too far? to an extent, indeed, which involves concession to the old Dissenting argument? As a fact, the Church has arrayed herself in beautiful garments, though she has not converted, or nearly converted, the whole world. Mr. Monro is too partial, indeed narrow, in stating his case. It may be in one sense true that a country clergyman is bound first to win the confidence of his few hundred parishioners before he breaks out into Gregorian chants and a decorated altar. But are we to conclude from this example that town-clergy, for instance, are not to celebrate service decently till they have converted the whole population, a population of which one-half perhaps shifts every twelvemonth? Does not Mr. Monro forget that the beauty of holiness has distinct relations and objects to Almighty God Himself in the way of worship, strict formal

worship, quite apart from any human soul or number of souls; and also, that it may be in itself one mode of that very winning souls on which he is so impressive?

We are only just able to notice the appearance of an able Letter from the same writer on the subject of 'Education, its true Province the Formation of individual Character,' (J. H. Parker,) addressed to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Monro shows in a free and clear way that there is an art or science of education, and that that science is concerned with the observation and development of the peculiar elements of goodness which exist in each individual boy's character. And this is made the step to another truth, respecting education, viz. that the influence of the educator must be a personal one. The objection that such education must tend to cramp the character of those subjected to it, is well answered by an appeal to the argument of final causes: that it cannot be a violation of nature to observe and assist her. While the writer, however, is able and forcible in stating one side of the question, some readers will miss here and there the balance of a qualification. There is such a thing as over-observation in education; and a teacher may carry personal influence too far. As education, however, has obviously been for a long time so much in the other extreme, it may be said that this is not the peculiar season for such qualifications.

A rich and ornate style is not inappropriate to a sermon on 'Church Music,' by Mr. Miller, of Bognor, (Chichester: Mason,) which if it slightly exceed in that direction, we can gladly compound for such defect by the evident earnestness and spirit in which it is written.

Mr. Thomas Woodward, of Fethard, has composed an 'Essay on Demoni-
niacal Possession,' (Masters,) which is a useful contribution to the study of this difficult subject. His position is, that while actual possession is still both possible and probable, yet that Satan since the Ascension does not rule and reign in the body as he did previously. In the case of the heathen, however, Mr. Woodward thinks that demoniacal possession has not been at all relaxed.

All the writings of Mr. Woodward, the father, we believe, of the last gentleman, exhibit an accurate as well as pious mind. Mr. Woodward has lately published some 'Thoughts on Nehemiah,' (Hatchard,) which, forming a praiseworthy exception to the writings of a similar mark, exhibit attention to character, and the details of moral duty.

'Evans's Outline of Sacred History,' (Masters,) does not pretend to deeper or more recondite research than the headings of the chapters in the Authorized Version, at least in the body of the work.

From Mr. Banks, late scholar of Lincoln College, we have received a 'Translation of the Alcestis;' it is neither above nor below the average of such translations.

We are not in a position to speak critically of Mr. Edward Caswall's 'Lyra Catholica.' (Burns.) But in our judgment it seems a very good series of translations, embracing all the Breviary and Missal hymns.

'Catechesis; or, Christian Instruction Preparatory to Confirmation, and First Communion.' (Rivingtons.) Under this title Mr. Wordsworth, of

Trinity College, Glenside, has composed a very exact and perfect manual of divinity, both practical and doctrinal, in a compact form. Scholastic in form, it probably originated in collegiate requirements; but the Clergy will find it very useful to systematize, what is so often left vague, the instruction which they give before confirmation. In the last line of the note, p. 209, we detected a misprint: 'latter' should be 'former.'

Mr. Freeman's 'History of Architecture,' (Masters,) has reached us only in time to announce its publication.

'Liber Precum Publicarum, Ordo administrandæ Cænæ Domini, Catechismus, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Psalterium. Londini: Impensis Joannis Gulielmi Parker, in vico dicto West Strand. 1848.' A good, carefully executed, and faithful Latin version of our Common Prayer-Book, has long been much desired, and would be therefore peculiarly acceptable, if for no other reason, and there are many, yet for this: that by the order of the Letters Patent, prefixed to the authorized Latin version of Queen Elizabeth's Book in 1560, the Clergy of our Church are exhorted to say their daily office in Latin, rather than in English. 'Eadem etiam formula Latina precandi privatim uti, hortamur omnes reliquos ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ ministros, cujuscunque gradus fuerint, iis diebus, quibus aut non solent, aut non tenentur parochianis suis, ad ædem sacram pro more accedentibus, publice preces vernacula lingua, secundum formam dicti statuti, recitare.' Thus, in fact, giving increased and pointed force to the permission, rather than order, of the Convocation, 'that when men say morning and evening prayer privately, they may say the same in any language that they themselves do understand.'

To say of the version now before us that it is a failure, would be by no means an adequate condemnation of it. We regret to say, for it has a respectable publisher's name attached to it, that the book is fraudulent; that it is not what it pretends to be; and this the editor, who very wisely shrinks into the anonymous, is perfectly aware of. It claims to be 'majore ex parte juxta exemplar Libri Precum Publicarum apud Reginaldum Wolfium, anno 1560 excusi, cui libro vulgo titulus, "The Latin Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth."' This book was reprinted a year or two ago by the Parker Society, in a volume comprising the Elizabethan offices and formularies, which is the most valuable of the whole series, having had the fortune, rare in the annals of that Society, of meeting with an Editor quite equal to his duty. Had the Editor of the present dishonest volume honestly reprinted the Parker Society's 8vo, we should have had, in a portable form, a very important and useful, and all but authoritative, book. The sole variation from this Elizabethan book which the Editor's 'Monitum' entitles us to expect, is that he had collated the Greek and Latin versions of 1569 and 1571; the Christ Church Books of 1660 and 1726; and Roger Norton's version of our present Book (to which he assigns a wrong date). 'Contulimus etiam Libros annis 1569, &c. excusis, &c.' And then he goes on with great affectation of precision to state the sources from which he derived two or three unimportant collects.

Now what are the facts? that the present book represents no text at all;

it is a mere jumble of previous versions altered and adapted, and adopted upon no principle whatever. It pretends to be Queen Elizabeth's Book, which it no more represents than it does Queen Hecuba's. It is a fraud; and where it gives an independent version, it betrays a dishonest and party purpose.

First, and which is very significant, all the Rubrics are omitted. Certainly the very first is an awkward one in these days. **Matutinæ preces et vespertinæ celebrabuntur in locis Ecclesiarum, Capellarum et Chorum consuetis . . . Chorus manebit eadem forma, qua superiorum temporum fuit.* Again, before the First Lesson, **In his locis ubi musica figuralis cani solet, Lectiones Epistolæ et Evangelia simpliciter et naturali tono in modum perpetuæ dictionis distincte legantur.* But for the particulars. In the Creed the Editor thinks proper to change the old and correct clause, **Descendit ad inferna,* into **Descendit ad inferos.*—**Nisi tu, Deus noster,* (Q. Eliz.); **Nisi tu o Deus noster,* (Parker).—The old book is not very closely punctuated: but it being the fashion now-a-days to be exact in this direction, the Collect for Grace thus begins: **Domine, Sancte Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus.*—In the Third Collect at Evening Prayer, which, together with its immediate predecessor, is the old Breviary Collect, there happens to be a clerical error in Q. Elizabeth's book, by the accidental omission of the word **hujus:* Mr. Parker's Editor is not aware of the nonsense which he servilely follows by printing **Totius noctis insidias Tu a nobis repelle,* instead of **Totius hujus noctis,* which a glance at the Breviary would have shown him.—In the Litany, in order to be quite sure of getting wrong, the punctuation is, **Pater, de cœlis, Deus.*—And as the Editor proposes, somewhat ostentatiously, to fill up the *lacuna* of Elizabeth's book, in order to make his edition a correct version of our book of 1662, we are bound to ask why he does not in the Litany insert **schism* after **heresy,* as **schism* was added in 1662?—In the Liturgy, Q. Elizabeth's book is entirely abandoned, *ex. grat.* in the first Collect, **Deus cui omne cor patet, et cui omnes affectus animorum cogniti sunt, et quem nihil latet,* is changed into, **et omnis voluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum;* and so throughout, the Editor follows another version, which is not only not, *major ex parte,* Q. Elizabeth's, but a very inferior modern recension, totally different from it, giving us such neologisms as **Sursum corda,* **Elevamus ad Dominum,* instead of Q. Elizabeth's ecclesiastical and ancient form, **Habemus ad Dominum:* but by this change in plan we lose the **sacrificium hostiam et satisfactionem integram.* Thus we have the very significant old Elizabethan version, which does agree with our present book, **Deinde Minister tradet Eucharistiam populo in manus, genibus flexis, et cum exhibet panem, dicit,* changed into the bald, **Minister unicuique panem porrigens dicit,* which is a sheer misrepresentation of, and libel on, the Church of England. And all the occasional offices, including, of course, the **In commendationibus Benefactorum,* and the Order of Communion at funerals, are entirely omitted.

This much, then, on the supposition that the present volume is a fair reprint of Queen Elizabeth's book: we have shown how far it answers that character. But perhaps the Editor's shuffling phrase, *major ex parte,* is to be construed, as though his object was not to follow implicitly Q. Elizabeth's Latin Prayer-book, but, founded upon it, to give a fair representation in

Latin of our existing book. How does it meet such a requirement? By exactly and implicitly following the Elizabethan book whenever it happens to be wrong, and does not answer to the book of 1662; and only, as we have shown, by varying from it where it happens to be right. This aspect of Mr. Parker's book is quite as curious as the former. For example: Q. Elizabeth's book, in the General Confession, certainly says, 'vere poenitentibus condonat, eosque certissim absolvit;' which statement, whatever it is, is not 'He pardoneth . . . His holy Gospel.'—So in the Collect for the XVIIIth Sunday after Trinity, Q. Elizabeth's book reproduces the old Collect, 'Da, quæsumus, Domine, populo Tuo diabolica vitare contagia, et Te solum verum Deum pura mente sectari: Per,' &c., which is a very beautiful Collect, and the ancient one, but just happens not to be that of the Church of England.—In the Collect for the third Sunday in Advent, remarkable as for other things, so because it meets a Romanist objection, that the Reformed Church is chary of addressing directly the Second Person of the Trinity, 'O Lord Jesu Christ, who at Thy first coming,' is represented by the old Collect, 'Aurem Tuam, quæsumus, Domine,' &c.—In that for the fourth Sunday in Advent, the peculiar turn of our own Collect, 'That whereas, through our sins and wickedness, we are sore let,' &c., is quite lost in Q. Elizabeth's book, which only reproduced the old Sarum form.—So in that for S. John's Day.—So, too, in the Collect for S. Stephen's Day, which in our book is an address to our Lord, we have the old form of an address to God the Father. But it is superfluous to pursue this branch of the subject: scarcely one of the Collects, where a change has been made, pursuing the *de facto* Anglican use. Whatever the forms given in Q. Elizabeth's book, they are not in any sense accurate representations of our present Collects.

Under whichever character, then, we examine Mr. Parker's book, we are bound to say that it is something different from a mere failure: it is a mere literary counterfeit. As a reprint it is garbled and dishonest: as an independent version it is partial, inconsistent, and unfaithful to what it professes to reproduce. And we should advise Mr. Parker, after suppressing the whole edition, to do one of two things, either to reprint Queen Elizabeth's Latin Prayer-Book accurately in 12mo, or to entrust the care of a new version to some scholar, who, while he will carefully go to the original sources and preserve the old ecclesiastical language where our Reformers have retained it, will at the same time make, and in consistent liturgical language, such changes as they have introduced.

Having said so much of the old Latin Prayer-book of Queen Elizabeth, and having observed upon the systematic omission of its rubrics in Mr. Parker's book, our readers will not be surprised to be told that it totally ignores the existence of the very remarkable and valuable Kalendar which was prefixed to it. Remarkable, that is, not as a mere antiquarian curiosity, but controversially. This Kalendar, be it remembered, was actually printed in 1560, and the book which contains it was formally ordered to be used by all the Clergy in preference to the English Book. How completely it disposes of Wheatley's strange views about the Black-letter saints' days, we need hardly remind our readers: but as probably not one in a hundred of us are acquainted with it, we shall reprint a page of this book of 1560.

FEBRUARIUS.

1. Brigidæ virginis.
2. *Purificatio Mariæ.*
3. Blasii episc. et martyr.
4. Gilberti confessoris.
5. Agathæ virginis et mar.
6. Vedasti et Amandi.
7. Anguli Episcopi.
8. Pauli Episcopi.
9. Appolonîæ virginis.
10. Scholastica vir.
11. *Sol in piscibus.*
12. Eulaliæ virginis.
13. Ulfranni episcopi.
14. Valentini episcopi.
15. Faustini.
16. Julianæ virginis.
17. Policronii episcopi.
18. Simeonis episcopi.
19. Sabini et Juliani.
20. Mildredæ virgin.
21. Sexaginta novem mart.
22. Cathedra Petri apo.
23. Policarpi episcopi.
24. *Mathiæ apostoli.*
- 25.
26. Alexandri episcopi.
27. Augustini episcopi.
28. Oswaldi epis. et confess.

OCTOBER.

1. Remigii et Bavonis.
2. Leodegarii episcopi.
3. Candidi martyris.
4. Francisci confessoris.
5. Apolinaris martyris.
6. Fidis virginis.
7. Marci et Marcellini.
8. Pelagiæ virginis.
9. *Sol in Scorpione.*
10. Gereonis et soriorum.
11. Nichasii episc. et martyr.
12. Wiltfridi episcopi.
- 13.
14. Calixti episc. Ro.
15. Ulfranni episcopi.
- 16.
17. Etheldredæ virgin.
18. *Lucæ Evangelistæ.*
19. Fredeswidæ virg.
20. Austrobertæ virg.
21. Undecim mil. virg.
22. Mariæ Salome.
23. Romani episcopi.
24. Maglorii episcopi.
25. Crispini et Crispiniani.
26. Euaristæ episco. Ro.
27. Florentii martyris.
28. *Symonis et Judæ.*
29. Narcisci episcopi.
30. Germani et Capuani.
31. Quintini episcopi.

And the concluding direction about the Immovable Feasts is—

‘Immobilia Festa. Reliqua festa dicuntur immobilia, quia singula
 ‘eisdem tum diebus mensium, tum literis septenariis velut perpetuis sedi-
 ‘bus adfixa sunt. De quibus in genere hi versus, quamvis inconditi, non
 ‘tamen inutiles vulgo circumferuntur.

‘Sex sunt ad Puri, bis sex sunt usque Philippi.

Ad Jacobum totidem, novem sunt ad Michaellem.

Sex ad Martini, sex ad natalia Christi.

Adde dies octo, totus complebitur annus.’

And yet with all this direct recognition of the celebrations and forms and language of the Ante-Reformation Church, deliberately revived and placed in the hands of the Clergy in 1560, in the very rush of the Reforming movement, we are to be told that the Church of England, under Queen Elizabeth, has deliberately abandoned, what she has not directly enforced, or mentioned.

‘A Selection of Sacred Latin Poetry, by Mr. R. C. Trench,’ (J. W. Parker,) is a contribution to our general, as well as theological, literature. Many

of the sources from which he has drawn his materials are so inaccessible, that we should simply on this account have welcomed this volume. But it appeals to higher sympathies than merely literary ones. In its particular way, the world has never heard grander diction than that of Ecclesiastical Latin. It is to general poetry, what the peculiar beauty of bells is to general music. Confined in its technical capabilities, it rules over immense ranges of actual space. There is a free bounding rise and fall—a sweeping expanse of power—an ocean-like swell and lull, in a mediæval hymn; an extended sway over the whole realm of human feeling, which is to a mere classical poem what cathedral bells are to Thalberg and Rossini. Ecclesiastical Latin has its own laws, its own rhythms, its own peculiar and very refined appeals and methods. It is no more a mere debasement of Augustan literature, than Cologne and Wells are a debasement of the Parthenon or the Arch of Titus. Thomas of Celano and Jacobus de Benedictis were as true artists and poets as Virgil and Catullus—merely as poets, and to say nothing of their subject-matter. The richness and fulness of allusion, the antithetical language; the imagery, wild even to occasional grotesqueness; the balanced parallelism, often itself involved, which it adopted from the Hebrew sacred language; the satisfaction which a rhymed cadence produces, its manifest answering an end—all these are to classical Latin, what a system of Gothic mouldings, and the varied yet combined play of mediæval tracery and foliage, are to the flat and correct formalities of the monotonous column and architrave. Mr. Trench has prefixed an elegant and eloquent introduction to his volume; which, however, is occasionally disfigured by a narrowness of feeling, and a grudging spirit, much to be deprecated. Unless it were before us, we could hardly have imagined one indued with Mr. Trench's feeling and mind, believing himself bound to protest against 'the one doctrinal blemish' of Peter Damiani's epitaph. (p. 258.) Such 'blemish' as Mr. Trench thinks it fitting in himself to term a practice unquestionably coeval with Christianity—an instinct of natural, as well as a practice of revealed, religion—most probably invested with scriptural authority—unquestionably to be found in every Liturgy of Christendom for 1500 years—vindicated by the best later English divines—pronounced by the highest legal authority among us to be quite consistent with the doctrine of our own Church—practised, and still to be practised, by all saints,—such prayer for the dead; the 'doctrinal blemish,' as Mr. Trench ventures to call it; and of which Peter Damiani's distich—touching in thought, though spoiled by its classical air—is perhaps the simplest, though a very affecting, form:—

'Sis, memor, oro mei:—cineres pius aspice Petri;
Cum prece, cum gemitu, dic: Sibi parce, Deus.'

'The Nemesis of Faith, by Mr. J. A. Froude, [late] Fellow of Exeter College.' (Chapman.) Sufficient notoriety has already attached itself to this unhappy production; but we are bound to notice one thing, so palpably inconsistent with a single-minded love of truth—the pretext of the book having a religious purpose: *i. e.* a purpose actually friendly to revelation. As to the book itself, which after all is only a not very original *rifacimento* of Spinoza's philosophy and Rousseau's sentimental indecency, it does not require notice at our hands. In one respect, Mr.

Froude discredits his Magnus Apollo, discarding the stern morality of the old Apostate Jew of Amsterdam.

Mr. J. H. Parker has just issued 'The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England. Part II. Berkshire.' It quite answers the expectations raised by the first Part: but at present we are going over Lysons' ground. However, the notes seem accurate, and, if only in the way of memorials of the past, will be always of great value and interest. Occasional vagueness occurs, such as 'interesting' windows, &c.; and we think that the time has come for replacing Rickman's descriptions, excellent for their era, with something more scientific. It might to Rickman be very 'curious' to find 'a division in the chancel with different groinings, but no appearance of this division outside,' (Avington, No. 135,) but a tyro in Ecclesiology now knows that Norman sanctuaries are ordinarily thus marked off. However, to get notes of every church in the kingdom is a great undertaking, and deserves success.

Mr. J. Lockhart Ross has addressed some 'Letters on Diocesan Theological Colleges to the Dean of Chichester.' (J. H. Parker.) They reach us too late for perusal: but the character which their author has attained leads us to augur well of them.

'Reflections on a Lent Reading of the Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. C. Marriott, B.D.' (Oxford: A. A. Masson; J. H. Parker.) These are 'a series of Reflections written daily during Lent in reading the Epistle to the Romans. The writer had found it useful to take a particular Epistle, or other portion of holy Scripture, as his companion for a while, and daily to read and meditate upon some portion of it; and he also found writing down his thoughts help him toward making them clear and definite.' There is a characteristic mixture of the speculative and the practical in these thoughts. They bring the great arguments in the Epistle to bear upon individual life and conduct, without narrowing or forcing them; and they often bring out striking meanings, though necessarily, from the nature of the composition, in a fragmentary way.

Mr. Charles MacFarlane's 'Glance at Revolutionized Italy,' (Smith, Elder & Co.) is the work of one acquainted with Italy for thirty years. He bears the clearest testimony to the immense advances, social, industrial, political, and educational, which were going on in Italy up to the time of the late insane movements. All this has now been most effectually stopped. Mr. MacFarlane gives some interesting and personal particulars of the *Camarilla* who rule throughout the peninsula: and his work is eminently qualified to refute the prejudiced statements of Mr. Whiteside.

We have to acknowledge, of Sermons, volumes by:—1. Dr. Vaughan of Harrow, (Murray,) of a superior cast. 2. 'On the Life of Christ,' by Mr. De Burgh. (Rivingtons.) 3. 'The Calling of a Medical Student:' Four Sermons by Mr. Plumptre, of King's College, London. (J. W. Parker.) And of single Sermons:—1. 'Plain Teaching, &c. on the New Year,' by Mr. J. Morton. (Hatchard.) 2. On the like subject, by Mr. St. Leger of Ipswich. (Pawsey.) Also a 'Lecture on Education,' by Mr. W. N. Molesworth. (Rivingtons.)

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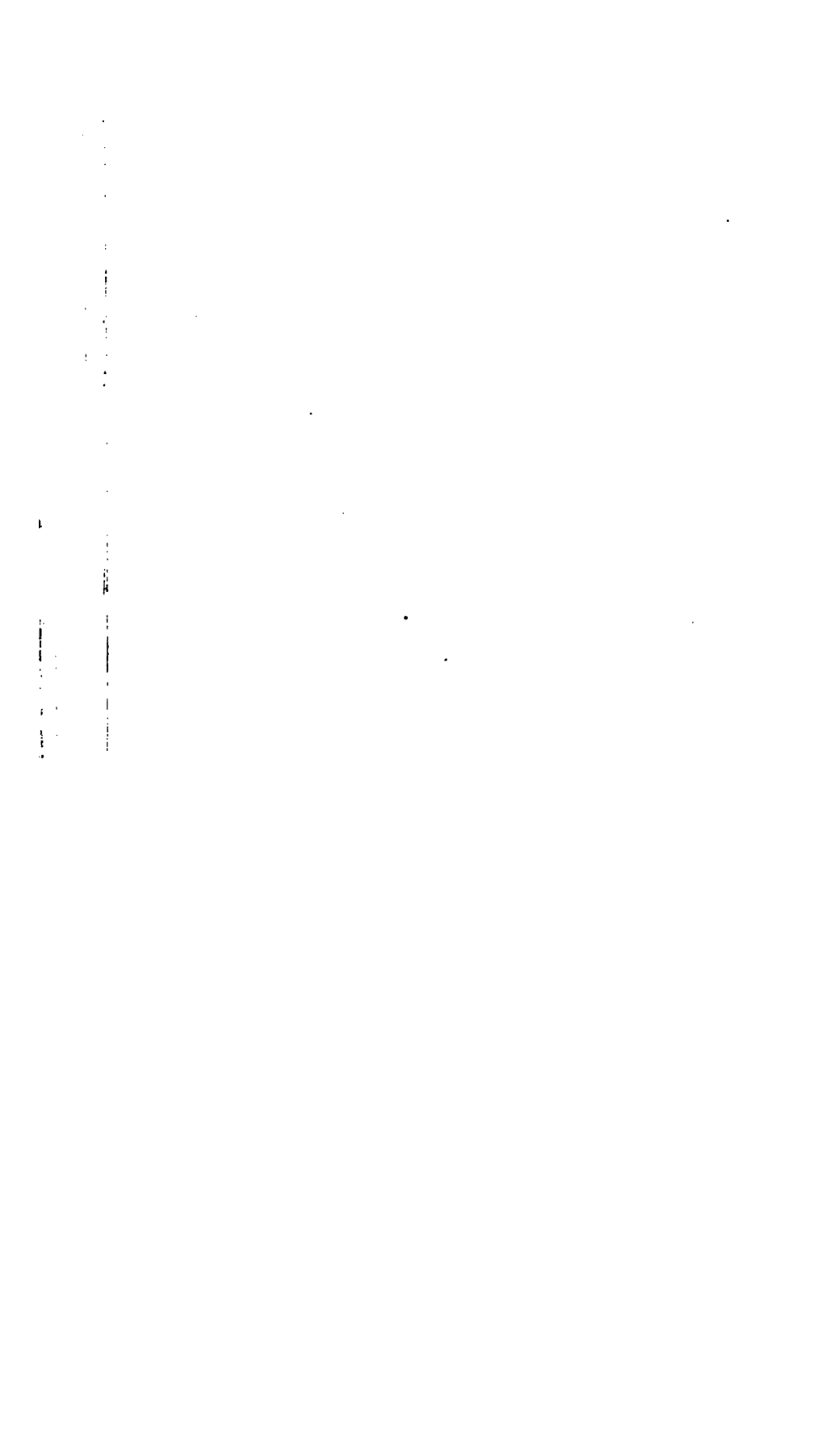
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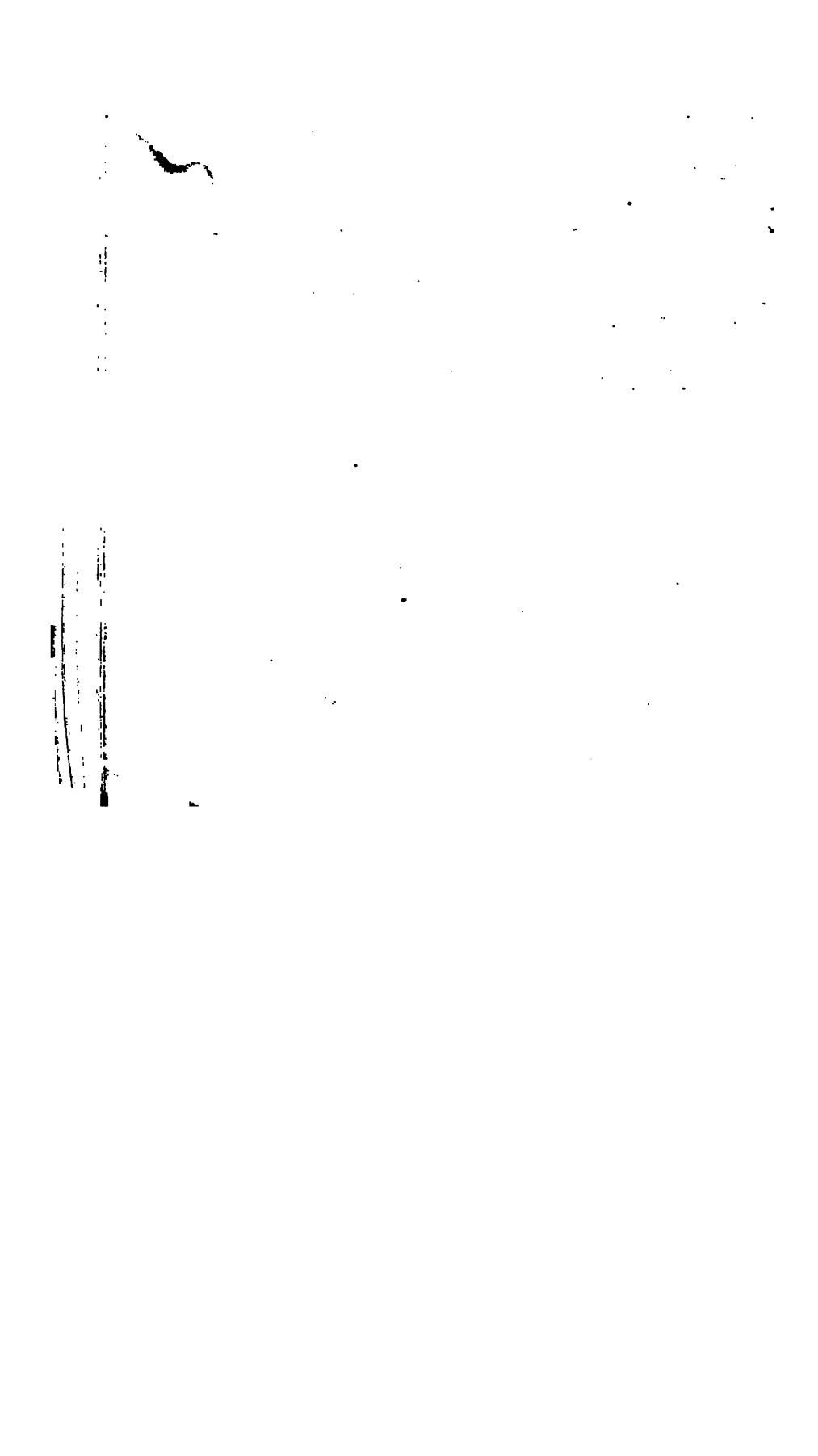
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